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# HISTORY OF ETON COLLEGE



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# A HISTORY OF
# ETON COLLEGE

(1440—1910)

BY

SIR H. C. MAXWELL LYTE, K.C.B.



WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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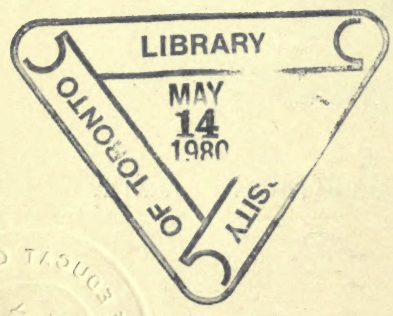
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# ORIGINAL PREFACE

An historical work on Eton admits of several modes of treatment, and commands the interest of persons of various tastes and habits of thought. According to some, it should be a biographical register of successive Provosts, Fellows, and Masters, who have guided a great national institution through more than four centuries of almost unbroken prosperity; according to others, it should trace the continuous existence of an ecclesiastical corporation, richly endowed and boasting a picturesque pile of mediæval buildings; some think that it should follow the careers of a vast number of England's greatest men from the cradle to the grave; others that it should be a record of educational progress, a treatise on grammars and exercises; while yet another class would wish to see in it a faithful picture of school life at different periods, with long accounts of popular games and boyish adventures.

Much has already been written about Eton from one or other of these points of view, but no comprehensive work on the subject has yet appeared. My object has been to produce a History of Eton in which matters of biography and architecture, studies and pastimes, old customs and single incidents, should each receive their due share of notice, and fall into their proper places, side by side, in chronological order. Yet it is impossible, within reasonable limits, to be at the same time comprehensive and exhaustive; and I have not

dwelt on the lives of any persons, however remarkable, save in so far as was necessary to illustrate their connexion with the College. Nor have I attempted to supplement or supersede such excellent monographs as Mr. Blake-Humfrey's *Eton Boating Book*, or Mr. Stapylton's *Eton School Lists*.

A great portion of my book is based on the authority of original manuscripts hitherto unnoticed by any writer. The notes on the early history of Eton in such works as Sir E. S. Creasy's *Eminent Etonians* and the *Annals of Windsor*, are almost exclusively derived from the collections of Roger Huggett, a Conduct (or Chaplain) at Eton in the middle of the eighteenth century, who bequeathed to the British Museum the transcripts and extracts he had made from the College records. Yet Huggett never saw some of the most important documents relating to the building of the Church, and he made no use whatever of the invaluable series of Audit Rolls and Audit Books, which extends, with but few breaks, from 1444 down to the present time. By the special permission of the Provost, I have been allowed to examine these and all the other manuscripts preserved in the Library and Muniment Room at Eton. I have also consulted many manuscripts in the British Museum, at the Record Office, in the Bodleian Library at Cambridge, at Lincoln, at Windsor Castle, in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth, and in the possession of private individuals, among whom I may mention the Hon. G. M. Fortescue, the Hon Mrs. Hodgson, the Rev. J. C. B. Riddell, the Rev. C. C. James, and J. H. Patteson, Esq.

I have made a point of quoting the authorities for my statements on every possible occasion ; where no reference is given, it must be understood that I have derived my information from the testimony of some old Etonian. For assistance received in the course of my researches, my best thanks are due to the Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Coleridge, Bishop Abraham, the Rev. George Williams, the Rev. G. J. Dupuis, the Rev. T. Brocklebank, the Rev. S. S. Lewis, the Rev. J. T. Hodgson, F. W. Cornish, Esq., C. Branch, Esq., C. D. Cobham, Esq., R. Williams, Esq., and many others. The Rev. W. L. Collins has most generously placed at my disposal the notes he has made for a

future edition of his brilliant little book, *Etoniana*. But, above all, I have to thank the Provost, who, from the first day on which he heard of my undertaking, has never varied in his kindness towards me, and who, by his antiquarian knowledge, has saved me from errors and omissions which I should otherwise have made. It would be too much to hope that many such will not be still found in the following pages.

H. C. MAXWELL LYTE.

18 Albemarle Street,
*December* 1875.



# PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In preparing for the press a new edition of this *History of Eton College*, I have made various alterations, which I hope are improvements. In the first place, I have availed myself largely of the results of Mr. J. W. Clark's minute researches, as embodied in the first volume of his *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*. A great part of Chapter III has been consequently re-written, so as to show more closely the successive changes made by Henry VI in the plans for the Collegiate Church and buildings. Many of the extracts which I had given from Audit Rolls and other documents are now omitted from the footnotes, as having been printed more fully, and in some cases more correctly, in Mr. Clark's valuable work. Although I have not had an opportunity of verifying all the remaining quotations, I have made a great number of verbal alterations in the text and the footnotes alike.

More important are the additions which I have incorporated upon the authority of books recently printed, and of manuscripts in the British Museum, at Hatfield House, at Belvoir Castle, and elsewhere, hitherto unquoted. Several old Etonians have favoured me with reminiscences.

The Rev. J. C. Keate has most kindly furnished extracts from his father's correspondence and from the diary kept by a member of his family residing at Eton when Dr. Keate was Head Master. The last chapter has been considerably enlarged, the brief record of recent events being extended from 1875 to 1884. By the addition of numerous entries, the Index has been almost trebled in size.

The lithographed plates have been re-drawn, with the excep-

tion of one, which has been omitted. On the other hand, the number of illustrations has been increased by the insertion of three borrowed from Mr. Clark's book already mentioned, and the like number from the *English Illustrated Magazine*. The remainder of the woodcuts, being printed from electrotypes, ought not to be inferior to those in the original edition.

For corrections made or assistance given since 1875, I am indebted to the late Earl of Abingdon, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, the late Provost of King's College, Cambridge, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, M.P., Sir R. E. Welby, K.C.B., the Rev. J. H. Snowden, T. Thring, Esq., W. E. Heathfield, Esq., F. W. Cornish, Esq., H. Perry, Esq., R. H. Blake-Humfrey, Esq., Capt. Godsal, W. J. Seton, Esq., and others. Mr. J. W. Clark has very kindly read the proof sheets and made many valuable suggestions.

H. C. M. L.

3 PORTMAN SQUARE, W.
*July*, 1889.

# PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

In preparing for a new edition of this book, I have made use of a good deal of information, both in manuscript and in print, that was not available ten years ago. Under the former category, I may specially mention a version of the *Nugæ Etonenses* belonging to Sir R. Payne Gallwey, a series of letters from Michael Hicks Beach, belonging to his niece Mrs. Portal, and a later series of letters from the Hon. Robert Marsham. All these have been kindly placed at my disposal by their respective owners.

A very interesting book entitled '*Eton of Old*' and dealing with the second decade of the nineteenth century, was published in 1892, and was followed, in 1896, by Mr. A. D. Coleridge's '*Eton in the Forties*.' From both of these works I have derived considerable assistance, and I have made frequent references to them in the footnotes, even in cases where they merely corroborate statements that had already been made in the second edition of this *History of Eton College*.

Mr. L. Vernon Harcourt has given me every facility for consulting his unrivalled collection of books and pamphlets relating to Eton. I have also to tender my thanks for assistance of various kinds, to the Provost, the Vice-Provost, the Bursar, and the Headmaster of Eton, Mr. F. H. Rawlins, Viscount Peel, Lady Elizabeth Cust, Mr. Philip Norman, the Rev. J. J. Raven, and Mr. Ingalton Drake.

Altogether, the additional matter in the first twenty-one chapters amounts to sixty pages, and the twenty-second chapter has been re-written and extended from twenty-one pages to fifty-one, so as to bring it up to date. The Index has also been enlarged. Two illustrations have been added.

H. C. M. L.

3 Portman Square, W.
*June* 1899.

# PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION

More than thirty-five years have elapsed since the first appearance of my *History of Eton College*. The changes made in it in 1889 and 1899 are sufficiently indicated in the Prefaces to the second and third editions published in those years respectively.

In preparing this fourth edition coming down almost to the present time, I have again made some corrections and many additions, mostly from printed sources. Mr. Wasey Sterry's *Annals of Eton* (1898), Mr. A. C. Benson's *Fasti Etonenses* (1899), and Mr. Lionel Cust's *History of Eton College* (1899), all three largely based upon my work, though in varying degrees, have yielded me very little fresh material of any sort. On the other hand, independent researches have been recently made by Mr. A. F. Leach, a Wykehamist, for the account of Eton contributed by him to the Victoria County *History of Buckinghamshire*. Although unable to accept all his theories or all his suggested emendations of my text, I have derived valuable information from his article, and I am also indebted to him for many friendly communications. His discoveries with regard to the grammar schools at Saffron Walden and Cuckfield have led to a recasting of parts of Chapter VIII below.

The results of Mr. R. A. Austen Leigh's minute investigations of the topography and later history of Eton, as given in the Preface to his *Eton College Lists*, in the periodical *Etoniana*, and in other smaller publications, have been of much service to me, especially in connexion with the eighteenth century. I

have also to thank him for personal help. A Greek narrative by T. K. Selwyn, recently edited by Dr. Warre, throws fresh light on the history of boating at Eton.

For assistance of various sorts received since 1899 I am indebted to the late Provost, the present Provost, the Vice-Provost, the Bursar, Captain F. G. Coleridge, Mr. G. Dunn, Mr. R. G. Marsden, and Mr. C. Headlam.

Inasmuch as the latest additions to this book threatened to make it unduly thick, a larger size of page has been adopted for the fourth edition. Four of the woodcuts which appeared in the third edition have been omitted. In their stead the publishers have inserted seven photogravures from original drawings by Mr. Frederick L. Griggs.

H. C. M. L.

3 PORTMAN SQUARE, W.
*June* 1911.

# CONTENTS


## CHAPTER I.

1440—1442.

The First Idea of the College—Choice of Site—Charter of Foundation—Papal Bulls—The Alien Priories—Endowments and Privileges—Indulgences—Early Buildings—William Waynflete . . . . . 1

## CHAPTER II.

1442—1447.

Thomas Bekynton—Opening of the College and Admission of Waynflete as Provost—Connexion between Winchester and Eton—Costume—Papal Bulls—Pilgrims at Eton—Fairs on Ash Wednesday—Books, Vestments, Jewels, and Relics—Death of Cardinal Beaufort—Promotion and Consecration of Waynflete—Provosts Clerk and Westbury . . . . . 16

## CHAPTER III.

1447—1460.

Progress of the Buildings—Completion of the Hall—Adaptation of the Old Church—The King's 'Will'—Alterations in the Plan—Magnificence of the proposed Church—The Hospital of St. James near Westminster——Confirmation of Property—Eton Heraldry—Papal Bulls—William Weye's Travels—John Blakman—Characteristics of Henry VI . . . . 32

## CHAPTER IV.

1460—1482.

Success of the Yorkist Party—Attempted Suppression of Eton College—The Struggle for Existence—Death of Henry VI.—Earl Rivers—The College Seal—Completion of the Church—Definite Re-establishment of the College—Death of Westbury—William Paston—Provost Bost and Jane Shore—Funeral of Edward IV . . . . . 61

CHAPTER V.

1483—1509.

Richard III and Henry VII—Death of Waynflete—Paintings in the Church—Mediæval Legends—Style of the Paintings—Restitution of Property—Altars and Images in the Church—Death of Dr. Bost—Election of Dr. Lupton—Distinguished Visitors . . . . . 82

CHAPTER VI.

1509—1547.

New Buildings—Benefactors—Property near London—Ecclesiastical Surveys—William Horman—Resignation of Provost Lupton—Bishop Aldrich—Funeral of Jane Seymour—Richard Cox and Nicolas Udall—The Eton Plays—Confiscation threatened—Funeral of Henry VIII . . . . . 95

CHAPTER VII.

1547—1558.

Bishop Longland—Suppression of Colleges—Sir Thomas Smith—Marriage of the Clergy—Charges against the Schoolmaster—Inquest on a Scholar—Changes in the Church—Roger Hutchinson—Destruction of Books, etc.—The Marian Reaction—Provost Cole . . . . . 120

CHAPTER VIII.

Eton Life in the Sixteenth Century . . . . . 137

CHAPTER IX.

1558—1595.

Fall of Provost Cole—Election of William Bill—Ecclesiastical Changes—Addresses of the Scholars to the Queen—Election of Richard Bruerne—Visitation of the College—Election of William Day—French Hostages—Fast Days—Dispensation to the Fellows—Royal Visits . . . . . 159

CHAPTER X.

1595—1623.

Election of Henry Savile—The Eton Library—Distinguished Visitors—Lady Savile—The Eton Press—St. Chrysostom—Baldwin Collins, John Chamber, John Clavering, Adam Robyns, William Charke, and Richard Mountague—The Commensals—Philip Lytton—Dismissal of a Schoolmaster—Death of Sir Henry Savile—Thomas Murray . . . . . 182

CHAPTER XI.

1623—1639.

Long contest for the Provostship—Bacon and other candidates—Sir Henry Wotton—Pillars in the Schoolroom—Thomas Weaver—The Boyles at Eton—Prosperous Times—Commensals—Contests for Fellowships—The 'ever-memorable' John Hales—Death of Sir Henry Wotton . . . 207

CHAPTER XII.

1639—1660.

Richard Steward—Political Troubles—Deprivation of the Provost—Appointment of Francis Rous—Rules for the Scholars—Ejectment of the Royalist Fellows—The 'Engagement'—John Hales—Death, and Benefactions of 'Lord' Rous—John Oxenbridge—Nicholas Lockyer . . . . . 232

CHAPTER XIII.

1660—1681.

The Restoration—Nicholas Monck—New Fellows—Regulations as to Discipline—John Meredith—Robert Boyle and Edmund Waller—Richard Allestree—Financial Reform—The Upper School—Nathaniel Ingelo—Contests for Fellowships—School List of 1678 . . . . . 248

CHAPTER XIV.

1681—1728.

Zachary Cradock—Charles Roderick—An Election at King's—John Newborough—The new Upper School—Hunting the Ram—Henry Godolphin—Alterations in the Church—Andrew Snape—Henry Bland—Edward Littleton—William Pitt—Cost of Education—The Library . . 268

CHAPTER XV.

1728—1760.

William George—Jacob Bryant—Horace Walpole—Gray's *Ode*—Visits of the Duke of Cumberland—Francis Goode—A contested Election at King's—William Cooke—School List of 1745—John Burton—Visit of George II. . . . . 292

CHAPTER XVI.

ETON LIFE IN 1766 . . . . . 307

CHAPTER XVII.
1760—1781.

First Visit of George III.—Building Operations—Edward Barnard—Charles James Fox and James Hare—John Foster—The Rebellion of 1768—A Public Flogging—The Election of 1778—Lord Wellesley—Richard Porson—Theatricals—Dr. Barnard as Provost . . . . . 326

CHAPTER XVIII.
1781—1809.

William Hayward Roberts—Jonathan Davies—William Langford—George Heath—Anecdotes of George III.—The *Microcosm*—George Canning—The *Miniature*—Cricket—Boating—George Heath—Joseph Goodall—Benefactions—Condition of the Collegers . . . . . 348

CHAPTER XIX.
1809—1834.

Administration of Dr. Keate—Attempted Rebellions in 1810 and 1818—State of Education at Eton—Frequency of Floggings—Theatricals—Magazines—Cricket—Boating—Other Sports—Practical Jokes—Dr. Goodall as Provost—Resignation of Dr. Keate . . . . . 373

CHAPTER XX.
1834—1852.

Appointment of Dr. Hawtrey—Educational Reform—Francis Hodgson—Improvement in the Condition of the Collegers—The Sanatorium—The *Christopher*—Restoration of the Church—Mathematics—Modern Languages—Swimming—Boating—Cricket—Royal Patronage . . . . 435

CHAPTER XXI.
1561—1847.

ETON MONTEM . . . . . 495

CHAPTER XXII.
1853—1905.

Changes under Dr. Goodford—Appointment of a Royal Commission—Changes under Dr. Balston—The New Governing Body—New Statutes—Changes under Dr. Hornby and Dr. Warre—Material Improvements—The Eton Mission—Societies and Magazines—The Volunteers—Cricket, Boating, Football, &c.—Notable Events . . . . . 518

CHAPTER XXIII.

1905—1910.

Brief Record of Recent Events . . . . . 572

APPENDIX A.

The Statutes of Henry VI . . . . . 578

APPENDIX B.

Rites of Initiation at Eton . . . . . 587

APPENDIX C.

The New Statutes . . . . . 590

APPENDIX D.

List of Provosts . . . . . 597

APPENDIX E.

List of Head Masters . . . . . 598

INDEX . . . . . 601

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

## PLATES.


PORTRAIT OF HENRY VI. . . . . *Frontispiece*

THE CHAPEL FROM THE SOUTH-EAST . . . . . *to face p.* 75

MALE HEAD, FROM MURAL PAINTING . . . . . *to face p.* 88

FEMALE HEAD, FROM MURAL PAINTING . . . . . *to face p.* 163

LUPTON'S TOWER . . . . . *to face p.* 185

SOUTH-WESTERN ANGLE OF THE SCHOOLYARD . . . . . *to face p.* 319

THE LOWER SCHOOL AND LONG CHAMBER . . . . . *to face p.* 459

INTERIOR OF THE HALL . . . . . *to face p.* 537

THE CLOISTER, A.D. 1910 . . . . . *to face p.* 574

MAP OF ETON COLLEGE . . . . . *after p.* 576

THE APPROACH FROM SLOUGH . . . . . *to face p.* 600


## WOOD ENGRAVINGS.


PAGE

ETON COLLEGE FROM WINDSOR CASTLE . . . . . *Title*

LEADEN BULLA OF POPE EUGENIUS IV. . . . . 10

FIRST SEAL OF ETON COLLEGE . . . . . 15

PAGE

THE HALL (FROM THE BREWHOUSE YARD) . . . . . 41

SIGNATURE OF HENRY VI . . . . . 45

PLANS FOR THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH . . . . . 46

INITIAL WORD OF ROYAL CHARTER, A.D. 1446 . . . . . 53

ARMS OF ETON AND OF KING'S COLLEGE . . . . . 54

IRON HANDLE IN THE GALLERY . . . . . 60

SIGNATURE OF EDWARD, DUKE OF YORK . . . . . 62

SEAL OF ETON COLLEGE . . . . . 71

ST. ETHELDREDA AND ST. ELIZABETH . . . . . 84

ST. DOROTHEA AND ST. BARBARA . . . . . 85

MURAL PAINTING IN THE CHURCH . . . . . 87

MURAL PAINTING IN THE CHURCH . . . . . 88

REBUS OF PROVOST LUPTON . . . . . 94

DOUBLE DOORWAY IN THE NORTH WALK OF THE CLOISTER . . . . . 96

DOUBLE DOORWAY IN THE WEST WALK OF THE CLOISTER . . . . . 97

LUPTON'S CHAPEL . . . . . 99

SOUTH-WESTERN ANGLE OF THE SCHOOL YARD . . . . . 119

GATEWAY UNDER LUPTON'S TOWER . . . . . 136

LONG CHAMBER, A.D. 1844 (adapted from the plate in Radclyffe's *Memorials of Eton*) . . . . . 140

MURAL PAINTING IN THE CHURCH . . . . . 162

OFFICIAL SEAL OF THE PROVOST . . . . . 181

CHIMNEYS FACING THE SLOUGH ROAD . . . . . 189

PAGE

EWER AND DISH, BOUGHT IN 1613 . . . . . 193

MONUMENT OF THOMAS MURRAY . . . . . 206

OAK-TREE IN THE SHOOTING FIELDS . . . . . 216

INTERIOR OF LOWER SCHOOL . . . . . 218

DOOR LEADING INTO THE PLAYING FIELDS . . . . . 231

THE CHAPEL, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST . . . . . 240

THE LECTERN . . . . . 243

SILVER SALT, A.D. 1656 . . . . . 247

GENERAL VIEW OF ETON COLLEGE (from Willis and Clark's *Architectural History of Cambridge*) . . . . . 261

STAIRCASE TO THE UPPER SCHOOL AND CHAPEL . . . . . 275

THE CHAPEL, A.D. 1816 . . . . . 279

COLLEGE PLATE . . . . . 291

THE 'CHRISTOPHER' INN, A.D. 1828 . . . . . 295

VIEW FROM BARNES POOL BRIDGE . . . . . 325

ETON COLLEGE FROM ROMNEY . . . . . 329

WILLIAM LANGFORD, UNDER MASTER AT ETON, A.D. 1793 . . . . . 352

SIXTH FORM BENCH AND FELLOWS' EYOT . . . . . 363

VIEW FROM FIFTEEN ARCH BRIDGE . . . . . 372

DR. KEATE . . . . . 381

BLOCK AND BIRCH . . . . . 393

SHEEP BRIDGE AND SIXTH FORM BENCH . . . . . 409

GROUP ON THE FOURTH OF JUNE . . . . . 416

PAGE

DR. GOODALL AND DR. KEATE . . . . . 431

EXTERIOR OF THE UPPER SCHOOL . . . . . 434

INTERIOR OF THE UPPER SCHOOL . . . . . 438

GATEWAY INTO THE SCHOOL YARD . . . . . 450

ENTRANCE TO WESTON'S YARD . . . . . 460

THE LONG WALK . . . . . 468

INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL, A.D. 1875 . . . . . 473

STATUE OF HENRY VI. . . . . 481

DR. HAWTREY . . . . . 483

FELLOWS' POND AND SHEEP BRIDGE . . . . . 489

A SALT-BEARER . . . . . 502

GEORGE III AND QUEEN CHARLOTTE AT ETON MONTEM, A.D. 1778 . . . 507

MONTEM TICKET . . . . . 517

THE LOWER CHAPEL AND QUEEN'S SCHOOLS . . . . . 543

WINDSOR CASTLE . . . . . 567

PUMP IN THE CLOISTER . . . . . 571




## 1440—1442.

The first Idea of the College—Choice of Site—Charter of Foundation—Papal Bulls—The Alien Priories—Endowments and Privileges—Indulgences—Early Buildings—William Waynflete.

AN attempt to trace the history of Eton College from its foundation takes us back to a period of depression in every branch of literature and learning in England. The Latin of the clergy and the lawyers, although still a living language, was hopelessly corrupt, and the very tradition of Greek scholarship had passed away. Poggio, who visted this country shortly before the birth of Henry the Sixth, drew a gloomy picture of the state of its classical studies,[1] while the decline in the number and quality of English works was no less evident. A petition of William Byngham, preliminary to the foundation of God's House at Cambridge in 1439, recites that a great number of schools had been closed within the previous fifty years, by reason of the "scarstee of maistres of gramar," which was "the rote and grounde" of all other sciences.[1] The increased use of English in legal and official documents in the first half of the fifteenth century may have been partly a cause, and partly a consequence, of a decline in the study of Latin.

[1] Hallam's *Literature of Europe* (ed. 1854), vol. i. p. 107.

[2] *Cambridge Documents*, vol. iii. pp. 153—155.

On the other hand there were in high places several notable patrons of learning who may in their respective spheres have contributed to mould the views of the young King. His uncle, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who figures in general history chiefly as an ambitious and turbulent politician, is to this day commemorated as a benefactor in the solemn bidding-prayer of the University of Oxford. The Duke's great rival, Cardinal Beaufort, was the immediate successor of William of Wykeham, and, as such, the official Visitor of the colleges founded by him at Winchester and Oxford. The fame of these noble institutions must also have reached the ears of the young King through other members of his Court. Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Bekynton, the King's Secretary, had both been Fellows of New College. Both were doubtless enthusiastic about William of Wykeham and his foundations, which were destined to exercise so important an influence on the future course of education in England.

To Wykeham is due the idea of a college at the University continually supplied with scholars from a great grammar school, an idea which was adopted not only by Henry the Sixth, but by Cardinal Wolsey, by Sir Thomas White, and by Queen Elizabeth. The foundation of the two Winton Colleges is also important as marking a stage in the struggle between the regular and secular clergy. Wykeham had no idea of employing monks as teachers, and accordingly followed the example of Walter de Merton and others in excluding them from any place in his colleges. It is not a little significant that part of the endowments granted by him had been purchased from religious houses. This was the first step towards the confiscation of monastic property begun by Henry the Fifth and finished by Henry the Eighth. Between Wykeham's time and Henry the Sixth's assumption of power, several colleges and schools had been founded, but little provision had been made for poor scholars, who often had to resort to begging as a means of obtaining the necessaries of life.[1]

[1] For an account of education in England in the middle ages, see Mr. Mullinger's valuable work on *The University of Cambridge*, Mr. Rashdall's *Universities of Europe*, and the *Munimenta Academica Oxon.* in the Rolls Series. I may also be allowed to mention my own *History of the University of Oxford from the earliest times to the year* 1530. (1886.)

John Langton, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and for some years Chancellor of the University, is said to have been the first to suggest to the King that he should do for Cambridge what William of Wykeham had done for Oxford.[1] Henry the Sixth was just entering manhood, but, unlike his illustrious father, he had shown no tendency towards frivolity or profligacy. Fuller has summed up his character by saying that "he was fitter for a coul than a crown; of so easie a nature that he might well have exchanged a pound of patience for an ounce of valour."[2] Having himself been carefully instructed in "literature, language and other manner of cunning,"[3] he was desirous that his subjects should enjoy opportunities of acquiring knowledge; and he was the more inclined to interest himself in the welfare of the young from the fact of his having been born on the festival of St. Nicholas, the patron saint of children. Chicheley, the founder of All Souls, may have pointed out the advantage of securing the masses and prayers of what an old writer styles "an honest college of sad priests";[4] and Beaufort, the benefactor of St. Cross near Winchester, may have pleaded the cause of the aged and the infirm. However this may be, the King made the scheme his own, declaring that its adoption should mark the commencement of his personal rule, and be "the first pledge of his devotion to God."[5]

Wykeham had caused his grammar school to be built under his own eye, in his cathedral city of Winchester; and in like manner Henry of Windsor selected for his school a site at Eton, close to his own birthplace and favourite residence. From the windows and terraces of his castle he hoped to be able to watch the progress of the buildings, and, possibly, some day to see the College completed, girt about with walls and crowned with towers.

The first step taken by the Founder towards the execution of his great undertaking was to make arrangements with regard to the parochial church of Eton, which had hitherto been in

[1] Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 467.
[2] *Worthies of England—Berks.*
[3] *Acts of the Privy Council* (ed. Nicolas), vol. iii. p. 299.
[4] Hall's *Union of the noble Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke*, p. 223.
[5] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. i. p. 231.

private hands. Payn Burghill, the Rector, resigned his post in December 1439,[1] and the advowson became the property of the King in the month of September following.[2] Burghill was doubtless rewarded at the time with some benefice of greater value, and a few years later he received a prebendal stall at Windsor.[3] Meanwhile another member of that Chapter, John Kette, was appointed to hold the rectory of Eton, while the details of the new scheme were under consideration.

In September 1440, the King formally announced his intention of founding a new college in the parochial church of Eton and on ground adjoining the north side of its cemetery, and he appointed three proctors to execute all legal forms connected with the foundation, and specially to conduct negotiations with the Bishop of Lincoln, whose extensive diocese included the whole county of Buckingham.[4] William Alnwick, then occupant of that see, entered warmly into the scheme, and extolled the goodness of the King towards "our holy mother the Church of England, which in these last days the sons of Belial would have destroyed," but for the royal protection. He in his turn appointed certain commissaries to act on his behalf, all of them men of distinction—William Ayscough, Bishop of Salisbury ; William Lyndwode, Keeper of the Privy Seal, the great canonist ; Thomas Bekynton, the King's Secretary ; and Richard Andrew, the first Warden of All Souls College. These commissaries received authority from the Bishop to convert the parochial church of Eton into a collegiate church governed by a Provost and Fellows, to receive the resignation of the Rector, and then to give corporal investiture to the Provost designate.[5]

The royal and the episcopal proctors delayed the execution of their respective functions until they were in possession of the King's charter of foundation, which bears date the 11th of October 1440. This document has been printed more than once already ; so that it will be sufficient in this place to give

[1] Original deed in the Library at Eton.

[2] Patent Roll, 19 Hen. VI. part 1, m. 39.

[3] Le Neve's *Fasti*, vol. iii. p. 386.

[4] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 287—290.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 274—278.

a translation of the first part of the preamble, which, as will be seen, breathes the spirit of a zealous churchman :—

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

"The triumphant Church that reigneth on high, whose head is the Eternal Father, and to whom hosts of saints minister, while choirs of angels sing the glory of her praise, hath appointed as her vicar on earth the Church militant, which the only-begotten Son of the same God hath so united to Himself in the bond of eternal love as to deign to name her His most beloved Bride ; and in accordance with the dignity of so great a name, He, as a true and most loving Bridegroom, hath endowed her with gifts of His grace so ample that she is called and is the mother and mistress of all who are born again in Christ, having power as a mother over each of them ; and all the faithful honour her with filial obedience as mother and mistress. With this lofty ideal before them, saintly princes in times past, and most particularly our forbears, have always so endeavoured to pay the highest honour and devout worship to the same Holy Church that, besides many other glorious works of their goodness in her praise and in honour of her Spouse, their royal devotion hath founded monasteries, churches, and other places of piety, richly established in abundance of property and goods, not only in this our realm of England, but also in divers foreign lands. Wherefore, we also, who, by the disposition of the same King of kings (through whom all kings do reign), have now taken into our own hands the government of both our realms, have from the very beginning of our riper age carefully turned over in our mind how, or in what manner, or by what royal gift, according to the measure of our devotion and the example of our ancestors, we could do fitting honour to that our same mistress and most holy mother, to the pleasure of that her great Spouse. And at length, while we were inwardly pondering these things, it hath become a fixed purpose in our heart to found a college, in honour and support of that our mother, who is so great and so holy, in the parochial church of Eton beside Windsor, not far from our birthplace."

Henry the Sixth accordingly proceeded to found and establish a college to endure to the end of time, "to the praise, glory, and

honour of our Crucified Lord, to the exaltation of the most glorious Virgin Mary, His Mother, and the support of the Holy Church, His bride." 'The King's College of Our Lady of Eton beside Windsor' was declared to be a body corporate, capable of holding lands and advowsons in perpetuity. While reserving power to himself to make changes in the future, the Founder sketched out a constitution for the College, and nominated ten of the original members. They were eventually to consist of a Provost, ten Fellows, four Clerks, six Choristers, a Schoolmaster, twenty-five poor and needy Scholars, and the same number of poor and infirm men.[1] The scheme may thus be said to have united the characteristics of a college of secular priests, a school for boys, and an almshouse for poor men. The Almshouse was suppressed during the Founder's own lifetime; the College of priests, after more than four centuries of honourable existence, has lately come to an end; while the School has gradually risen to an unrivalled pitch of prosperity, and has practically monopolized the revenues and the very name of 'Eton College.'

The Bishop of Lincoln's commissaries met the King's proctors on the 13th of October 1440, in the parochial church of Eton, and combined in declaring that that building was, and should thenceforth be styled, a Collegiate Church. They then adjourned for a week. At their second meeting, Thomas Bekynton appeared in his capacity of Archdeacon of Buckingham, and, as such, gave his assent to the appropriation of the Church to the Provost, Fellows, and College. After this, he joined his colleagues in accepting the resignation of John Kette, the Rector, who had just been appointed one of the original Fellows of the College. Henry Sever was then formally inducted as Provost.[2]

These formalities were but just concluded at Eton, when Dr. Richard Chester, one of the King's chaplains, was despatched to Italy to procure the Pope's ratification. He carried with him a letter of safe-conduct addressed to the Archbishop of Cologne,

[1] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 279—285; Heywood & Wright's *Statutes of King's College, Cambridge, and Eton College*, pp. 388—393, &c.

[2] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 285—287, 290—292.

as well as letters of introduction to Cardinal Barbo and the Bishop of Bayeux, who were then at the papal court.[1] A second envoy, Dr. Richard Caunton, followed him thither a few months later, to make matters more sure.[2] They found the Pope at Florence, where he had lately held a General Council, and outwitted the delegates of the Greek Church. Eugenius the Fourth has been described as "the first Pope who displayed any inclination to favour the learned,"[3] and he made no difficulty about giving his assent to King Henry's scheme. In January 1441, he accordingly issued three bulls, one confirming the foundation,[4] another permitting the King to assign suitable costume to the members,[5] and a third allowing the Provost and College to farm out their lands, even to laymen.[6]

On the Lady Day following the promulgation of these bulls, Henry the Sixth issued the first and most important of a series of charters relative to the endowment of the College.[1] We shall not give a list, or attempt any history, of the various manors, rectories, and pensions which were granted for the purpose of providing funds for the maintenance of the College ; but we may in passing mention the source from which most of them were obtained—the Alien Priories.

William the Conqueror and the nobles who followed him into England had, naturally enough, bestowed some part of their newly acquired wealth on the religious houses of their native land, and the practice was continued by their descendants. In course of time, certain Norman and other foreign monasteries thus acquired considerable property in this country, for the due management of which cells, or priories, were established on the spot. Some of these were treated as mere dependencies, and were expected to transmit their whole revenue to the mother houses, while others were self-governed and merely yielded some slight tribute. After the cession of the Duchy of

[1] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. i. pp. 136, 218, 219.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 217.
[3] Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, vol. i. p. 102.
[4] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 290—293. The editor has given a wrong date to this bull.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 294.
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 295—297.
[7] Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*, pp. 393—403.

Normandy to France, the former class of priories became a source of income to the French crown, and on this account they were frequently seized by the English kings in time of war. They were as often restored on the declaration of peace. At last, in the second year of Henry the Fifth, an act of Parliament was passed absolutely suppressing those priories which were actually alien, and granting their possessions to the Crown, "*à l'entent que divines services en les lieux avaunt ditz purront pluis duement estre faitz par gentz Englois en temps à venir, que n'ont este faitz avaunt ces heures en ycelles par gentz Fraunceys.*"[1] Most of the property thus confiscated passed into the hands of Henry the Sixth ; and the English envoys to the Council of Basel were specially instructed to defend these proceedings on national grounds.[2] The suppression of the Alien Priories has been cited as a precedent for the dissolution of the monasteries in the next century ; but whereas Henry of Lancaster transferred the property from French to English monasteries, or, at most, from the regular to the secular clergy, Henry Tudor dispersed his plunder among a number of greedy courtiers.

Some of the estates still held by Eton College were taken from such abbeys as Fécamp, Fontenoy, Yvry, and St. Stephen's at Caen, but the largest grants were made out of the former possessions of Herlouin Bec, the great Benedictine establishment which had sent forth Lanfranc and Anselm into England. Several of them were in fact named after it—as Tooting-bec Weedon-bec, and Bekford. Many of the original title-deeds, attested by fine seals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, passed with the estates, and may now be seen in the Library at Eton.[3]

In addition to these possessions of the Alien Priories, which were scattered over a great part of England, the King took care that the College should hold property in its own immediate neighbourhood. With this object, he purchased various lands in the counties of Buckingham and Berks, as well as certain rights

[1] Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi. p. 985. There are fuller accounts of the Alien Priories in Oliver's *Monasticon Dioecesis Exon.* pp. 423—425, and Nichols's *Alien Priories.*

[2] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 263—265.

[3] *Historical MSS. Commission, Ninth Report*, App. pp. 349—357.

of fishery in the Thames. He also bought up all the available houses, gardens, and fields in Eton itself ; and, by a series of grants extending over several years, made over all these new acquisitions to the Provost and College. Almost every little plot of ground had its own distinctive name, often derived from that of some former owner. Thus we come across such names as Huntercombes-garden, Rolffeshawes, and Cowepenning. Most of these fifteenth-century names have fallen into disuse, the principal exceptions being Coldnorton, Southfield, Bullocks-lock, and Jourdelay's Place. The King's Worth clearly forms part of the present Playing Fields, and a careful antiquary might doubtless identify most of the localities by means of early deeds. Here, however, we are concerned with the history of the College, rather than with the topography of the parish of Eton.

The King's successive charters of endowment received the sanction of several parliaments, which also allowed to the College various feudal rights in its manors, such as escheat, forfeiture, wardship, fines, treasure trove, and wreck of sea. Its property was, moreover, exempted from the jurisdiction of the King's marshals, stewards, and coroners, as well as from all payments under the heads of hidage, scutage, aids, and the maintenance of soldiers and ships. This privilege extended even to the regular taxes granted to the Kings of England by Convocation, by Parliament, or by the Pope. As a special precaution against any dearth of food at Eton, all the inhabitants were exempted from the jurisdiction of the King's purveyors, and from having any of his officers or servants quartered upon them.[1]

The King and Parliament were able to make these and other similar civil grants to the College ; but the former was also anxious to secure for it special ecclesiastical privileges. For this purpose his envoys in Italy were instructed to apply for papal Indulgences, which would attract strangers to Eton, and make its name famous throughout England. They succeeded in obtaining a bull granting to all penitents who should thence-forth visit the Collegiate Church of Eton at the feast of the Assumption in August, Indulgences equal to those which could

[1] Heywood & Wright's *Statutes ; Rolls of Parliament*, &c.

be obtained on the 1st of that month at the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula at Rome. All who wished to partake of these privileges were ordered to contribute towards the maintenance of the College, and expected to offer prayers for the Founder.[1] A year, however, had not quite elapsed from the date of this bull, before Eugenius the Fourth was induced to enlarge its provisions, by making the Indulgence plenary instead of partial, although limited to the lifetime of Henry the Sixth. Nevertheless he warily introduced a clause enacting that three quarters of the




Leaden Bulla of Pope Eugenius IV.

offerings of the penitents should be devoted towards the defence of Christendom against the Turks, an object in which he naturally felt more interest than he could feel in the prosperity of a new college in a distant land. The Bishop of Bath, then Chancellor of England, was entrusted with only one key of the alms-box at Eton, the other being committed to the Pope's collector.[2]

Chester and Caunton must have represented that these changes did not effect all that was desired by their royal master, for another bull was issued in favour of Eton a few weeks later. The Provost was thereby authorized to hear the confessions of all members of the College, either personally or by deputy, and, if desirable, to release them from excommunications, suspensions, and interdicts, and even to absolve them once in cases specially reserved for the consideration of the Holy See. Inasmuch as the penances were in some cases to be

[1] 28 May 1441. *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 297—299.

[2] 9 May 1442. *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 299—303.

continued by the heirs of deceased penitents, it is evident that they must ordinarily have consisted of monetary payments. The Pope, however, tried to guard against persons committing deliberate sin in the expectation of an easy absolution, by making certain fasts a necessary part of the penance.[1]

Soon after the receipt of the bulls of Indulgence, Archbishop Chicheley wrote to the Bishop of Exeter ordering him to publish them in his diocese, and describing them as more ample than any hitherto issued by any Pope.[2] The King too had his tents repaired "on account of the Indulgence to be had" at his College of Eton, perhaps with a view to providing shelter for visitors.[3] It would appear that the payment made to the Roman Court "for one Indulgence" amounted to more than 158*l.*[4] The acceptance or publication of papal bulls was strictly illegal in England at this period under the Statute of Provisors, and offenders were liable to suffer forfeiture of their property, and indefinite imprisonment of their persons.[5] Henry the Sixth therefore took care to provide against such a contingency in the case of the members of his new College, by issuing to them a pardon for all bulls already received, and a general licence to receive others in future.[6] In May 1443, a third agent was despatched to Italy, in the person of Dr. Vincent Clement, a papal chaplain, for whom Henry the Sixth had, with some difficulty, obtained a degree at the University of Oxford.[7]

The King's chief adviser about all matters connected with the fabric of the new College was William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, but the settlement of some practical details was left to John Hampton the surveyor, or architect. In February 1441, William Lynde was appointed clerk of the works for life, and invested with very considerable powers by virtue of the royal prerogative. The letters patent issued in his favour authorized

[1] 23 July 1442. *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 303—306.

[2] Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 537.

[3] Exchequer Accounts, Wardrobe, 20—21 Hen. VI. bundle 409, no. 7.

[4] Issue Roll, Easter, 20 Hen. VI.

[5] Gibson's *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, p. 74.

[6] 8 March 1443. Patent Roll, 21 Hen. VI. part 2, m. 36; Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*, p. 418.

[7] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. i. pp. lxxiv. 231, 233; Gascoigne, *Loci e libro Veritatum*, p. 28.

him to impress as many stone-hewers, carpenters, masons, plumbers, tilers, plasterers, and other artificers as he might require, and to imprison all such as should refuse to work for the King at reasonable wages. He was also empowered to procure stone, timber, iron, lead, glass, tiles, and other materials, and carriage for the same by land or by water, at the King's expense. Somewhat similar directions were at the same time given to a certain Thomas Wight.[1] A little later, the right to take workmen and carriage in the King's name was conferred upon the master-mason, the warden of the carpenters, and the warden of the masons, each of the principal crafts having a separate chief, who bore the title of warden.[2]

The foundation stone of a new Church was laid by Henry the Sixth in person, before Passion Sunday 1441, below the future site of the high altar,[3] but the valuable series of building accounts preserved at Eton does not begin until the 3rd of July in that year, several months after the actual commencement of the work.

Various difficulties had to be encountered. On the 8th of June, Robert Westerley, the King's chief mason, was empowered by letters patent to impress men for the works at Eton, and he was instructed by the Earl of Suffolk to secure at least fifty of the best stone-hewers in England. He accordingly went to Burford and to Oxford, and selected twenty-four men suitable for the purpose. Inasmuch, however, as his proceedings threatened to interfere with the erection of All Souls College, Archbishop Chicheley obtained from the King an order exempting his workmen from arrest, provided that the best twelve of them should be transferred to Eton. Lynde in his turn complained that the Archbishop kept the picked men and sent him only "the refuse of theym alle," deserters and the like. Eventually, on the 3rd of October, John Wynwyk, the new warden of the masons at Eton, procured a commission to take as many stone-hewers and masons as might be necessary, even in the fee of the

[1] Patent Rolls, 19 Hen. VI. part 1, m. 11; part 2, m. 8.

[2] Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 43, 46, where, however, Bekynton is erroneously described as "Chancellor of England." The warrants were directed to his predecessor at Bath, Bishop Stafford.

[3] Capgrave, *De illustribus Henricis*, p. 133.

church, with power to imprison the disobedient. This commission was renewed six months later.[1]

In April 1442, Lynde entered into a contract with certain quarrymen in order to obtain successive instalments of Kentish rag, which was to be delivered in London cut according to design and practically ready for use.[2] Arrangements were also made for the provision of timber of various sorts, which would after a while become duly seasoned. Brickwork having come into vogue for domestic buildings a kiln was established at "le Slough," and William Veysy, brickmaker, was empowered to impress as many masons and "brikeleggers" as he might require for the works at Eton.[3] At the end of May, John Hampton and William Lynde were authorized to take artificers of all kinds and to commit those who would not work to prison in Windsor Castle.[4] The number of men actually employed seems to have varied considerably in different weeks, the average being about sixty-nine between July 1441 and February 1442, and about one hundred and sixteen during the following twelvemonth.[5]

The permanent endowments of the College being intended mainly for the support of the inmates, separate funds had to be provided for the erection of the buildings. Money for the purpose was from time to time paid out of the Exchequer to John Hampton or to John Carpenter,[6] and the lucrative wardships of several minors falling into the King's hands were by him transferred to the College.[7] Early in 1442, a subsidy of 3000 marks from the county of Chester was assigned to William, Bishop of Salisbury, William, Earl of Suffolk, Thomas Bekynton, the King's Secretary, John Carpenter, clerk, Henry Sever, Provost of Eton, and John Hampton, esquire of the King's body, without any written condition, but almost certainly with the understanding that the money should be spent upon the works at Eton.[8]

[1] 3 October 20 Hen. VI. Chancery Warrants, file 1428; Patent Roll, 20 Hen. VI. part 2, m. 7.

[2] Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 385.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 364; Patent Roll, 20 Hen. VI. part 3, m. 21.

[4] 29 May 20 Hen. VI. Chancery Warrants, file 1431.

[5] Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 384.

[6] Issue Rolls, Easter, 20 Hen. VI.; Michaelmas, 21 Hen. VI.

[7] Patent Rolls and Chancery Warrants, *passim.*

[8] Patent Rolls, 20 Hen. VI. part 1, m. 15; part 2, m. 30.

Some slight alterations were made in the old church of Eton,[1] and temporary accommodation may have been provided for the few persons who constituted the nucleus of the College.

Henry the Sixth, basing his educational scheme upon that of William of Wykeham, went to Winchester for a few days at the end of July 1441, in order to see how the school there was administered.[2] During this visit he must have noticed the great abilities and lofty aspirations of the schoolmaster, William Waynflete, and he could not anywhere have found a man more capable of helping him.

From the biographies of this great churchman, to whom Eton owes so much, it appears that his original surname was Patten. Under this name he was educated at Oxford; but at the time of his ordination as sub-deacon, in 1421, he assumed that of his birthplace, Waynflete, in Lincolnshire, according to a practice then not uncommon. He was appointed Master of Winchester College in 1430, and, together with that post, he held the Mastership of a small hospital in the same city, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, whom he afterwards selected as the patroness of his own great foundation at Oxford.[3]

William Waynflete had been Head Master at Winchester for more than eleven years when he was induced by the King to resign his post, in order to organize the proposed school at Eton upon the Wykehamist model. Recent researches have altogether discredited a tradition that he was accompanied thither by five out of the ten Fellows and thirty-five out of the seventy Scholars. No Fellow of Winchester has removed to Eton at any period of its history, and, although it seems to have been thought desirable to start the new school with a nucleus of Wykehamists, the number of boys actually transferred was small, five or six Scholars, one or two Commoners, and perhaps a few day-boys whose names have not been preserved.[4] The exact date of their migration and that of the opening of the School at

[1] Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 388.

[2] Kirby's *Annals of Winchester*, p. 192, where, however, the year is given wrongly.

[3] Chandler's *Life of William Waynflete*.

[4] Kirby's *Annals of Winchester*, p. 199; *Winchester Scholars*, pp. 54, 57–60; *V. C. H. Buckinghamshire*, vol. ii. pp. 155, 156.

Eton are alike unknown. Waynflete is popularly believed to have been the first Head Master of Eton, but there is no documentary evidence of his having occupied that position for a single day. Although he ceased to be Head Master of Winchester College at Michaelmas 1441, the fact that he dined at the high table there several times in the following month shows that he was not then actively engaged in teaching elsewhere. Furthermore, it is permissible to doubt whether the King had taken him into his service merely as an instructor of youth. The course of subsequent events suggests rather that he had been selected to make the many and various arrangements necessary for the execution of a grand scheme which a young and inexperienced prince could not personally direct. For such constructive work the few months that elapsed between Waynflete's departure from Winchester and his appointment as Provost of Eton were none too long.



First Seal of Eton College.




## 1442—1447.

Thomas Bekynton—Opening of the College, and Admission of Waynflete as Provost—Connexion between Winchester and Eton—Costume—Papal Bulls—Pilgrims at Eton—Fairs on Ash Wednesday—Books, Vestments, Jewels, and Relics—Death of Cardinal Beaufort—Promotion and Consecration of Waynflete—Provosts Clerk and Westbury.

ONE of the earliest and most constant patrons of the rising College of Eton was Thomas Bekynton, who has been already mentioned as a Wykehamist, and as Secretary to Henry the Sixth. In this latter capacity, he was entrusted with the management of the tedious negotiations with the papal court respecting the bulls for Eton, and of other matters connected with the foundation. Fully sharing his royal patron's enthusiasm, he devoted his best energies to the work committed to him. Before starting on a journey to Bordeaux, in 1441, he especially commended himself to the prayers of the Provost and Fellows.[1] When becalmed at sea on the way, he vowed an offering to the Blessed Virgin of Eton, and persuaded some of his companions to do likewise, and to join with him in singing an antiphon in her honour; after which, we are told, a favourable wind arose.[2] An inventory taken in the next century shows that

[1] *Letters of Margaret of Anjou* (Camden Society), p. 79.

[2] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. p. 184.

this was not the only offering which he made to the College; it mentions sixty-three silver spoons, with gilt knobs, marked with the letters T. and B. on either side of an episcopal cross.[1] He must therefore have presented them after his promotion to the see of Bath and Wells.

One of Bekynton's last acts as Archdeacon of Buckingham consisted in exempting the parish of Eton from his own jurisdiction, and that of his successors in the Archdeaconry. The arrangement to this effect was confirmed by the Bishop of Lincoln, who decreed that the College should pay *1l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* a year for the privilege, out of the receipts of the manor of Bledlow,[2] and it may be noticed as an instance of the continuity of ecclesiastical institutions in England, that the money is still paid to the Archdeacon year after year. Successive Provosts have excercised archidiaconal jurisdiction over the whole parish of Eton, and it is perhaps on this account that they have been accorded a seat in the lower house of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury.

When Bekynton was rewarded for his good services by being elevated to the see of Bath and Wells, he selected Eton as the place of his consecration. The ceremony was performed on the 13th of October 1443, "in the old Collegiate Church of the Blessed Mary of Eton," the officiating prelates being Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln, Ayscough, Bishop of Salisbury, and Ashby, Bishop of Llandaff. After the conclusion of the service, Bekynton, attired in his new episcopal robes, proceeded across the cemetery to the site of the future church, whose walls as yet rose only a few feet from the ground. An altar, protected from the weather by a tent or awning, had been erected for the occasion, immediately over the spot where Henry the Sixth had laid the foundation-stone; and there it was that Bekynton celebrated his first mass as Bishop. He afterwards broke his fast at a banquet which he gave to the assembled visitors in one of the new buildings on the north, not yet partitioned off into separate rooms.[3]

[1] Inventories of goods at Eton, temp. Hen. VIII.

[2] Drawer 48, nos. 3, 4. Patent Roll, 22 Hen. VI. part 1, m. 33.

[3] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. i. p. cxix.

The School may have been opened in the previous year, though only on a modest scale and in temporary premises. In May 1442, William Westbury, perhaps a son of the judge of that name, resigned his Fellowship at New College in order to enter the service of the King, and it is almost certain that the new duties which thus took him away from Oxford were connected with Eton. He is the first person who is definitely known to have been Head Master there.

Henry Sever, who was designated as Provost in the charters of foundation and endowment, seems to have resigned in the summer of 1442, in order to become Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the Chancellor being at that period a resident officer. He is chiefly remembered as almoner to the King and a notable benefactor to Merton College, of which he was eventually appointed Warden.[1] There is no doubt that Waynflete succeeded as Provost of Eton, although he is not specifically mentioned as such until the following year.

In the last month of 1443, the Earl of Suffolk and Bishop Bekynton came to Eton by royal command, in order to open the College with due formalities. Waynflete, as Provost, was the first person to appear before them on the 21st of December, in the choir of the Collegiate Church. A royal dispensation was then read, temporarily suspending all those portions of the statutes which related to buildings as yet incomplete; after which Waynflete knelt down and reverently swore to obey the statutes. Having been formally installed in the principal seat on the south side of the choir, he in turn proceeded to tender the oath to five Fellows, two Clerks, eleven Scholars and two Choristers.[2] Although additions were made to the statutes some years later, their principal enactments were already definitely settled, many sections being copied word for word from the statutes of Winchester College.[3] The revised code of Henry

[1] Wood's statement that Henry Sever was Dean of Westminster has been implicitly accepted by Sir E. Creasy, and others. St. Peter's Westminster was a monastery until the reign of Henry VIII.

[2] Drawer 46, no. 1.

[3] The *Statutes of Winchester College* are printed in Kirby's *Annals*. Those of Eton were printed in 1850 by Heywood & Wright. There is an entry in the Audit Roll,

the Sixth was nominally in force until 1872; but for many generations past it had been "more honoured in the breach than the observance." A sketch of the regulations enjoined by the Founder will be found in an appendix: but it is necessary to observe here that the constitution as eventually settled by the statutes differed in several respects from the original scheme of 1440. Ten Chaplains were added; the number of the Clerks was raised from four to ten, and that of the Choristers from six to sixteen. With such a staff, the services of the Church could be conducted on a magnificent scale. A still larger increase was made in the School, which was, like Winchester, to consist of seventy Scholars, instead of twenty-five, and an Usher was provided to assist the Master in the work of education. On the other hand the number of the bedesmen was reduced from twenty-five to thirteen.

It is worthy of remark that, although the full benefits of the foundation were limited to a specific number of persons, gratuitous instruction in grammar was to be provided not only for the Scholars and Choristers but also for an indefinite number of boys coming to Eton from any part of the world for education. With this object, the King ordained that the College should maintain "public and general grammar-schools," and, to enhance their position, he forbade the establishment of similar schools at Windsor or elsewhere within ten miles of Eton. He further proclaimed that the educational branch of the new establishment, excelling all other grammar-schools of the realm in nobility of foundation and richness of endowment, should be called "The King's general Schools (*generales scolas Regis*)."[1] Twenty privileged Commensals, or Commoners, were to be allowed to live in the College, and others were to be allowed to dine in the Hall, provided that the boys of both classes paid for everything except their tuition.[2]

During the first few years of the existence of the College, before its revenues had begun to come in regularly, the number of its living members was considerably below that fixed by the

1452—1453:—"*Pro scriptura libri statutorum et correctione alterius libri statutorum*, xxs."

[1] 3 June 24 Hen. VI. Chancery Warrants, file 1439.

[2] Statutes xvi. xviii.

statutes. An election held in 1444 resulted in the admission of no less than twenty-five Scholars. Seven of the older Etonians were at the same time nominated for transfer to the sister College at Cambridge. Year after year thenceforward, for several centuries, the Provost of King's rode to Eton about the end of July, in order to take part in the election of Scholars suitable for his own college, and of younger boys to fill their places in the School. He was always accompanied by two of his Fellows, called the "opposers," or "posers," who seem formerly to have shared one room, and by several servants.[1]

By 1447, there was the full complement of seventy Scholars, and sixteen Choristers, the College paying 4*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.*, for the making of eighty-four gowns and eighty-six hoods for them. There were, however, only six bedesmen.

The kindly interest with which the members of Winchester College had from the first viewed the foundation of a rival institution at Eton was not impaired by any kind of jealousy. Waynflete's appointment to the Provostship rather strengthened the tie which bound the two Colleges together, and he had under him in William Westbury a Master who had actually received his education at Winchester.[2] So warm, indeed, was the feeling of friendship between the collegiate foundations of Wykeham and those of Henry the Sixth that, in July 1444, an attempt was made to express it in legal form. Under the direction of their respective Wardens and Provosts, the four Colleges combined in a solemn covenant to assist and support one another mutually in all causes, trials, and difficulties, through future ages. The only exceptions to the ample promises then interchanged were

[1] See Appendix A. "*Uxori Tudway pro lectis famulorum Magistri Prepositi Cantabrigie, tempore electionis*, xx*d.*" Audit Book, 1523—1524. "To Sir Googe, for lending his chaumbers to the posiers, 2*s.* 6*d.*" *Ibid.* 1550—1551. "To Hall's wyff to lodgginge the Provoste of Cambrige and posers' servants in the election week, 3*s.* 4*d.*" *Ibid.* 1554. "For rushes for the poseers' chamber, 18*d.* Item for an hier of a bedstede for the poseers, 2*s.*" *Ibid.* 1563—1564. "Paid for rushes and hearbes for the posiers' chamber in the election weeke, 4*d.* Given to Mr. John Stephenson for use of tapestrie for the same chamber, 5*s.*," &c. *Ibid.* 1618—1619. "To the landresse for flowers and rushes for the posiers' chamber at the election, and for hir care and attendance, 2*s.*" *Ibid.* 1639—1640.

[2] Audit Roll; Epitaph in *Rawl. MS.* B 267.

firstly a proviso that the Wykehamists should never be called upon to act in opposition to the Bishop or the Convent of Winchester, and secondly a clause, based on common sense, relieving each of the contracting Colleges from incurring excessive pecuniary expenses on behalf of the others.[1] The close bond of union between Winchester and Eton, thus confirmed, lasted for many years, and friendly relations have ever been cultivated between these two great institutions.

Henry the Sixth had occasion to be at Winchester frequently in the first few years after the foundation of Eton, and he used to make a point of visiting the College whose ideas and system he had so avowedly adopted.[2] It is interesting to notice that, in 1444 and many subsequent years, the cloth for the Eton gowns came from Winchester.[3]

Every autumn, the Bursars used to buy a great quantity of material for the outer garments of the different members of the foundation, from the Provost downwards. Although this "livery" varied in quantity and quality according to the rank of the recipient, it was approximately alike in colour. White, black, grey and red were forbidden by the statutes, possibly because the first three colours were worn by monks and friars, and the fourth by members of the royal household at Windsor.[4] Green cloth was bought in 1444, and blue in 1446. The "mustredevillers" bought in 1447, and so called after a town in Normandy, was more probably a material than a colour, like the "russet" supplied to the Scholars in 1567. The Provost, the Fellows, the Chaplains, the Master, and the Usher were alike required to wear gowns reaching down to their heels. Those of the Scholars, of similar length, presumably followed the Winchester model, as shown on a brass at Headbourne Worthy, where John Kent, who died in 1434, is represented in a long gown, closed in front, and fastened at the neck and wrists.[5] Such

[1] Walcott's *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, pp. 141—143. Huggett transcribed the document from a MS. then in the possession of John Burton, Vice-Provost of Eton. *Sloane MS.* 4840, f. 259.

[2] Walcott, p. 137.

[3] Audit Rolls, *passim*.

[4] Red was not forbidden in the Winchester statutes, which formed the basis of the Eton statutes.

[5] There are engravings of it in the *Victoria County History of Hampshire* (vol. ii.) and elsewhere. A brass of

a garment was not a mere adjunct to ordinary clothes, intended to distinguish boys maintained by the bounty of an episcopal or royal founder, but a real protection against the cold. The hood attached to it could be drawn over the head when necessary. However fast a Scholar of Eton might grow, he was required to keep his gown for three years, the new one supplied to him regularly at Christmas being intended in the first year for use on festivals only.[1] The Scholars and Choristers were also provided with underclothing, bedding, and the like.[2]

Unrestrained by statute, the lawyers and other men of business connected with the College, and some of the servants, used to wear striped clothes of various colours. For the bedesmen the Founder prescribed a tabard of black russet with a cross of finer white cloth on the right breast.[3]

We must now revert to Vincent Clement, who, as we have seen, started for Italy in May 1443.[4] Eugenius the Fourth was no longer at Florence, having returned to his proper residence at Rome, and thither Clement followed him. In answer to a letter reporting his safe arrival at Siena, the envoy received from Bishop Bekynton a distinct statement of his patron's wishes :—"I would have you believe that it will be far more acceptable to the King to obtain a moderate Indulgence lasting for all time than a great and ample one limited to a specified period."[5] Two months later, Bekynton wrote again, saying that a thousand ducats had been placed to Clement's credit for the due prosecution of the affair.[6] Several of the letters from Rome seem to have miscarried, and the King became very anxious as to the state of the negotiations. "His daily enquiry is :—'When shall we have news of Master Vincent? When will letters reach us concerning his

the year 1512 at Wraysbury in memory of John Stonor, engraved in Haines's *Monumental Brasses* (p. lxxxv), has been supposed to exhibit the dress of an Eton scholar of the period. In the absence of any direct evidence that he was educated at the principal school in the neighbourhood, it is unnecessary here to show the very unsatisfactory nature of the arguments adduced by Mr. Leach to prove that he was not an Eton boy.

[1] Statute xxix.

[2] Statute xv.

[3] Statute lv.

[4] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. i. p. 231.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 160.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 186.

doings ?'"[1] Bekynton's letter to this effect must have crossed one from Clement written at Rome, on the last day of the year, in a desponding spirit. The difficult task originally assigned to him had been rendered almost impossible by the fresh demands on behalf of the King. Failure seemed inevitable, and failure would involve the loss of the royal favour.[2] A fortnight later, the envoy had somewhat better news to communicate, inasmuch as he had secured the assistance of the Pope's Chamberlain, and other members of the Court, who would soon ascertain for him the exact price at which the Indulgence could be purchased.[3] Bekynton answered these letters in March, assuring Clement that he still stood well with the King, who was as hopeful as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the writer himself.[4]

Clement's mission eventually proved successful, for, in May 1444, the much-desired bull was issued, confirming and extending the previous Indulgences. The licence was made perpetual, and the objectionable clause respecting the distribution of the offerings of the penitents was entirely omitted. In fact, the power of granting plenary Indulgences at the feast of the Assumption at Eton was made unconditional.[5] The Provost could certainly be trusted to exact ample payments from the pilgrims, when the money was to be exclusively devoted to the maintenance and aggrandisement of his own College. On receipt of the bull, Henry the Sixth expressed his gratitude by sparing the life of a traitor named Thomas Kerver, without, however, relieving him from the penalty of being drawn and hanged.[6]

Eugenius the Fourth was induced to grant further privileges to Eton some time later, by a bull authorizing the Eton confessors, at the feast of the Assumption, to commute the

[1] *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. i. p. 174.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 175.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 179.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 178.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 306—309. There is a duplicate of this document, with the leaden *bulla* attached, in the British Museum. *Add. Charter* 15569. (See the woodcut on page 10 above.)
[6] Patent Roll 22 Hen. VI. part 2, m. 6. The warrant for the pardon is printed in Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 280, 281, but the date there suggested is too late by three years.

vows of all penitents, except vows of pilgrimages to Rome, or to Santiago de Compostella. The Provost and his deputies were moreover empowered to give Indulgences of seven years apiece to pilgrims who should in any future year devoutly visit the Collegiate Church on any of the festivals of the Blessed Virgin, or St. Nicholas, or on that of the Translation of St. Edward the Confessor.[1]

In July 1447, the King was able to announce that Eugenius the Fourth and his successor, Nicholas the Fifth, had granted to penitents visiting Eton pardons and Indulgences greater and more remarkable than any previously granted by Roman pontiffs to any realm or king whatsoever, and he marked the occasion by exercising the royal prerogative of mercy. Five persons who had been convicted of conspiring to murder him, in order to establish the Duke of Gloucester as King in his stead, were released from the penalty of death, and at least one of them received a free pardon.[2] Thomas Kerver, moreover, who already owed his life to the issue of an earlier bull in favour of Eton, was finally delivered from gaol.[3]

Richard Chester, one of the King's agents abroad, who had all along enjoyed a regular salary, eventually got some compensation for the imprisonments that he had suffered and his losses in books and horses.[4] His colleague, Caunton, also obtained tardy payment of his bill, amounting to no less than 600*l.*,[5] perhaps equivalent to 9000*l.* nowadays. Altogether the amount spent by the King in procuring the Indulgences for Eton was very considerable, and the College also incurred some expense in the matter.[6]

According to the strict teaching of the Roman Church, an

[1] 25 January 1447. *Correspondence of Bekynton*, vol. ii. pp. 309—311.

[2] Patent Roll 25 Hen. VI. part 2, m. 18, and m. 12. The second of these entries is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*. The goods of one of the traitors, named Richard Nedeham, were given by the King to Alice Nedeham and Alexander Kyng, her son, a scholar of Eton. *Ibid.* m. 24.

[3] Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, p. 390.

[4] Patent Rolls, 21 Hen. VI. part 1, m. 24; 27 Hen. VI. part 1, m. 24.

[5] Patent Roll, 27 Hen. VI. part 1, m. 27.

[6] "*In regardo dato Nicholao Wyllughby pro laboribus suis in curia Romana pro negotiis Collegii*, cs." Audit Roll, 1446—1447.

Indulgence was not a remission of sin past or future. The former could be given in absolution only; the latter could not be given under any circumstances. An Indulgence was (or professed to be) the remission of the penalty owing for sins already pardoned, called penance in this life, and purgatory afterwards.[1] Thus these bulls of Eugenius the Fourth specifically limited the benefit of the Indulgences to persons who were really penitent, and had duly confessed. The staff of priests ordinarily attached to the Collegiate Church of Eton was, of course, utterly insufficient to meet the spiritual wants of the crowds of pilgrims who were attracted thither by the Indulgences, and they had to procure external assistance. Thus the College paid 2*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* for the hire of thirty beds "for confessors and their servants," at the feast of the Assumption, 1445.[2] In subsequent years, the ceremonies were attended by "various bishops and confessors."[3] Henry the Sixth, moreover, added a statute to the original code, exacting an oath from every Fellow that, in the event of his ever being elevated to the episcopate, he would annually attend the festival of the Assumption at Eton.[4]

Notwithstanding the trouble and expense incurred in obtaining the papal bulls, they do not appear to have proved very profitable, and the cost of entertaining so many strangers used often to exceed the amount of the offerings, which ranged from 20*l.* to 30*l.* a year.[5]

It may have been as some assistance towards meeting the charges of hospitality that the King granted a petition from the College asking for an allowance of a tun of red wine of Gascony to be delivered yearly in the port of London, free of charge, in addition to two similar tuns already promised.[6]

[1] Wiseman's *Lectures on the Catholic Church*, vol. ii. p. 71; Milner's *End of Religious Controversy*, p. 302.

[2] "*In conductione xxx lectorum ordinatorum pro confessoribus et eorum servientibus.*" Audit Roll, 1444—1445. "*In expensis Johannis Salman equitantis London pro capis et libris erga festum Assumptionis beate Marie, iij*s. *iiij*d.*" *Ibid.* 1447—1448.

[3] Audit Rolls, 1452—1453, 1457—1458, 1459—1460.

[4] Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*, p. 619.

[5] Audit Rolls, *passim*.

[6] 21 February 23 Hen. VI. Chancery Warrants, file 1436. Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*, pp. 416, 422. "*Custodi cellarie domini*

The English were shortly after expelled from that vine-bearing country, and in subsequent ages the College was paid in money instead of in kind.[1] A special provision for the temporal wants of the pilgrims to Eton was made by the establishment of a yearly fair on the six working days following the feast of the Assumption. The site recommended was called "Michelmyldshey," which must have been near the further end of the Playing Fields. This meadow was also to be used on the three days following Ash Wednesday for another fair, doubtless intended for the due supply of Lenten provisions. Both these fairs were exempted from the jurisdiction of the King's purveyors, marshals, and officers, and placed entirely under the control of the Provost.[2] Some traces of the latter fair survived until recent times, although its site and purpose had been changed in the course of four centuries. The main road through Eton was found more accessible than Michelmyldshey, and pigs a more lucrative article of commerce than salt fish. Many old Etonians can remember the fairs on Ash Wednesday, and the vain attempts of the farmers to defend their animals from mischievous boys, who used to cut off the pigs' tails as trophies. The combination of all the lessons of a "whole schoolday" with the ecclesiastical services of a holy-day on Ash Wednesday in the nineteenth century was probably due rather to the humane instincts of the authorities than to any desire on their part to mark Lent as a penitential season.

The two fairs were established by Henry the Sixth to provide for the exceptional wants of the College; but in those days, when the facilities for communication were not so great as at present, the rapid growth of Eton was felt to be a severe strain on the ordinary resources of the immediate neighbourhood. A petition was accordingly addressed "to the King, oure soveraine lord and gracious founder," reciting that the "College Roiall of oure most Blessed Lady of Eton, and the inhabitants withynne the same toune, scholers, artificers, and laborers theder

*Regis London pro iij doliis vini ab eo receptis, ex dono dicti fundatoris*, xx*s*." Audit Roll, 1444—1445.

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1655*, p. 181; *Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1697—1702*, p. 566.

[2] Charter Roll, 21—24 Hen. VI. m. 41; Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*, pp. 427—428.

resortyng, have had many times hereafore, and yette have, grete scarstee of brede, ale, and other vitailles, for default of a markett in the same toun." The specific request of the College for a weekly market on Wednesdays was at once granted by charter.[1]

Early in 1445, the King sent Richard Chester, who had been one of his envoys to the papal court, to divers parts of England, France, and other countries, in quest of books and relics for his Colleges.[2] Two years later, however, the Provost and Fellows of King's combined with those of Eton in a petition, stating that neither of these Colleges "nowe late fownded and newe growyng" was sufficiently supplied with books for divine service and for their libraries and studies, or with vestments or ornaments, "whiche thinges may not be had withowte great and diligente labour be longe processe and right besy inquisicion." They therefore begged that the King would order Chester to "take to hym suche men as shall be seen to hym expedient and profitable, and in especiall John Pye," the King's "stacioner of London, and other suche as ben connyng and have undirstonding in such matiers," charging them all "to laboure effectually, inquere, and diligently inserche in all place that ben under" the King's "obeysaunce, to gete knowleche where suche bokes, onourmentes and other necessaries for" the "seid colages may be founden to selle." They were anxious that Richard Chester should have authority "to bye, take, and receive alle suche goodes afore eny other man . . . . satisfying to the owners of suche godes suche pris as thei may resonably accorde and agree: soo that he may have the ferste choise of alle suche goodes afore eny other man, and in especiall of all maner bokes, ornementes, and other necessaries as nowe late were perteynyng to the Duke of Gloucestre."[3]

Another petition, relating to the ornaments of the two Colleges, conceived in a very different spirit, was presented to the Founder in the same year. It proceeded from a certain

[1] 20 June 1452. Charter Roll, 27—29 Hen. VI. m. 23; *Sloane MS.* 4839, ff. 139—141.

[2] 8 Feb. 23 Hen. VI. Chancery Warrants, file 746.

[3] 21 March 25 Hen. VI. Chancery Warrants, file 1444. See also *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xx. pp. 304—315; vol. xxi. pp. 1—4.

Robert Cocksale, vestment-maker, of London, who evidently entertained some doubts as to the solvency of the new Colleges, as his prayer was for permission to retain his goods until he should receive payment for them. The vestments had been ordered by Langton, late Bishop of St. David's, formerly Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. The principal item in the account for Eton was for a set, consisting of a chasuble and two tunicles, and two copes of white satin, embroidered with gold, evidently intended for use on great festivals. They cost the large sum of 83*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* besides extras for lining. There is a curious charge of 1*s.* 6*d.* for "hallowing," or consecrating, the vestments. Cocksale's bill amounted to over 240*l.*, of which considerably more than half was charged to the account of King's College.[1] So too Henry the Sixth in his 'will,' some two years later, gave 500*l.* to his College at Cambridge "for to stuff them with jewells for the service of God"; but only 200*l.* to Eton "for to purvey them books to the pleasure of God."[2] The reason for this apparent preference of one college over the other may be found in the fact that the new foundation at Eton got the benefit of all the ornaments of the old parochial church. Thus, even in the early audit rolls, payments are recorded for the repair of vestments.

The King presented the College with relics and jewels on at least three separate occasions. One of his gifts consisted of a finger-joint and part of the spine of John the Confessor, formerly Prior of Bridlington, which had been given to him by the monks of that convent.[3] Another consisted of a portion of certain jewels which the Duke of Gloucester had arranged to purchase from the Abbey of St. Albans, but which, after his death, the King had managed to secure for a large sum.[4] Intermediate in time, and perhaps in intrinsic value between these two, came the "Tablet of Bourbon," a jewel of gold, which was said to contain portions of the precious blood of our Lord, of His cross,

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xvi. pp. 6—8.

[2] Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*, p. 185, where, however, the sum given to King's College is wrongly set down as 200*l.*

[3] Muniment Room, drawer 48, no. 12.

[4] *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xxi. pp. 1—4; *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. v. p. 307; *Registrum abbatiæ Johannis Wethamstede*, vol. i. *passim*. Patent Roll, 36 Hen. VI. part i. m. 6.

of "the glorious Virgin Mary His mother, and of His most blessed Confessor Nicholas, and of Catherine the Virgin, and of other martyrs, confessors, and virgins." This precious tablet was one of the articles on the security of which Cardinal Beaufort had lent a large sum of money to the Crown. The Cardinal bequeathed it unconditionally to Henry the Sixth; but there must have been some understanding between them on the subject, as the King describes himself as merely a trustee for the conveyance of the jewel to Eton.[1] The same prelate gave a more direct and more substantial legacy to his great-nephew's new foundations, in the shape of 1000*l.* to each, which was to be deducted from the money still owing to him by the King. He thus hoped to secure a special collect at one of the ordinary daily masses in the two Collegiate Churches, and a yearly observance of the anniversary of his death.[2] Blakman's account of the transaction is more touching, but, though nearly contemporary, evidently less correct. According to him, the sum of 2000*l.* was first offered by the Cardinal's executors to Henry the Sixth, who refused it, saying :—"He was always a most kind uncle to me while he lived. God reward him! Fulfil his intentions. I will not take the money."[3] The codicil in favour of Eton and King's was executed on the 9th of April 1447, and the Cardinal died on the 11th.

Beaufort's death produced consequences far more important to the welfare of Eton than the mere acquisition of a jewel or a legacy; it gave occasion for the removal of the Provost. The King was informed of the death of his great-uncle on the very day of its occurrence, and he at once wrote to the Prior and Convent of Winchester bidding them elect William Waynflete as their bishop. This letter must have crossed one from them; and so the King wrote a second time urging them to proceed "in al godely haast."[4] Waynflete was accordingly elected by an unanimous vote on the 13th of April, and the fact was duly notified to the King and to the Pope. The former, of course,

[1] Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 44—46.

[2] Nichols's *Royal Wills*, pp. 338, 339.

[3] Hearne's *Otterbourne*, vol. i. p. 294.

[4] Chandler's *Life of Waynflete*, p. 299.

signified his formal approval of the election without difficulty; but the latter appeared to be in the not unfrequent dilemma of having to choose between waiving his own claims to nominate, and giving offence to so orthodox and pious a prince as Henry the Sixth. There was, however, a convenient fiction by which such difficulties could be surmounted; and the Pope made use of it, by declaring that he had already "provided" Waynflete to the see of Winchester, during the life of the late Bishop. Waynflete at first refused the proffered dignity, saying that it was too great for him, but we have no means of judging whether his *nolo episcopari* was more than a decorous form. Anyhow, the messengers from Winchester found the Provost of Eton in the Collegiate Church one evening towards sunset, and succeeded in persuading him to obey the call.[1]

Henry the Sixth must have been brought into close contact with Waynflete during the slow progress of the works at Eton, and must have noticed in him that combination of earnestness and prudence which is so desirable in a statesman. For such a man the little world of a college was really too narrow. It would at first sight appear that in removing him from Eton the King was sacrificing the best interests of his own favourite foundation to those of the diocese of Winchester. Yet the course of subsequent events shows that this appointment proved the very salvation of Eton College. The great authority and influence, political as well as ecclesiastical, of the see of Winchester enabled its occupant to act as the protector of smaller institutions. The promotion of the Provost moreover attracted public attention to the place which he was about to resign; and publicity was naturally one of the Founder's aims.

Waynflete selected the scene of his recent labours as that of his consecration; but, before this could take place, he had to take the regular oath, disclaiming everything in the Pope's bull of Provision which in any way infringed on the rights of the English Crown.[2] Bekynton had, as we have seen, been consecrated in the old Collegiate Church of Eton,[3] and similar rites had, in March 1444, been performed over John Carpenter,

[1] Chandler's *Life of Waynflete*, pp. 37, 39, 312.

[2] Le Neve's *Fasti*, vol. iii. p. 15.

[3] Page 17 above.

Bishop of Worcester.[1] Waynflete's consecration, on the 30th of July 1447, was therefore the third that had taken place there within four years.[2] The members of his former College at Winchester resolved to do honour to their future Visitor, and presented him with a horse which cost them more than 6*l.* The Warden and others rode to Eton to attend the ceremony, and there distributed 13*s.* 4*d.* amongst the scholars.[3]

On the morrow of the consecration, the Fellows, by licence of the Founder, unanimously chose John Clerk, the Vice-Provost, to succeed Waynflete, the election taking place in the vestry (*in vestibulo*) of the College.[4] Little is recorded of him except that he had resigned a good benefice at Adderbury in order to become a Fellow of Eton.[5] Nor did he live long enough to acquire any reputation in his new capacity, his tenure of the Provostship proving shorter than that of any of his successors except Bruerne's, and even less eventful. He died four months after his election, and the King, thereupon, by virtue of his personal rights as founder, nominated the Schoolmaster to be Provost.[6] William Westbury was accordingly instituted by the Bishop of Lincoln without election. A few weeks later, he went to Winchester to attend the enthronement of Bishop Waynflete in the Cathedral Church, a ceremony which was honoured by the presence of the King, Bishop Bekynton, and other notable persons. The Provosts of Eton and King's, with their respective suites, were entertained at breakfast in Wykeham's College, and dined in the Warden's hall.[7] The enthronement may have been postponed to suit the King's convenience, but Waynflete had already entered upon his episcopal duties. By special permission of the Bishop of Lincoln he held his first ordination in the Church of Eton;[8] perhaps as an earnest that his advancement to one of the highest dignities in the realm would in no way lessen the affectionate interest which he took in his patron's noble foundation.

[1] Stubbs's *Registrum Sacrum.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Kirby's *Annals of Winchester*, pp. 203, 204.
[4] Register, vol. i. f. 2.
[5] Muniment Room, drawer 46, no 1.
[6] 8 Dec. 1447. Patent Roll, 26 Hen. VI. part 1, m. 18.
[7] Kirby's *Annals of Winchester*, pp. 193, 205.
[8] 23 Dec. 1447. Chandler's *Life of Waynflete*, p. 41.




## 1447—1460.

Progress of the Buildings—Completion of the Hall—Adaptation of the old Church—The King's 'Will'—Alterations in the Plan—Magnificence of the proposed Church—The Hospital of St. James, near Westminster — Confirmation of Property — Eton Heraldry — Papal Bulls—William Weye's Travels—John Blakman—Characteristics of Henry VI.

A BODY of clergy had been collected, and a school opened at Eton, so soon after the formal foundation that few if any of the buildings contemplated by the King could have been ready to receive the original members. It seems clear that the first constructive works undertaken were temporary alterations and additions to certain houses and barns which then occupied part of the site of the future College. Accommodation had to be found for a considerable number of workmen, as well as for the priests and scholars. The freemasons were for many years allowed to use a house adjoining the churchyard either as a shop or as a dwelling :[1] the labourers and some of the boys were quartered in the town. Security against evil communications was provided by a clause in an act of Parliament forbidding the inhabitants of Eton to take in any lodgers without the permission

[1] "*Pro emendatione magni hostii inter cimiterium et casam latomorum.*" Audit Roll, 1482—1483.

of the Provost, and every spare room in the town was thus practically placed at his disposal.[1]

The account-books of the successive clerks of the works at Eton furnish many interesting particulars with regard to the buildings erected, or begun, by Henry the Sixth. All the skilled men received three shillings a week apiece, except that the sawyers, carpenters, and ordinary masons, called "hard-hewers," received only two shillings and sixpence in those numerous weeks which contained a holy day; whereas the freemasons received their entire wages without any deduction for Saints' days or other anniversaries. The common labourers were paid at the rate of fourpence or fivepence a day. These wages were somewhat lower than those given elsewhere at the same period, but, on the other hand, no diminution was made in winter, when the hours for work were of course shorter. The workmen at Eton were, moreover, supplied with the necessary tools, as appears from fines imposed on some of their number for breaking divers implements, and an estimate "for making, amending, and repairing, of pikees, shovelles, and othere instrumentes of the seid werkemen."[2]

Like workmen of our time, and persons of much higher rank in their own time, the men employed on the buildings at Eton used to dine in the middle of the day, and it appears that they were fined if not back at their respective posts "at one of clocke." A batch of twenty-one men forfeited a whole day's wages on one occasion because "they wolde not go to theire work til twoo of clocke," and others got into trouble "for late cuming." A modern Trade-Union would probably support a member who was fined merely because "he wold kepe his owris, and never go to werke till the clocke smyte." A freemason lost half a day's pay for going away without leave.

During working hours, the men were subject to strict supervision, and fines were imposed on any who were seen "fyting," or who "wrostled and playde and ron about." The paymaster naturally raised objections to a man who "wol not do nor labor

[1] Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*, p. 422.

[2] *Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol. iv. pp. 117, 118; Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 399.

but as he list hymselfe," or who "will not do as he is bedyn." The fine "for shedding lime" was sixpence; that "for looking about," "for playing," or "for chiding," was twopence. The overseer was also severe upon one who "wolde tell tailes," and another who persisted in "telling tailes, and letting (*i.e.* hindering) his felowes." [1]

Large quantities of stone were annually conveyed to Eton. Some came from Merstham near Reigate, some from the neighbourhood of Maidstone, and some, more expensive, from the celebrated quarries of Caen. Mention is also made of "modrestone" from Langley, "hethstone" from Hughenden, and "ornell" from London, whence the cost of freight in barges was one shilling and four pence per ton. Among other material supplied by the King, we may notice the "rag" stone of the old walls of the Savoy Palace in the western suburb of London. Lead came from the Peak in Derbyshire, and sea-coal from Newcastle on Tyne. Flint was obtained from Windsor, Medmenham, and Marlow; and a great part of the necessary timber was felled in the neighbourhood of the College. After delivery, it was stored at the 'Timbrehaw,' on the further side of the highroad to Slough, where a piece of ground still bears the name of the 'Timbralls,' although more generally known as 'Sixpenny' during the cricketing season, and 'the Field' in winter.[2]

None of the early accounts preserved at Eton contain any detailed description of the plan on which the buildings were actually erected. A contract made in November 1443 between the Provost and the clerk of the works on the one side, and the chief carpenter, Robert Whetelay, on the other, required him to provide the wood-work for ten chambers on the eastern side of the College, a hall, a cloister, and seven towers and turrets, which exactly correspond in number with those of that period that now exist, there being three angle-towers, two turrets on the eastern face of the College towards the river, and two turrets on the northern side towards the Playing Fields.[3]

[1] Keys's Accounts. (*Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol. iv. pp. 117, 118; Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 383.)

[2] Lynde's, Vady's, and Burton's Accounts. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 386—396.)

[3] Vady's Accounts, 1445—1446. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 389, 390.)

Two years later, the chief stonemason was sent to London to consult the Marquess of Suffolk about the construction of the Hall.[1] This building seems to have become available for use in 1448 or 1449, when "a high table" was purchased for the Provost and Fellows, and rushes were procured wherewith to strew the floor on two occasions.[2] In 1450, the windows of the Hall were fitted with 191 feet of "storied glass" and a larger quantity of glass "flourished," or flowered, "with lilies and roses and certain Arms."[3] The three large stone fireplaces were doubtless made at this date, for use of an evening between the beginning of November and Eastertide, as specified in the statutes, the bonfires on certain festivals being lighted on the floor immediately under the open *louvre*. A Library and a chamber for the Vice-Provost must have been finished in 1445 or 1446, when "floryshid" glass was provided for them, but it is impossible to ascertain their respective situations. The doors of six chambers were at the same period furnished with locks and rings.[4] In February 1448, an official estimate was made that a further expenditure of 40*l.*—equivalent perhaps to 600*l.* nowadays—would suffice for "the housing" which should "close ynne the quadrant," or cloister.[5] It is not clear why the King sent at that time to Winchester to obtain information as to the soil in which the foundations of the College were laid, and an actual specimen of it.[6]

Although the King must from the first have intended to build a suitable church for Eton College, he did not hesitate to spend money freely on the fabric of the old parochial church, so as to adapt it for the temporary use of the members of the new corporation. The chancel was materially altered within, if not actually rebuilt, and chancel and nave were alike paved with tiles. Part of the chancel was fitted up as a treasury for jewels and

[1] The south-western angle-tower was added early in the sixteenth century. Vady's Accounts, 1445—1446. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 393.)

[2] Audit Roll, 1448 — 1449. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 403.) "*Pro cirpis emptis ad duas vices pro aula predicta sternenda.*" *Ibid.*

[3] Keys's Accounts, 1449—1450. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 403.)

[4] Vady's Accounts, 1445—1446. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 393.) See the cut on page 60 below.

[5] Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 399.

[6] Kirby's *Annals of Winchester*, p. 193.

other ecclesiastical ornaments, and another part as a vestry. Skilled artificers were engaged to adorn the windows with glass, which might afterwards be transferred to the new church. Thirteen windows in the chancel were accordingly filled with "powdred glass," varied with figures of the twelve Prophets, and "florished glass" was also provided. Figures of St. Hugh and St. Anne, and shields bearing the Arms of Edward the Confessor, Henry the Sixth and Queen Margaret, were set up in other windows.[1] A seat of state, called the King's "closet," or "pue," separated from the chancel by a glazed "parclose," or screen, and hung with arras, was reserved for the pious Founder and his consort, who doubtless often attended the services at Eton, when they came to inspect the progress of the works.[2]

Some of the heraldic glass for the old Church was supplied in 1442 by a certain John Grayland. Between 1445 and 1447, several payments were made in the ordinary way to John Prudde, the King's chief glazier, mostly in connexion with windows in the domestic buildings.[3] In 1449, however, the King entered into a direct contract with John Utynam, a Fleming then living in England, for the manufacture of glass of various colours (*omnimodorum colorum*) for the windows of his two Colleges at Eton and Cambridge. Letters patent in favour of Utynam, after a remarkable recital that the art of making glass of this kind and squared glass (*vitri quadrati*) had not before been practised by any of the King's subjects in the realm, gave him exclusive rights with regard to it for a term of twenty years.[4] It seems possible that Utynam may have been an unsuccessful precursor of the enamellers on glass of the following century.[5] None of his work has survived.

The construction of the new Church of Eton, which, as has been seen, was "not yet half finished" at the time of Bishop Bekynton's consecration in 1443, lasted several years. In 1446

[1] Vady's Accounts, 1445—1446; Burton's Accounts, 1446—1447. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 388, 393—396.)

[2] *Ibid.* "Arras *pro* le closet *domini Regis*." Audit Roll, 1448—1449.

[3] Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 388, 393, 394, 402; Patent Roll, 23 Hen. VI. part 2, m. 5.

[4] Patent Roll, 27 Hen. VI. part 2, m. 17.

[5] Day's *Windows*, chapter viii.

or 1447, a temporary chapel roofed with tiles was erected within it to protect the high altar at which he had said his first pontifical mass.[1] There is an interesting drawing of it, backed by Windsor Castle, in a copy of Higden's *Polychronicon*, which was given by John Blakman, one of the early Fellows of Eton, to the Carthusian monastery at Witham in Somersetshire. In this drawing, King Henry and Queen Margaret are represented as kneeling before the altar, the former offering an image ; behind them stand an archbishop, bishops, and lords. Several of the initials in the manuscript are illuminated with the Arms of Eton College.[2]

According to an estimate submitted to the King on the 7th of February 1448, the choir would, during the ensuing eight months, require a great quantity of fresh stone, and the continuous services of forty freemasons and seventy other workmen. After Michaelmas, a dozen carpenters, earning sixpence a day apiece, were to be employed on the roof, and twenty-four other carpenters and carvers, earning three shillings and fourpence a week, upon the stalls. Inasmuch, however, as sixty freemasons and twenty-four hard-hewers of Kent were also to be employed for a whole year from Michaelmas, it is evident that the stone-work was far from finished.

Most of the money necessary for building the Church was to come from the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster, but several additional sums were given or promised for the year 1448—1449. The King gave 380*l.* from his own coffers, Ayscough, Bishop of Salisbury, gave 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and Waynflete 75*l.* 15*s.* The Marquess of Suffolk, who appears to have been the Founder's chief adviser in all matters relating to the buildings at Eton, contributed no less than 666*l.* and the Duke of Somerset undertook to maintain five masons for two years.[3]

The document containing the estimate for materials and labour likely to be wanted in 1448 and 1449 is accompanied by three other papers of like date, giving for the first time a comprehensive account of the King's intentions with regard to the buildings

[1] Burton's Accounts, 1446—1447. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 396.)

[2] The volume belonged in 1881 to the Earl of Ashburnham. It is now in the possession of Mr. G. Dunn of Woolley Hall, Maidenhead.

[3] Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 398—401.

at Eton. One of them is headed :—"The appointment made by the King oure al soverain lord for the edification of the quere of his college roial of Our Blessed Lady of Eton as touchyng every demension of the same quere, the vij day of Februarie the yere of the reigne of King Henry the Sext the xxvj (1448)." Another, bearing the royal sign-manual in two places, prescribes the dimensions of the western part of the Church, and the third, which is also signed by the King, gives the dimensions which he had appointed for "the housing of his College." These manuscripts taken together seem to have constituted the first draft of a material portion of a formal document generally known as the 'will' of King Henry the Sixth, which follows them almost word for word, except when it omits a characteristic note stating that the proposed choir at Eton would be three feet longer, and two feet broader than "the quere of Wynchestre College at Oxenford," and that its walls would be twenty feet higher, and its pinnacles ten feet longer.[1]

This 'will' is in fact nothing more than an expression of the King's intentions with regard to his two great foundations at Eton and Cambridge.[2] One of the three original copies of this important document is preserved in the Library at Eton, and bears the Great Seal of England, that of the Duchy of Lancaster, and three other official seals, as well as the royal sign-manual. It is dated at Eton on the 12th of March 1448, and begins by reciting the King's previous conveyance to a body of feoffees of lands, rents, &c. yielding nearly 3400*l.* a year, which formerly belonged to the Duchy of Lancaster. The feoffees were certain archbishops, bishops, nobles, clerks, and others, in whom Henry the Sixth reposed special confidence; but Waynflete was entrusted with special powers, in a passage which, for the beauty

[1] Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 351, 352, 357.

[2] The entire 'will' has been printed in Nichols's *Royal Wills*, and in Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*, and large extracts from it have been inserted in Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, and in Tighe & Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, all alike taken from a very incorrect transcript in the British Museum, made by Baker, the historian of St. John's College, Cambridge. The original MS. is a beautiful specimen of caligraphy. Mr. Clark gives a carefully revised copy of those portions which relate to the buildings of Eton and King's.

of its language, and for the evidence that it affords of the intimate relations between the King and the Bishop, deserves special attention:—

"Furthermore, for the final perfourmyng of my seid wil to be put effectuelly in execucion, I, consideryng the grete discrecion of the seide worshepful fader in God, William nowe Bisshop of Wynchestre, his high trougth and fervent zele which at alle tymes he hath hadde and hath unto my weel, and whiche I have founde and proved in hym, and for the grete and hool confidence whiche I have unto hym for thoo causes, wol that he, not oonly as surveour but also as executor and director of my seid wil, be privee unto alle and every execucion of the perfourmyng of my same wil and that his consente in any wise be hadde thereto."

Another characteristic passage may also be quoted:—

"And that this my seid wil in every poynt before reherced may the more effectually be executed, I not oonly pray and desire but also exorte in Crist, require, and charge alle and every of my seid feffees, myn executours, and surveour or surveours, in the vertue of the aspercion of Christe's blessed blode and of his peyneful passion, that they, havyng God and myne entent oonly before their eyen, not lettyng for drede or favour of any persoune lyving of what estat degree or condicion that he be, truely, feithfully, and diligently execute my same wil and every part thereof, as they wol answere before the blessed and dredeful visage of our Lord Jhesu in his most fereful and last dome, when every man shal most strictly be examined and demed after his demeritees."

The main object of the 'will' was to order the feoffees to pay 1000*l.* a year to the Provost of each of the two new Colleges for the next twenty years, and so much longer as the buildings should remain unfinished; at the same time, specifying the exact designs chosen by the Founder for the buildings at Cambridge and at Eton. The latter alone concern the present enquiry; and even with respect to them it is unnecessary to enter into minute detail, as the scheme was

soon abandoned, or rather modified, by Henry the Sixth himself. The document is interesting, however, as showing his ideal of the requirements of a great seat of learning and piety, and as illustrating certain provisions in the statutes, which would otherwise be unintelligible.

First it may be remarked that there was then no fixed model to which all collegiate buildings should conform. William of Wykeham's twin foundations differ from one another in appearance and shape as much as they do from all others. So too Henry the Sixth did not attempt to erect both his Colleges on one plan. In each case he had to be guided by the nature and disposition of the ground. The low situation of Eton rendered it very liable to inundation, and precautions had to be taken against this danger; partly by "enhauncying," or raising, the ground to certain specified levels, and partly by turning "the water at Baldewyne Brigge . . . . overthwart into the river of Thamyse," by a ditch forty feet in breadth.

The precinct of the College was to be 3690 feet in circumference, bounded by a stone wall stretching from Baldwin's Bridge along the water's side to the spot now known as 'Sixth Form Bench,' thence to a new bridge on the highroad from Windsor to Slough, and so, along that road, back to the starting point in the south-western corner. The principal gateway was to be on the north-west, and was to give access to an outer court. On the right (or south) side of this was to be built an almshouse containing sixteen rooms, besides a kitchen, a buttery, and offices. Some gardens for the bedesmen may be approximately placed on part of the site of Weston's Yard. On the opposite (or north) side of the outer court, were to be erected the collegiate bakehouse, brewhouse, garners, stables, and hayhouse, as at Winchester, "with chambers for the steuardes, auditours, and other lerned counsell and ministres of the seid College." Here was also to be the infirmary.

Nearly opposite to the outer gatehouse, Henry the Sixth intended to build a second gateway, leading to the main quadrangle of the College, and surmounted by a fair tower. The vaulting of this gateway was to be of stone, as was also to be that of the two rooms over it, one of which was to serve as a




THE HALL,
*from the Brewhouse Yard.*

muniment-room, and the other as a treasury for such plate and jewels as were not in constant use.[1]

The area of the great quadrangle was to measure 155 feet north and south, from the gateway to the Hall, and 230 feet east and west, so that it would have been more than three times the size of the Cloister which now occupies part of the site intended for it. The buildings surrounding it were to have been in two floors, with a series of small towers on either side, some of which were to serve as staircases to the upper rooms, and others doubtless as 'garderobes.' The Library was to be situated on the east side of the quadrangle looking over the garden towards the river. The Hall and the Pantry were to occupy their present positions on the south side; while over the staircase leading to them there was to be a turret, probably for a bell. One of the bay-windows of the Hall was to look into the quadrangle; the other, as at present, into the kitchen-yard. The Provost's Lodging was to extend for a length of seventy feet on both floors from behind the upper end of the Hall to a corner tower situated close to the north-eastern angle of the new Church. Exactly opposite to this, but only on the ground floor, was to be a School-room of similar length adjoining the gateway. The west side was not intended to have any strongly-defined architectural feature. Finally, in the centre of the quadrangle was to stand a conduit, "goodly devised to the ease and profit of the seid College."

The Founder never contemplated the erection of a single long dormitory. The Scholars, the Choristers and the Commensals, were to be distributed among the rooms on the ground floor; but a proviso was made that in each room there should be at least three senior Scholars, endued with some sort of monitorial authority. All boys who had not completed their fourteenth year were to sleep two in a bed. Each of the Fellows and the Schoolmaster were to occupy separate rooms on the upper floor, a marked improvement upon Wykeham's system, which placed three Fellows in one room. To the Chaplains, Usher, and Clerks was assigned one room for every two persons. All the occupants of the upper floor were specially charged to be

[1] *Statute* xxxv.

careful not to inconvenience those occupying the rooms below by spilling wine, beer, or water.[1]

The site of the present School Yard and part of Weston's Yard was to be occupied by an oblong Cloister, communicating with the western side of the great quadrangle, but not giving access to any of the chambers. Henry the Sixth probably borrowed the idea of this cloister from New College, though with some modifications, for he ordered that it should be vaulted in stone, and embattled on both sides. The northern walk, 200 feet long, was to be erected somewhat to the north of the site now occupied by the range of buildings containing Lower School and Lower Chamber : the western walk, leading to the northern aisle of the new Church, was to run parallel to the highroad, upon a site now partly occupied by Upper School. In the middle of this side, and projecting beyond it, a great tower, 140 feet high, was to rise far above the roofs of all the neighbouring buildings. Disregarding the example of the monastic establishments which used their respective cloisters as places of instruction, Henry the Sixth had resolved to provide his College with a regular School-room. The Eton Cloister was, however, occasionally to be the scene of public disputations in grammar between the Scholars.[2] It was also to be the burying-place of the Provosts and of all other members of the College down to the Scholars. Commensals and Servitors were to be buried either in the Cloister or under the green-sward which it enclosed.[3] Between the southern walk of the Cloister and the Church, there was to be a space of thirty-eight feet, planted with "certaine trees and floures behoveful and convenient for the service of the seide Church."

The Cemetery, being consecrated ground, could not be converted to secular uses : but whereas the old Church stood in the midst, or on the south side, of it, the new Church was to stand on its northern side.[4] In this cemetery the parishioners were to be buried : their baptisms and marriages

[1] *Statute* xxxvi.
[2] *Ibid.* xiv.
[3] *Ibid.* xxxvii.
[4] The present School Yard was known as the Church Yard in the reign of Elizabeth. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 454, 463.) The words Cemetery and Church Yard are not, however, always equivalent.

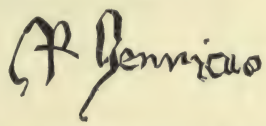
were to be performed in the porch of the new Church, projecting from the last bay but one of the south aisle.

The Church itself was to be several feet longer than the present building, and very different from it in form and general appearance. In the first place, it was to have a nave with aisles, as well as a choir ; but, on the other hand, the choir was to be about two thirds only of its present length, and about three quarters of its present width. Eight feet at the extreme eastern end were to be screened off as a separate chapel, and the great east window was to consist of only seven lights. The choir was to be lighted by seven windows on each side, whose comparative narrowness forbade more than four lights in each. The main walls were to be eighty feet in elevation and their long horizontal lines were to be broken by a series of pinnacles, rising twenty feet above each of the buttresses. There was to be a double vestry on the north side of the choir, looking over the Cloister, and connected with the western side of the quadrangle by a covered passage for the use of the clergy and singers. A rood-loft under the choir-arch, and sixty-four stalls in the choir, were to be copied from those in St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster. The choir was, of course, intended for the members of the College, and the nave for the bedesmen and the ordinary parishioners.

Any one who is at all familiar with the present aspect of Eton will at once see how entirely this design, so formally sanctioned by Henry the Sixth, differs from the actual plan of the collegiate buildings. The Cellar, the Hall over it, the Pantry, and the Kitchen, are indeed the only portions which correspond with the provisions of the King's 'will.' The very sites of most of the other buildings have been changed, though an exception may be made in favour of the foundation-stone of the Church, which was not to be "removed, touched nor stered in any wise." It doubtless still lies half-way across the choir, opposite to the Jacobean monument of Provost Murray. The manifest discrepancy between the proportions enjoined by the original design, and those of the present Church, has been a source of perplexity to antiquaries in the past, and, even after Mr. J. W. Clark's minute investigations,

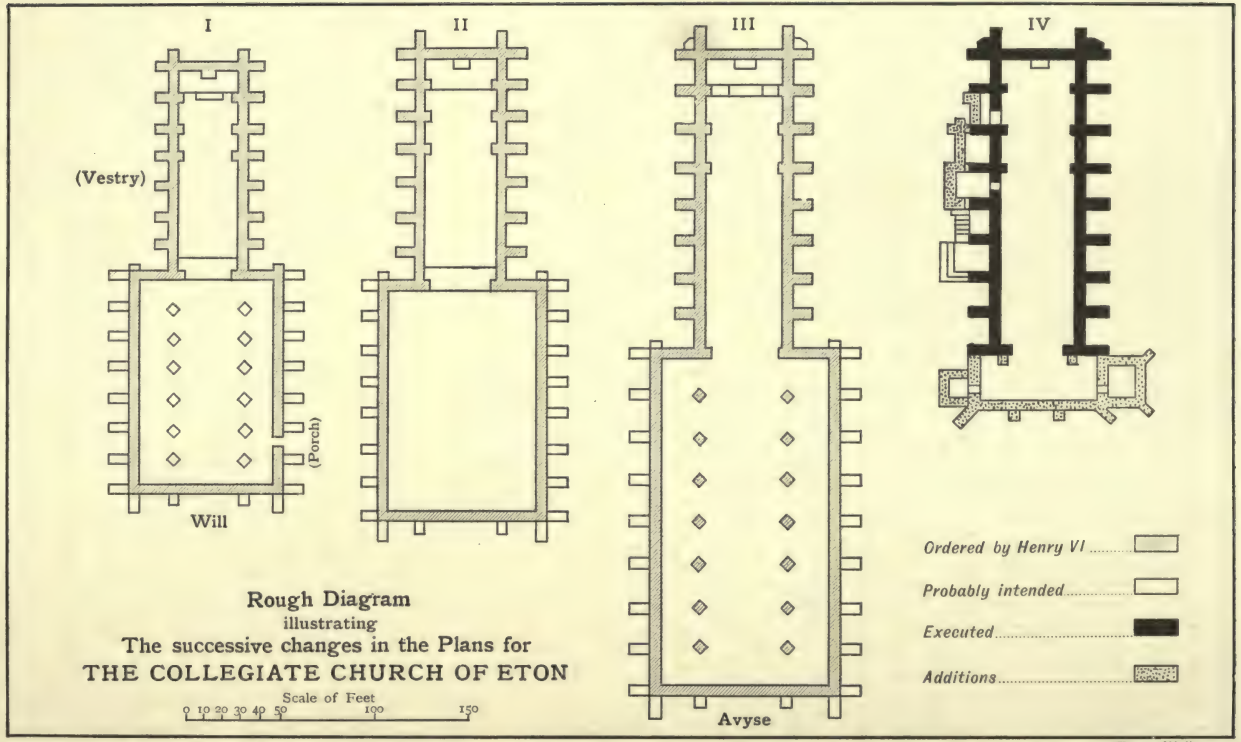
some points remain obscure. A solution of the main problem is, however, to be found in the discovery that the Founder's 'will' sets forth a scheme intermediate in date between that already adopted for the collegiate buildings, and that eventually adopted for the choir of the Church.

Although Henry the Sixth does not appear to have ever executed a formal revocation of his 'will,' he soon changed his plans. A strict adherence to it would have involved the entire demolition of the northern and eastern sides of the existing Cloister, to make room for the larger quadrangle intended; and it is possible that some wise counsellor may have dissuaded him from an extravagant course which would have proved very inconvenient to the Fellows, the Scholars, and others. At any rate, that part of the scheme which related to the "housing" of the College was tacitly abandoned, or reserved for future consideration. On the other hand, the Founder resolved to enlarge the Church. Taking up the paper which had served as the first draft of his 'will,' he cancelled some of the figures and added others, apparently with his own hand, signing the document with his name in full:—



The effect of the alterations would have been to increase the length of the choir and the nave by fifteen feet apiece, their breadth by three feet, and the breadth of the aisles by a foot. Inasmuch as no change was directed in the number of buttresses, bays, and windows, the contemplated enlargement could not have been carried out without the sacrifice of all that had already been done towards building the church, unless indeed some of the mullions and other dressed stones could have been rendered available.[1] This sacrifice was actually made, but, apparently, not until after the King had once more altered the design.

[1] If the attestation by the Marquess of Suffolk and William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, refers to the corrections rather than to the original draft, the King must have made them between the 12th of March, the date of the 'will,' and the 2nd of June, the date of De la Pole's elevation to the dignity of Duke of Suffolk.




Emery Walker sc.

As time went on, the enthusiasm of the Founder increased, and he resolved to make the Collegiate Church of Eton the grandest memorial of his munificence and zeal for religion. His original scheme contemplated the erection of a stately pile ; but in altering it for the second time, he aimed at producing a church which should rank among the finest specimens of ecclesiastical architecture in his kingdom. William of Wykeham was still his pattern and rival, partly as the founder of New College, but more as the architect of the Cathedral Church of Winchester. In January 1449, Roger Keys, the master of the works at Eton, was sent, with a retinue of three servants, to Salisbury and Winchester, to take measurements of the choirs and naves of those celebrated churches, and a few weeks later, he went up to London to submit a design (*portraturam*) to the King, as well as to arrange for a supply of Hudleston stone from Yorkshire.[1] Keys was a man of varied experience, having been successively architect and Warden of All Souls College, Oxford, and there is every reason to believe that his design was approved and definitely adopted by the Founder.

A third set of measurements for the Collegiate Church of Eton is contained in a paper, not signed, but explicitly styled "the Kynge's own avyse," which affords the only explanation of the shape which the building has actually assumed. The length and breadth of the present choir correspond closely with those ordered in it ; as do also the buttresses and the eight windows of five lights apiece on either side. So again, the three short panels in the east wall under the "grete gable wyndowe of nine days" exactly make up the length prescribed for the altar of the Lady Chapel, which must therefore have occupied the site of the present Holy Table. The pedestals on either side of it are not mentioned in the Founder's directions, but he ordered two similar pedestals for supporting figures of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Nicholas at the two ends of the high altar, which was to be placed some twelve feet from the east wall. This altar was to measure no less than eighteen feet in length, and be surmounted by an elaborate reredos

[1] Keys's Accounts, 1448—1449. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 398.)

containing figures of Our Lord and His Apostles. The upper stalls were to be close against the wall in the western part of the choir; but they would not have been so lofty as the present stalls, and the Provost would have sat six feet further eastward than he now sits. Immediately behind his stall was to be a staircase leading up to the rood-loft, which was also to serve as an organ-gallery. Thus there is good authority for the present position of the organ.

As in both the former designs, so in this latest one, the King prescribed a nave, with an aisle on either side, but he enlarged the dimensions considerably, and settled further particulars. Thus we find that there was to be a window at the eastern end of each aisle, with an altar under it, and two other altars in a line with these, under the rood-loft. It is remarkable that, although buttresses were ordered for the choir, there is no distinct mention of any for the nave, or rather for the aisles. The inference to be drawn from this might be that the King did not contemplate vaulting the nave in stone ; on the other hand, the omission may have been due to the comparative remoteness of time at which this part of the building could be put in hand. It is unlikely that Henry the Sixth would have been satisfied with any roof in his Collegiate Church that was not of the first order of excellence.

To many readers mere figures will not convey any definite idea of size ; and the dimensions of the proposed nave may perhaps be best illustrated by a comparison with two or three existing structures. Dismissing from consideration such churches as Chichester, Kendal and Coventry, whose great breadth is divided into four or five aisles, it may be remarked that there are only two churches in England, of the same plan, which surpass King Henry's latest design in width. One—the metropolitan church of York—was already in existence ; the other is the masterpiece of Sir Christopher Wren. The Gothic cathedral surpasses the design for Eton in the width both of its nave and of its aisles ; St. Paul's barely equals it in this respect, and is actually wider only in consequence of the greater thickness of the piers, which is characteristic of Renaissance architecture. There is, indeed, one nave whose length and breadth correspond

almost exactly with the measurements given in King Henry's "owne avyse," and it happens to be that of the mother church of Lincoln, but there the aisles are several feet narrower than those at Eton would have been. Of course the style of the two churches is quite different, and the Collegiate Church would not have had a triforium. Moreover the nave of Lincoln is divided into seven bays instead of eight, and in the aisles there are two small windows to each bay, instead of one large window.

The building which most legitimately suggests some analogy with the proposed Church of Eton, is the chapel of the sister college at Cambridge. King's College Chapel so entirely overpowers the existing choir of Eton that a comparison between them might seem absurd ; but if both structures had been carried out according to their common Founder's last design, the case would have been reversed. The nave at Eton was to have been about thirty feet longer than that at King's, though not exceeding it in breadth. Its detached piers would have broken up the long lines of walls more effectually than the vaulting-shafts do at King's, and the broad aisles separated from the nave by lofty arches would have been an important part of the design, instead of being merely a series of low chapels enclosed between the buttresses. Such a plan would have involved much greater difficulties in construction, as the central weight of the roof would have been double the distance from the supports. The effect would have been lighter, but at the same time even more impressive. Without transepts, presbytery, or distant chapels, to excite the imagination, the Collegiate Church of Eton would have been smaller than most of our cathedrals; the eye would have taken in the whole idea at a glance ; but the unity of the style and the simplicity of the plan would have produced an effect of grandeur hardly to be equalled.

"The Kinge's owne avyse" does not allude to the turning of the highroad through Eton, which would have become necessary before the erection of the nave of the Collegiate Church, which was to have extended to a distance of some sixty feet to the west of it. On the other hand, it specifies the material to be used for the walls of the choir, that is to say,

Teynton stone, with "hethstone" and flint, "leyd and couched with good and mighty morter," for the main part, and a mixture of Teynton stone and Yorkshire stone for the basement and for the upper stage. The use of chalk, brick, and Reigate stone was expressly forbidden. It appears accordingly from the accounts that stone from Teynton in Oxfordshire was purchased, for the first time, in 1448, and that, in the early part of the following year, the King obtained a grant of part of the quarry at Hudleston in Yorkshire.[1] In point of fact, however, Teynton stone was used for the lower courses and some ornamental work, Hudleston stone for the main part of the walls up to the level of the transoms across the windows, and Kentish rag for the uppermost stage, and for the two upper stages of most of the buttresses. Payments for iron-work for the windows of the new choir in 1458, and specifically for its eastern window in the following year, seem to show that by the latter date at any rate the existing choir was practically finished, the construction of it having lasted about ten years.[2]

The exact correspondence of the lower courses of stone in the Church at Eton with those specified in "the Kinge's owne avyse" proves the existing walls to be those therein ordered to be built; and clauses which prescribe the digging of the new "growndes," or foundations, outside the old ones, taken together with the accounts for work done continuously on the Church during the seven preceding years, show that an almost completed building must have been demolished, and a new one begun upon its site, soon after the date of that document. That similar changes were not introduced into the plan for King's College Chapel, which, with only one unimportant difference, agrees with the dimensions given in the 'will,' is probably due to the fact that Cambridge was far away from the Founder's favourite residence.

The great sewer must probably be referred to the time of Henry the Sixth, and deserves notice as having for four centuries exhibited one of the most perfect systems of drainage in England. Its principle consisted of a periodical discharge of water, which rushed through an enormous drain all round the College, with

[1] Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 397.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 405, 426—428.

such force that it made its way from under Baldwin's Bridge into the Thames in the course of a few minutes.[1]

Altogether, the expenditure upon the buildings of the College, temporary and permanent, during the reign of Henry the Sixth, has been roughly calculated at 15,000*l.* in the money of that time.[2]

The early building-accounts at Eton make frequent mention of the "Almeshouse," but it would appear that it was little more than a granary, temporarily fitted up for the use of the poor men. Nor was the infirmary ever erected. Any Scholar or Chorister who fell ill was entrusted to the care of some worthy matron in the town, and the invalid's commons were allowed in money.[3] One of the houses in Eton purchased for the College by the King from the Jourdelay family, and still called Jourdelay's Place, proved very convenient, while the new buildings were incomplete, for the accommodation of strangers and horses.[4]

Another grant of property about this period made permanent provision for the wants of the Provost or any Fellow who had occasion to go up to London on business. During the early years of the College, many difficult questions on matters of finance, architecture, and administration, were referred to the Founder, and the Provost necessarily had to make frequent journeys to the capital. The College of course paid his expenses, and for some time hired a house for him from the Abbot of Chertsey.[5] The King, however, soon gave him the means of maintaining a position more suitable to his dignity, by granting to Eton College the leper-hospital of St. James in the fields of Westminster.[6] The residence until then occupied by the Master

[1] It is mentioned in an Audit Roll of 1492 or 1493. "*Uni laboranti per duos dies circa ripas reparando et obturando foramina juxta aquam, ut purgaretur cloaca per cursum aque*, vj*d.*"

[2] Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 405, 496.

[3] "*In denariis solutis Alicie Water pro custodia Johannis Dorset, unius scholaris Collegii infirmi, et existentis in villa per v septimanas, et Willelmi Allerton, alterius scholaris infirmi et existentis in villa per unam septimanam, et Johannis Rede, unius choriste existentis in villa per ij septimanas, una cum prandio eorundem, omnibus computatis in denariis*, viij*s.* viij*d.*" Audit Roll, 1448—1449.

[4] *Ibid.* 1448—1449, and undated Roll, probably 1454—1455.

[5] Audit Rolls, 1444—1445, 1446—1447, 1447—1448, 1449—1450. The yearly rent was 40*s.*

[6] 30 October 28 Henry VI. (1449) Patent Roll.

(whose office was to be suppressed), although let for a short time to the Earl of Suffolk,[1] was soon fitted up and furnished for the use of the Provost. Westbury was often obliged to follow the King to places far more distant than London, especially when Parliament was sitting, and so we find him going to St. Edmundsbury and Coventry, as well as to Westminster, perhaps with the object of canvassing the votes of the members.[2] At any rate, the College had to pay for lists of the various knights and burgesses who constituted the House of Commons.[3]

The College was exempted from successive subsidies, Acts of Resumption, and the like, and the Founder was careful to obtain parliamentary ratification of the various grants which he had made from time to time by letters patent.[4] A very extensive confirmation of property and privileges was thus made in March 1446, and the College caused it be transcribed with great care, paying 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to a certain William Abell for ornamenting it with an illumination which may be classed amongst the most interesting and beautiful specimens of English art in the fifteenth century.[5] The King is represented in a kneeling attitude, within the initial letter of his own name, offering his charter upon an altar; while behind him appear representatives of the three estates of the realm. The Commons say :—"*Prient les Communes*," to which the Lords Spiritual and Temporal add :—"*Et nous le prions ausi.*" Foremost among the peers kneels Archbishop Stafford, and immediately behind him kneel Cardinals Beaufort and Kemp, distinguished by their red hats. A charter in favour of King's College, sanctioned by Parliament in the same month, has an illumination almost identical in design, the chief variation being the introduction of a figure of St. Nicholas near that of the Blessed Virgin, the patroness of both Colleges.[6]

[1] Audit Roll, 1456—1457. This title was applied to John de la Pole by the Bursars, although all the honours of his father, William, Duke of Suffolk, had been forfeited in 1450. He paid 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* as rent.

[2] Audit Roll, 1456—1457.

[3] "*Willelmo Okeden pro scriptura sedule nominum militum et burgensium Parliamenti*, iiij*s.* iij*d.*" *Ibid.* undated, probably 1454—1455.

[4] *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. v. *passim.*

[5] "*Willelmo Abell illumynanti actus Parliamenti*, xxvj*s.* viij*d.*" Audit Roll, 1447—1448.

[6] The texts of the charters are printed in the *Rolls of Parliament* and in Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*,



INITIAL WORD
FROM ILLUMINATED CHARTER,
A.D. 1446.

The sister Colleges at Eton and Cambridge had been established several years before their royal Founder granted to them the Arms which they still respectively bear. The documents by which he did so, attested by the Great Seal of England, are preserved among the muniments at both places. In the case of Eton, Henry the Sixth assigned as Arms "on a field *sable* three lily-flowers *argent*, intending that our newly-founded College, lasting for ages to come, whose perpetuity we wish to be signified by the stability of the *sable* colour, shall bring forth the brightest flowers redolent of every kind of knowledge. . . . To which also that we may impart something of royal nobility, which may declare the work truly royal and illustrious, we have





resolved that that portion of the Arms, which by royal right belong to us in the kingdoms of France and England, be placed on the chief of the shield, per pale *azure* with a flower of the French, and *gules* with a leopard passant *or*." The grant to King's followed this grant word for word, except that three roses *argent* were substituted for the same number of lily-flowers ; the symbolism was the same in both.[1]

The most curious fact, however, connected with these grants is, that both Colleges had been using Arms for several years before the date of the King's charters (1 January 1449). On the original seal of King's College there is a shield bearing on the field a crozier issuing out of a mitre between two lily-flowers ; on the seal which was in use at Eton during Waynflete's Provostship there is a shield with Arms exactly corresponding with those subsequently sanctioned by the Founder.[2]

in both cases with an erroneous date, 1444.

[1] Both these grants are printed in Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 47, 362.

[2] See the woodcut on page 15 above.

Thus the College at Cambridge at one time bore the emblems of its joint patrons—the lilies of the Blessed Virgin and the episcopal ornaments of St. Nicholas ; while the College at Eton, which was dedicated to the former alone, bore her lilies only.[1]

The early shield of King's must have been more pleasing to churchmen than to heralds, who were then still favourable to simple bearings. Its obvious want of symmetry was probably the reason of its being abandoned, and the three roses substituted. But with the mitre and crozier vanished also the whole symbolism of the patron Saints, and a new meaning had to be discovered for the Eton lily-flowers as well as for the Cambridge roses. Both were therefore declared in the grants to be emblematical of bright flowers of learning.

This fact of the Eton Arms having been in use before the formal grant in 1449, which was more than two years after Waynflete's resignation of the Provostship, will explain his adoption of the lilies on a chief of augmentation to his paternal shield. He gave his own Arms to his great foundation at Oxford, and the Eton lilies may consequently still be seen at Magdalen College, Oxford.[2] Arms were also granted as signs of gentility (*nobilitatis*) to the masters of the works, or architects, of the sister Colleges at Eton and Cambridge. The surname of Roger Keys of Eton was provocative of "canting" heraldry, and three *keys* were accordingly assigned to him and his brother.[3] Nicholas Close of Cambridge came in for a combination of the lilies of Eton and the roses of King's.[4]

Although the two Colleges were so intimately associated in the mind of their royal Founder, he did not neglect to make provision for such Scholars of Eton as could not go to King's.

[1] It should be remarked that the charges on the Eton shield in the grant of Arms, and on the original seal, are lily-flowers (*liliorum flores*) without stalks or leaves.

[2] Chandler's *Life of Waynflete*, p. 30. In some of the carved panels in the Hall at Magdalen College, the added chief is carried not only over Waynflete's paternal Arms on the sinister half of an impaled shield, but also over the Arms of the see of Winchester on the dexter half.

[3] Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, p. 49.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 364. The charges on the chevron have been generally misdescribed as 'passion-nails.'

In 1442, he arranged that five of them studying in the University of Oxford should receive weekly allowances of 10*d.* apiece; and in 1448 he transferred the management and patronage of King's Hall, Cambridge, to the Provosts of King's and Eton jointly, with a view to their peopling it with Etonians.[1]

Eton College had occasion to seek further bulls from the successors of Eugenius the Fourth in the papal see. Nicholas the Fifth granted a confirmation of various privileges,[2] and furthermore authorized the Provost to depute three priests of the College to hear confessions on the different festivals of the Blessed Virgin, with power to commute acts of penance, except vows of pilgrimage to Rome or to Santiago de Compostella.[3] Pius the Second, however, was not so gracious. He did, indeed, confirm the Indulgences accorded to pilgrims who visited Eton at the feast of the Assumption; but he hampered this concession with restrictions which rendered it almost valueless. Disregarding the terms of the latest bull of Eugenius the Fourth, he reverted to the earlier form, and stipulated that three fourths of the offerings of the penitents should be devoted to the defence of Christendom.[4] Curiously enough, the members of the College seem to have received the bull with pleasure, and they caused an account of its contents to be hung up in the Church for the information of visitors.[5] Nevertheless the number of pilgrims declined rapidly, and the feast of the Assumption became merely the occasion of a solemn function in the Church, and of a grand dinner in the Hall, for which an additional sum of 4*l.* or 5*l.* was allowed year after year down to the time of Edward the Sixth.[6]

[1] Patent Rolls, 20 Hen. VI. part 1, m. 5; 26 Hen. VI. part 1, m. 12.

[2] Bull at Eton, dated 12 Kalends of May, 1447; "*In denariis liberatis et solutis per Nicholaum Wyllughby cuidam nuncio misso Rome pro magna carta confirmationis possessionum et privilegiorum Collegii per Nicholaum ex gratia divina Papam facta et concessa*, x*l.*" Audit Roll, 1448—1449.

[3] Bull, dated Kalends of June, 1450.

[4] Bull, dated 30 November, 1459.

[5] "*Pro scriptura rotulorum indulgentiarum*, vjs. viij*d.* *Et pro factura unius casule pro dicto rotulo ad pendendum in ecclesia*, ijs. . . . *In regardo dato nuncio domini regis portanti bullam de indulgentiis*, xx*s.*" Audit Book, 1459—1460.

[6] Audit Rolls and Books, *passim*.

One of the earliest Fellows of Eton, William Weye, was not satisfied with the ordinary routine of college life, and undertook at least three journeys for the benefit of his soul. His description of the countries which he visited forms a most interesting volume, highly characteristic of the author and the age in which he lived.[1] The first pilgrimage of which he has left any account was directed to the popular shrine of Santiago de Compostella, and was duly performed in 1456. His next journey was likely to be more adventurous, and his absence from Eton so long that it might have entailed the loss of his Fellowship. Henry the Sixth, however, took precautions against a strict enforcement of the statutes, and wrote a letter mentioning Weye's desire "to passe overe the see on peregrinage, as to Rome, to Jerusalem, and to other holy places, and so humbly hath he soughte us to graunt unto hym our especial licence so to doo; we, having tendre consideracion unto his blessed purpos and entent, have licencied hym to execute his said peregrinage, and wol that at suche tyme as he schal retourne unto our College that he be accepted there as a Felawe of the same, in like wyse and fourme as he now stondeth therin, and that the yerely pension with other deutes growyng unto hym during his seid peregrinage, within our said College, be observed oonly, and kept to his propre use unto his said retournyng."[2]

Weye started in 1458, and the line of his itinerary to Rome may be traced through Calais, Ghent, Mechlin, Aachen, Coblentz, Worms, Bruchsal, Ulm, Hesterwang, Meran, Trent, Verona, Mirandola, Bologna, Florence, Siena, and Viterbo. From Rome he turned northwards, but by a different road, through Terni, Spoleto, Assisi, Perugia, and Ravenna, whence he went by sea to Venice. From that great port he sailed by Corfu, Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus to Jaffa, a town which he believed to be so called after its founder, Japhet. Although he stayed only thirteen days in Palestine, he managed to see Bethlehem, Jericho, and most of the Holy Places. There were no less than

[1] *The Itineraries of William Weye*, printed for the Roxburghe Club.

[2] 11 August [1457]. Register, vol. i. f. 46.

twenty-seven English pilgrims at Jerusalem, and Weye seems to have celebrated mass before them and preached to them in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[1] That wonderful building was then, as now, the scene of perpetual strife between the members of conflicting sects, of whom Weye enumerates no less than twelve. He retraced his steps pretty closely, only omitting his *détour* to Rome ; and he got back to Eton within thirty-nine weeks from the time of his departure.

Weye must have been well pleased with this pilgrimage, for he undertook another in 1462, at the mature age of seventy. On this journey, he was obliged to make two departures from the direct road to Venice, first by going from Maestricht to Trier and Metz, in order to keep out of the way of a war which was raging on the Rhine between two bishops, and again by going from Basel to Meran by Constance, Landeck, and Nauders, so as not to set foot in the Austrian dominions, which then lay under a Papal Interdict. From Trent he took the beautiful road to Venice through Pergine and Bassano. Being fortunate enough to reach Venice in time for the festival of St. Mark, he was struck with wonder at the gorgeous ceremonial of that day. His account of it is a more valuable contribution to history than his minute enumeration of the localities and relics which he saw in the Holy Land. Not the least interesting part of Weye's book consists of practical advice to future travellers, including a phrase-book of Greek and English, and a table of foreign exchanges. He also made a map of the Holy Land, though not from personal observation. His book abounds in examples of *memoria technica* which would now be repudiated by most Eton boys.

The exact date at which Weye resigned his Fellowship is not certain, although he may have done so in consequence of the troubles under Edward the Fourth. All we know is, that he adopted the rule of St. Augustine and died a regular canon of Edington in 1476. He gave several relics to that house, and doubtless also to Eton. Some plate is mentioned in old inventories as having been presented by him, and there are still

[1] Boase's *Registrum Collegii Exoniensis*, (ed. 1894) pp. 36, 369.

three manuscripts in the College Library, which appear to have belonged to him.[1]

John Blakman, who was a Fellow of Eton from 1446 to 1453, and perhaps longer, was also an author in a small way. He left in order to undertake the Mastership of King's Hall at Cambridge, but he resigned that place ere long, a certain Richard Scrope being appointed to succeed him in June 1457.[2] Blakman seems to have ended his days as a Carthusian monk at Witham in Somersetshire. In his account of Henry the Sixth, he makes mention of the deep interest which that prince took in everything that concerned his foundation. In selecting Fellows we are told that he looked more to their learning than to their musical acquirements. The Founder, who had provided so liberally for the fabric of the College, was also as anxious to secure the best "living stones." Whenever he met any of the scholars in Windsor Castle, on a visit to members of his retinue, he used to exhort them to follow the path of virtue. He usually added a small present of money, saying:—"Be good boys, meek and docile, and servants of the Lord." On the other hand, he did not encourage their presence there, dreading the effect on their morals of the vicious example of his courtiers.[3]

Within ten years of the opening of the School, the educational advantages that it offered to poor and needy boys had come to be known far and wide. At the Election of 1453, when fifteen candidates were admitted to fill actual vacancies on the foundation, no less than sixty-five others were "elected" for possible admission to vacancies that might occur in the course of the next twelvemonth. It is impossible to ascertain the number of townsmen of Windsor and Eton and others who availed themselves of the Founder's offer of free instruction for their sons.

John Peyntor, of King's College, who was appointed Master in 1458, in succession to Clement Smyth, deserves mention as the first Etonian who returned to his old school in that capacity. Most of the early Masters there came from Oxford; many of them were also Wykehamists.

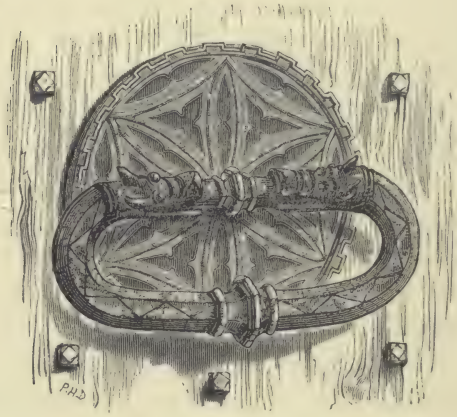
[1] James's *Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of Eton College*, pp. 21, 25, 39.

[2] Register, vol. i. f. 44.

[3] Hearne's *Otterbourne*, &c. vol. i. p. 296.

This account of Eton College during the reign of its Founder may fitly close with mention of the joy with which its members received "two messengers coming from our Lady the Queen to inform the College of the birth of a prince."[1] Yet this very event, which seemed so auspicious at the moment, is said to have been the immediate cause of the civil war which ensued. The Duke of York, finding himself debarred from even the reversion of the Crown, aspired to becoming king without waiting for the death of Henry the Sixth.

[1] "*In regardo dato ij nunciis venientibus a domina Regina ad certificandum Collegium de nativitate principis*, xiij*s.* iiij*d.*" Audit Roll, 1452—1453.



Iron Door-handle in the Gallery.



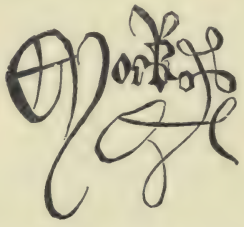

## 1461—1482.

Success of the Yorkist Party—Attempted Suppression of Eton College—The Struggle for Existence—Death of Henry VI.—Earl Rivers—The College Seal—Completion of the Church—Definite Re-establishment of the College—Death of Westbury—William Paston—Provost Bost and Jane Shore—Funeral of Edward IV.

THE news of the rout of the Lancastrian forces at Mortimer's Cross, and of the subsequent failure of Queen Margaret's attempt to enter London, in February 1461, must have caused the utmost consternation at Eton. Although the members of the College had not taken up arms for the Founder, and could hardly be brought to trial for having acknowledged him as their king, they had every reason to anticipate trouble, individually and collectively. They therefore acted with more discretion than valour, in at once submitting themselves to the chief of the victorious faction. One or more of them went to meet the young Duke of York on his march towards London, and obtained from him a written promise of protection, which may now be seen in one of the glass cases in the Library. Although dated at London, on the 27th of February, it was probably signed in the suburbs, as historians state that the Duke of York did not enter his future capital until the following day. The autograph signature is interesting, as being one which could have

been used only during the few weeks that elapsed between Edward's succession to the dukedom of York, and his assumption of the crown of England.

"Be it knowen that We, Edward by the grace of God of Englande, Fraunce, and Irlande vray and just heire, Duc of York, Erl of the March and Ulvestre, have by thees our lettres taken and receyved the Provoste and felaship of the Collage of Eyton into our defense and saveguard. Therfor We desir and pray al thoos persouns to whom theese our lettres shal bee shewed, and evry of tham, that thay ne noon of tham hurte, trouble, ne vexe the said Provost or felaship, their tenaunts or servaunts, neithre tham in their lyveloods, goods, or catalls, robbe despoyle ner vexe otherwise than by ryght lawe and good conscience be, ev thay wol have our good lordeship. Geven undre our signet at London, the xxvij day of Feverer, the yere of our Lord mcccclx."



Any feelings of security inspired by this document must have been rudely disturbed by the proceedings of the Parliament in November, which pronounced the grants of the three Lancastrian Kings null and void. Many exceptions were made to this sweeping enactment, but Eton was not specifically mentioned among them.[1] The new King so far kept his word that, a year after his accession, he exempted the College from all fines, scutages, and the like, and re-granted to it many of its estates.[2] He bestowed the remainder on other foundations, apparently without any definite guiding principle.[3] As time went on, Edward's jealousy of Henry the Sixth increased, and he resolved to discredit everything that could redound to the fame of his

[1] *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. v. pp. 463—475.

[2] *Ibid.*; Patent Roll, 1 Edw. IV. part 3, m. 24.

[3] Dugdale's *Monasticon*, under the account of the Alien Priories in vol. vi. Patent Rolls, *passim*.

rival. Personal predilections may in some cases have combined with statecraft in influencing his actions. If he was "enclined more to the advauncement of vaine pompe, to feede the sence, then to the promotion of verie vertue," he must certainly have felt more interest in the "canons, vicares, singing-men, organists, and choristers" of his own chapel than in the poor scholars and bedesmen of Eton.[1] Anyhow, he conceived the idea of entirely suppressing the noble institution which Henry the Sixth had founded "for the increase of learning," and of annexing it to St. George's at Windsor. With this object, he represented to the Pope that the buildings at Eton were incomplete, and the College unlikely to be of any use, which was obviously true, inasmuch as he himself had cut off its principal sources of revenue. Pius the Second had no special interest in the matter, and readily granted a bull abolishing the very name of Eton College. He made provision, however, for the vested rights of the existing members of the disestablished body, by transferring them to Windsor, on an equal footing with persons holding analogous positions there. The site of the College, moreover, being consecrated ground, was not to be turned to profane uses.[2] The Dean and Chapter of Windsor naturally offered no opposition to the King's scheme, and paid his proctor at Rome handsomely for his trouble on their behalf.[3] The Bull of Union was issued on the 13th of November 1463, but it is not clear how soon it took effect, if, indeed, it ever took effect at all. This is the most obscure, as well as the most melancholy page in the history of Eton; but it is relieved by one memorable proceeding.

On the 15th of July 1465, Provost Westbury proceeded to St. Martin's-le-Grand in London, and there, in the presence of a notary-public, issued two documents, one addressed to his fellow-countrymen, the other to the Pope. In the latter he declared solemnly that he had been lawfully elected, and was in full and undisputed possession of the Provostship; that he was a man of good position, of blameless reputation, and of honest

[1] Lambarde's *Dictionarium Angliæ*, pp. 421—422.

[2] *Sloane MS.* 4840, f. 220.

[3] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 57, quoting Windsor MS.

life, not suffering under suspension, excommunication, or interdict, or accused of any notorious offence ; but that, having reason to anticipate some sort of molestation, he desired the special protection of the supreme pontiff.[1] It is worthy of remark that, throughout this appeal, he made no specific reference to the recent Bull of Union. In the other document, Westbury went over some of the same ground, but added a formal protest to the effect that he had never consented, and never would consent, to the suppression of Eton College ; and that if he had ever appeared to consent to such a proceeding, his conduct must be ascribed to cowardice—a weakness, which sometimes betrays the most constant men.[2]

These protests were probably inspired by Bishop Waynflete, who had himself made one of a similar character, when anticipating danger from the Yorkist party in 1451.[3] Waynflete had been able to assist Westbury in many cases of difficulty concerning the College, though his own personal influence at Court had declined since the deposition of his patron, Henry the Sixth. He had held the office of Chancellor until a few days before the disastrous battle of Northampton, and he was consequently regarded with some distrust by Edward the Fourth. Nevertheless, as Bishop of Winchester, he was still an important personage, and we may probably ascribe the eventual preservation of Eton to his unceasing exertions.

The Chapter of Windsor took steps to counteract the effect of Westbury's protest, and sent the Dean and one of the Canons to London for eleven days to conduct negotiations on their behalf. They were so far successful as to obtain a letter from the King, ordering the removal of the jewels, bells, and other furniture, from Eton, and giving instructions as to the future status of the members of the College.[4] A long list of the goods

[1] Muniment Room, drawer 46, no. 9.

[2] *Ibid.* drawer 48, no. 11.

[3] Chandler's *Life of Waynflete.*

[4] "*Solutum domino Willelmo Hermer, Canonico, pro expensis suis misso per Capitulum cum domino Decano London pro materia unionis in mense Augusti anno Edwardi iiij^to^ v^to^ expectando ibidem a xvj^to^ die Augusti usque xxvj^m^ diem ejusdem mensis inclusive, viz. per xj^m^ dies, capiendo per diem ijs. iiijd.*, xxvs. viijd.

"*Et solutum dicto domino Willelmo Hermer, Canonico, pro adquisitione unius brevis missi a domino Rege Decano et Canonicis pro trans-*

which were sent up to the Castle in 1465 is still preserved at Eton. The amalgamation of the two bodies, however, can never have been complete, as their accounts were always kept separate. Unfortunately, while the series of rolls at Windsor of this period is tolerably perfect, many of the Eton rolls are missing.

The earliest roll at Eton belonging to the reign of Edward the Fourth exhibits a sad contrast to those of the later years of King Henry. The College revenues, which had once amounted to some 1500*l.* a year, had, by 1468, sunk to 370*l.*, a sum which was utterly inadequate to defray the necessary expenses. The prospect must have been gloomy indeed. As the College could not run into debt, when its own future existence was at stake, a policy of retrenchment had to be adopted. The bedesmen were abolished, the number of Scholars was considerably reduced, and vacant Fellowships were not filled up. But even these modifications of the original foundation did not prove sufficient. The commons at every table in hall had to be reduced in value as well as in number, so as to bring them down to 3*l.* 10*s.* a week, instead of 7*l.* as before. In 1468, the Provost and Fellows did not receive any stipends whatever. The Schoolmaster and the Usher, being hired, could of course claim as creditors, but even they submitted to a considerable diminution of their salaries, viz. from 16*l.* and 10 marks to 10*l.* and 4*l.* respectively.[1] At this lower scale the remuneration of these officers remained fixed until the reign of Edward the Sixth.

The School in 1468 was for the second time under the management of Clement Smyth, who had resigned his first tenure of the Mastership on being elected a Fellow of Eton in 1458. He must have had a decided taste for teaching, as he vacated his Fellowship in 1464 in order to accept the post of Master at Winchester.[2] When Eton was in a critical position two years later, he generously came back to his original duties there at the inferior salary; so that he well deserved the

*latione jocalium, campanarum, et stabilimento presbiterorum, clericorum, et puerorum*, ij*s.* iiij*d.*" Marked "*pro Eton*," in the margin of a roll in the Muniment Room of the Dean and Chapter of St. George's, Windsor.

[1] Audit Roll, 1467—1468.

[2] *Registrum Regale*; Kirby's *Annals of Winchester*, p. 213.

prebendal stall at Windsor which was shortly afterwards bestowed upon him.[1] Of his successor in the Mastership of Eton, Walter Barber, nothing is recorded, except that he was the father of a certain "Walter the Hermit."[2] By the date at which Clement Smyth ultimately left Eton, 1469, the state of affairs had improved considerably. The King had, somehow, been induced to abandon his project of annexing the College to St. George's, and the regular elections to King's had been resumed. The Provost and Fellows, too, received the arrears of their stipends, though at a lower rate than that ordered by the Founder. The yearly allowance in money to the Provost was 20*l.* instead of 50*l.*, and that to each of the Fellows 5*l.* instead of 10*l.*[3] Some tapestry was also removed from St. George's at the expense of the College.[4]

Nevertheless the College revenues recovered but slowly. The number of Fellowships, which had sunk from ten to four, was only gradually raised to seven in the following reign ; and the spoliation committed by Edward the Fourth was, in each of the next two centuries, pronounced to be a valid excuse for the permanent suppression of the three remaining places.

How Eton recovered the King's favour is not recorded ; but Provost Westbury was frequently in London on business. It may have been from a sense of gratitude for favours received that the poor College made various small presents, generally consisting of fish, to powerful nobles and prelates. Among the recipients, occurs the name of George Nevill, the time-serving Archbishop of York, brother of the famous 'King-maker.'[5] In July 1467, Edward the Fourth restored to Eton a portion of its former landed possessions ;[6] but on the very next day he bestowed some of the estates of King's College on his favourite clergy at Windsor.[7] Finally, he directed his agents at Rome to explain that he had been misinformed about the state of affairs

[1] Le Neve's *Fasti*, vol. iii. p. 388.

[2] Annotated Register of Scholars at King's College, Cambridge.

[3] Audit Rolls, *passim*.

[4] *Ibid.* 1468—1469. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 406.)

[5] "*In exennio dato domino Archiepiscopo Eboracensi, viz. j dentrice et truta, vs. ijd.*" Audit Roll, 1469—1470.

[6] Patent Roll, 7 Edw. IV. part 3, m. 13.

[7] Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 1358. The Dean and Chapter had some trouble in the matter. Their roll of accounts for the year records

at Eton, and to beg for the revocation of the Bull of Union. Cardinal Barbo, who, as we have seen, had been engaged in the negotiations concerning the foundation of the College,[1] was now Pope, under the title of Paul the Second. He proved quite willing to reverse the decree of Pius the Second; but, being anxious that there should be no further disputes in the matter, he gave full power to the Archbishop of Canterbury to enquire into the facts of the case, and only to cancel the Bull of Union if the King's later statements should turn out more correct than the earlier.[2]

This was a signal triumph for Provost Westbury, who caused two copies of the new bull to be transcribed,[3] and went up to London several times on the matter. As he had not yet actually recovered possession of St. James's Hospital, the College used to pay the rent of his lodgings at Queenhithe, near the Tower.[4] During his stay there, he was constantly engaged in consultation with "doctors of law, notaries, proctors, and scribes" with respect to the bulls, and also with respect to the enrolment of a royal writ for securing the College against molestation.[5]

It was at this period that Henry the Sixth was restored to the throne, but only for a few months. Edward the Fourth was King both at the opening and at the close of the Eton financial year which ended at Michaelmas 1471. The Bursars of that

a payment "*Johanni Cateshy, servienti ad legem, pro consilio suo habendo in materiis de Chesynbery, Querle, Uphaven, et materia Johannis Gardyn*, vjs. viij*d.*"

[1] Page 7 above.

[2] The decree of Cardinal Bourchier, of 30 August 1476, recites this Commission of Paul II. which is dated 1470.

[3] "*Pro scriptura ij copiarum bulle nuper obtente et directe domino Cardinali*, vjs. viij*d.*" Bursars' Roll, 1469—1470.

[4] "*Pro redditu domus Magistri Prepositi London apud Quenehythe pro iij terminis, ad xvs. per terminum*, xlvs." Audit Roll, 1469—1470.

[5] "*Pro j breve de non molestando directo Thesaurario et Baronibus pro diversis maneriis Collegii anno vij Edwardi concessis*, vijs. x*d.* *Et pro irrotulatione ejusdem brevis in scaccario Regis, eadem vice*, ivs." *Ibid.* 1469—1470. Memoranda Roll, Exchequer K. R. 9 Edw. IV. m. 14. "*In regardis datis et expensis adhuc circa doctores in jure, notarios, procuratores, et scribas, pro execucione unius bulle apostolice directe domino Cardinali Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi*, ivl. xixs. *Et in expensis et regardis datis diversis doctoribus et notariis pro expedicione ejusdem bulle Apostolice concernentis separationem Collegii nostri de Eton a Collegio Sancti Georgii de Wynasor, mensibus Novembris et Decembris*, xivl. xjs. vj*d.*" Audit Roll, 1470—1471.

year, therefore, acted wisely in omitting from their accounts any direct allusion to the important political changes that had occurred during their tenure of office. To them Henry the Sixth and Edward the Fourth were equally "our Lord the King." Yet it is interesting to observe that the former did not neglect his own foundation during his short restoration to power, for he must certainly have been the king who sent a messenger to the College on the morrow of Christmas 1470.[1] An indirect memorial of the Lancastrian success may also be found in the record of a present of fish given to Edmund Beaufort, styled "Duke of Somerset," and John Courtenay, styled "Earl of Devon," [2] two nobles whose titles had been forfeited by Edward the Fourth. Westbury went to London to watch the interests of the College during the short session of Parliament in which Edward was denounced as a traitor and usurper.[3] He also went to see the Founder once more a few weeks later, but if he saw him it was only as a corpse. The entry in the Eton Audit Roll recording his visit to London on the morrow of Ascension Day 1471, that is to say on the 24th of May, is interesting, and suffices to confute the theory that the royal prisoner lived on into the month of June :—

"*In expensis Magistri Prepositi equitantis London in crastino Ascensionis Domini pro exequiis Regis Henrici*, vj*l.* vij*s.* ix*d.*"

This quite confirms the statement in Fabyan :—[4]

> "Then upon Assencion Even next ensuing, the corpse of Henry the Sixt late Kyng, was brought unreverently from the Towre, thorowe the high streates of the Citie, unto Paules Churche, and there left there that night, and upon the morowe conveighed with gleves[5] and other weapons, as he before thither was brought, unto Chertessey, and there was buried. Of the death of this prince divers tales wer told. But the most common fame went, that he was stricken with a dagger, by the handes of the Duke of Gloceter."

[1] "*In regardo dato nuncio domini Regis per Magistrum Prepositum in die Sancti Johannis Evangeliste*, iij*s.* iv*d.*" Audit Roll, 1470—1471.

[2] "*In exennio dato Duci Somerset et Comiti Devonie, viz. in piscibus salsis*," &c. *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 505.

[5] Glaive, "a weapon composed of a long cutting blade at the end of a lance." Halliwell's *Dictionary*, p. 402.

The anonymous chronicler in Leland is even more precise in his account :—

> "The same night beyng the 21 day of May and Tuesday at night betwixt xi and xii of the Clok, was King Henry, being prisoner yn the Tourre, put to deth ; the Duke of Glocestre, and dyverse other, beyng there that night. And in the morow he was brought to S. Paulis Chirch in London in a cophyn, and there lay open facid and bledde, and thens caryid to the Blake Frerers in London and ther bled. And thens to Chirtesay Abbay yn a bote, and there was byried in our Lady Chapel."[1]

Any sorrow for the Founder's death, or horror at his supposed murder, which Westbury may have felt, had to be disguised when Edward the Fourth and his queen visited Eton in the second week of July. Their retinue on this occasion comprised about thirty persons, but they came again the very next week with about a hundred attendants ; on a third visit, in the month of September, they brought one or more foreign ambassadors in their suite.[2] These frequent visits indicate that the Yorkist King had begun to take some personal interest in the College, and he seems to have ordered a boat to be kept for his use at Eton.[3] The relations between the clergy at the Castle and those at Eton were, by this time, sufficiently amicable to allow of the latter giving a present of fish to the Dean of Windsor.[4] But Westbury did not relax his efforts to make his opponents disgorge their late acquisitions, and he succeeded in obtaining a letter under the Privy Seal, ordering the restitution of the College goods.[5] By virtue of this order,

[1] *Collectanea*, vol. ii. p. 507. Compare Warkworth's Chronicle and other narratives. For the subsequent removal of King Henry's bones see the Appendix to Stanley's *Westminster Abbey*.

[2] "*Pro vino expenso circa dominum Regem et Reginam et eorum familiares et alios venientes per iij vices ad Collegium*, xxvs. ijd." Bursars' Roll, 1470—1471.

[3] "*Pro cimba Regis et iij remis emptis pro domino Rege, ultra xl*s. *solutos per dictum dominum Regem*, xixs. ivd. *Et pro j corda empta ad trahendum dictam cimbam London Etone*, vjd. *Et pro deductione dicte cimbe London ad Collegium*, iijs. jd." Bursars' Roll, undated, probably 12 Edw. IV.

[4] "*In exennio dato per Magistrum Prepositum Decano de Windsor viz. j truta et j dentrice*." Audit Roll, 1470—1471.

[5] *Ibid.*

the bells were removed from St. George's, and re-hung in their original places at Eton. A number of copes and other vestments were also restored or given to the College in 1471.[1]

Eton certainly had powerful friends at Court in the members of the Queen's family, who were popularly accused of exercising an undue influence over Edward the Fourth. Her eldest brother Anthony, Earl Rivers, was a distinguished patron of literature and of learned men, especially of William Caxton, the printer. He evinced a warm interest in the fortunes of the College, and procured for it a fresh grant of the tenement called "*the Crane*" in the Vintry, in the City of London. In consideration of the services which he had performed, the Provost and Fellows bound themselves and their successors to "cause a masse dayly to be seid within the Churche of the seid College, at the auter of our Lady," at a quarter past seven in the morning. It was specially provided that sixty "knolles, or strokes," should daily be sounded "with a grete belle in the seid College nye afore the beginnyng of the seide masse, so that wel disposed people may have knowledge to come to the seide mass." The chaplain who performed the service was instructed to pray for "oure soveraine lorde Kyng Edwarde the iiijth, our soveraine lady Quene Elisabeth, the prince their sonne, and the lords and ladyes his bredren and sistren, the said Erle Ryvers and alle his bredren and sistren," his father, and his mother the well-known Jaquinet of Luxemburg, and other relations. In addition to this daily mass, the College undertook to keep a solemn anniversary for Lord Rivers and his family, on the 30th of October.[2] This arrangement was made some eight years before the death of Lord Rivers, and the mass and obit were kept up until the reign of Edward the Sixth. Another mass founded about the same time by John Bonor, one of the Fellows, eventually shared the same fate.[3]

An entry upon the cover of the earliest register book at

[1] Audit Roll, 1470—1471. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 406.)

[2] 29 May, 15 Edw. IV. Register, vol. i. ff. 154—156.

[3] *Ibid.* and Audit Books, *passim.*

Eton, to the effect that on the 4th of March 1474, the College seal was broken, and a new one adopted, in the presence of the Provost and Fellows, has already been noticed by Carlisle; but the reason for this proceeding has escaped observation.[1] A comparison of the original seal with that adopted in 1474, and still in use, will show that the change was made on political grounds. The former is in every way the more elaborate and beautiful of the two; but it contains a figure of Henry the



Seal of Eton College.

Sixth as King, and as Founder of the College, which doubtless gave offence to the Yorkists.[2] It was therefore omitted from the second seal, and the distinctive supporters of Edward the Fourth were placed on each side of the Arms of France and England. The cause of the Red Rose may, indeed, have appeared hopeless, or even unjust; but this deliberate slight on the memory of "the meek usurper" does little credit to

[1] *Grammar Schools*, vol. i.

[2] Impressions of the original seal are very scarce. There is one, somewhat blurred, in the British Museum, *Add. Charter* 7210; and another, clearer but very imperfect, at Dunster Castle. The woodcut on page 15 has been made from a comparison of these two impressions. A third has lately been found at Eton. The description in Birch's *Catalogue of Seals* is not accurate.

men who had been recipients of his bounty. While the boldness of Westbury's protest against the suppression of the College has earned for him the name of "the Camillus of Eton,"[1] a closer examination of his conduct must prevent our accepting him as a hero.

At one time it seemed as though the subserviency of its principal members would hardly save Eton from destruction; for, in May 1474, Edward the Fourth granted to the Dean and Chapter of Windsor many of the lands which he had himself given, or confirmed, to Eton seven years previously.[2] This grant, however, does not appear to have taken effect.[3] The King may have made it under some temporary fit of resentment, or by error. Indeed, it is difficult to account for the inconsistent manner in which he alternately gave and took away the Eton endowments.[4] One of the properties which changed hands several times during his reign was the Alien Priory of West Sherborne in Hampshire. Before it was finally taken away from Eton, loud complaints were raised against the conduct of the Provost and Fellows, who had ejected the Prior and monks, and had carried off all the jewels, relics, ornaments, and charters. Their chief offence, however, was said to consist in allowing "horses and cartes dayly to goo uppon the sepultures of Cristen people in gret nombre buried in the chirch there, whereof moo than xxx sumtyme were worshipfull barons, knyghtes, and squyers," and in putting a stop to the prayers for the founder, Henry du Port, and his family. A vote of Parliament was accordingly passed in 1475, compelling the College to maintain a priest at West Sherborne for the due performance of the offices for the dead.[5]

The building of the new Collegiate Church of Eton appears to have been resumed in 1469, under the auspices of Bishop Waynflete, to whom the Provost made several visits, "in order to begin the works at the Church," and "to obtain money" for

[1] Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 9.

[2] Patent Roll, 14 Edw. IV. p. 1, m. 1, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi. p. 1359.

[3] Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*.

[4] See the accounts of various Alien Priories in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi.

[5] *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. vi. p. 143.

them.[1] The King instructed the Constable of Windsor Castle to allow the Provost and Fellows to dig so much chalk and flint as should be necessary in the park :[2] but we do not know of any further assistance being given. Leland explicitly states that a considerable portion of the buildings of Eton College, left imperfect by King Henry, was finished at the expense of Waynflete.[3] The audit rolls fully corroborate this, and show that the College used to send to the Bishop for money several times in every year. Waynflete's generosity towards Eton is the more remarkable in that there he was only carrying out the scheme of another, whereas Magdalen College at Oxford, and the school at his birthplace in Lincolnshire, were his own foundations. All contracts for building materials at this period seem to have been made in his name. One of them, dated in 1479, was with a mason named William Orchyard, for a supply of the best stone to be raised in the well-known quarry at Headington, near Oxford ; and, later on, we find the Vice-Principal of Magdalen entering the stone for the two Colleges on the same account.[4]

No building accounts of the time of Edward the Fourth have been preserved at Eton ; but it appears from the audit rolls that one of the Fellows named Wyther acted as overseer, or possibly architect. The very walls of the Church bear evidence of the exact stage at which Waynflete resumed the incomplete work. An irregularity in the mouldings round the curved head of the great east window, which is noticeable from without as well as from within, seems to show that Waynflete, anxious to see the work finished, made use of stones which had been prepared for an arch of smaller span.[5] A wooden roof was also constructed over the choir ; but, probably, only as a makeshift ; and it is to be hoped that a vaulted roof will some day be substituted for it.

When Waynflete undertook the completion of the buildings

[1] Audit Rolls, 1469, and 1469—1470. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 407.)

[2] Warrant in English dated 21 March 1472. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 408.)

[3] *Itinerarium*, vol. ix. p. 33.

[4] Chandler's *Life of Waynflete*, p. 154. Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 410.

[5] See the cut in Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 427.

at Eton, he must have been more than seventy years of age, and, as has been seen, he had other important works on hand. There was therefore no chance of his living long enough to be able to carry out the designs of Henry the Sixth in their entirety. Nor was there any prospect of a new patron coming forward with liberality equal to his own. Under these circumstances, it appeared wise to abandon the Founder's scheme of an enormous nave, and to substitute for it the smallest structure which would conveniently accommodate the parishioners. This, then, is the origin of the westernmost portion of the present building, formerly called the "nave," but now the "ante-chapel," which somewhat resembles the corresponding parts of the Chapels of New College, Winchester College, All Souls' College, and Magdalen College at Oxford. To an inexperienced eye the exterior of the ante-chapel appeared until lately the oldest piece of masonry at Eton, but this illusion was entirely owing to the nature of the Headington stone, which, under the influence of time, decays much more rapidly than the finer material of which the choir is principally composed.[1] When the interior of the building was undergoing restoration, some sixty years ago, traces were found of a lofty arch which had originally been designed to separate the choir from the nave. The present arch, and the window over it, were evidently erected in the reign of Edward the Fourth, and must be ranked among the least favourable examples of Perpendicular architecture. The organ-gallery now occupies the site of a wooden rood-loft, ordered by Bishop Waynflete, whose contract with a carver at Southwark, named Walter Nicholl, is preserved at Eton.[2] From this document it appears that the Bishop provided the necessary materials, and paid the carriage, so that Nicholl had only to find the labour, for which he was to receive 100 marks. Part of his work consisted in taking down the rood-loft and stalls in the old Church, which, it must be remembered, was at that time still standing in the cemetery on the southern side of the present building. Waynflete stipulated that the west side of the new rood-loft should be copied from that at Winchester College,

[1] The ante-chapel was refaced with Bath stone in 1877.

[2] Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 409, 596—598.



Chapel from the South East.

and the east side and the adjoining seats in the choir, from the corresponding woodwork in the church of St. Thomas of Acre in London. The agreement was made in August 1475, and Nicholl undertook to complete his work within two years. Notes of the successive instalments of money paid to him by the Provost are endorsed on the document.

The audit roll of 1476 shows that the new Church must then have been nearly finished, inasmuch as Bishop Waynflete's glazier came to Eton thrice to take measurements of the windows, and especially of the eastern window.[1] It is probable that the old Church was demolished in the course of the next three years, a period for which the rolls of accounts are unfortunately missing. Lead, presumably for the roof of the ante-chapel, was obtained from Derbyshire in 1482.[2]

Although the building of the Church was making such good progress, several other important matters were still in an unsatisfactory condition. There were but four Fellows ; the number of Scholars was still far below seventy ;[3] and there was no absolute security for the permanence of the College. Under these circumstances, the Provost was naturally anxious to obtain the benefit of the last papal bull ; and he sent the counsel of the College into Kent, to plead before the Archbishop of Canterbury.[4] Cardinal Bourchier, who then occupied that see, took a favourable view of the case, and finally pronounced judgement in favour of Eton, on the 30th of August 1476, requiring the Chapter of Windsor to abstain from any sort of molestation, under pain of the greater excommunication.[5] Three months later, Provost Westbury executed a receipt and release to Dean Courtenay, for all the goods which had been transferred to the Castle, but had since been restored.[6] It may here be noted that in May 1479, Pope Sixtus the Fourth renewed some of the Indulgences that had been granted to Eton by his predecessors.[7]

[1] Audit Roll, 1475—1476. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 408, 409.)

[2] Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 410, 411.

[3] Audit Roll, 1475—1476.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Bourchier's decision, adorned with an illumination of the Assumption of the Virgin, is in one of the glass cases in the Library at Eton. Huggett copied it. *Sloane MS.* 4840, f. 220.

[6] 30 November, 16 Edw. IV. Eton Register, vol. i. f. 106.

[7] Bull in Eton College Library, drawer A. 18, no. 19.

Westbury did not long survive the formal re-establishment of the College to which he had been attached, either as Master or as Provost, for upwards of thirty-three years, for he died in March 1477. He had successfully guided Eton through the greatest difficulties which beset its course during the first four centuries of its corporate existence ; and although he never saw the College restored to its former wealth and celebrity, he had at least the satisfaction of feeling that his exertions had not been fruitless. Westbury's funeral must have been one of the earliest that took place in the new Collegiate Church. His monumental brass has been destroyed, but the epitaph on it has been copied :—[1]

" *Nate Dei patris, anime miserere Wilhelmi*
*Westburi, cujus ossa sub hoc lapide*
*Condita sunt, natus erat et nutritus in Alford,*
*Wintonie juvenis grammaticam didicit,*
*Oxonie studuit, et in Artibus ille Magister,*
*Etone pueros grammaticam docuit.*
*Inde theologus est, hic functus Prepositura*
*Tolle decem menses lustra per integra sex,*
*Precedente die festum solenne beati*
*Gregorii [pape [2]] mortuus ille fuit.*
*M C quater fit L X bis septem superaddes* [3]
*Annus erat Domini. Salvet eum Dominus.*
*Amen.*"

These lines are a fair specimen of the style of Latin versification which then prevailed at one of the principal seats of learning in England, an epitaph to the memory of Richard Hopton, one of the Fellows, who died a few years later, being scarcely any better.[4] With such examples constantly before them, it would have been surprising indeed if the scholars had exhibited elegance, or even correctness, in their compositions.

[1] *Rawl. MS.* B. 267, in the Bodleian Library.

[2] This word may have been erased as objectionable in the middle of the sixteenth century.

[3] This means 1477—thus, $1000 + 100 \times 4 + 50 + 10 \times 2 + 7$. If we were to take the *bis* with the *septem* the date would be 1474.

[4] This is also given in *Rawl. MS.* B. 267.

A couplet occurs in a very curious letter written at Eton, in February 1479, by William Paston, a lad of nineteen, who, though not living in the College, was studying there under the direction of one of the Fellows. The letter runs thus :—[1]

"To his worshipful brother John Paston, be this delivered in haste.

"Right reverend and worshipful brother, after all duties of recommendation, I recommend me to you, desiring to hear of your prosperity and welfare, which I pray God long to continue to His pleasure and to your heart's desire ; letting you weet that I received a letter from you, in the which letter was 8*d.* with the which I should buy a pair of slippers.

"Furthermore, certifying you as for the 13*s.* 4*d.* which ye sent by a gentleman's man for my board, called Thomas Newton, was delivered to mine hostess, and so to my creanser [2] Mr. Thomas Stevenson ;[3] and he heartily recommended him to you. Also ye sent me word in the letter of 12 *lb.* figs and 8 *lb.* raisins. I have them not delivered, but I doubt not I shall have, for Alweder told me of them, and he said that they came after in another barge.

"And as for the young gentlewoman, I will certify you how I first fell in acquaintance with her. Her father is dead, there be two sisters of them ; the elder is just wedded, at the which wedding I was with mine hostess and also desired by the gentleman himself, called William Swan, whose dwelling is in Eton. So it fortuned that mine hostess reported on me otherwise than I was worthy ; so that her mother commanded her to make me good cheer, and so in good faith she did. She is not abiding where she is now, her dwelling is in London ; but her mother and she came to a place of hers

[1] *Paston Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 240—242. I have modernized the spelling, the original version being accessible in Mr. Gairdner's edition.

[2] The word 'creanser' is equivalent to the French '*créancier*,' and the Latin '*creditor*.' In this instance it denotes a tutor, as in the statutes of Magdalen College, Oxford, where it is enacted that the sons of noblemen and other wealthy persons shall be "*sub tutela et regimine creditorum vulgariter* creancers *nuncupatorum*." See also *New English Dictionary*.

[3] Thomas Stevenson, Fellow of Eton, elected 12 July 1479.

five miles from Eton where the wedding was, for because it was nigh to the gentleman which wedded her daughter ; and on Monday next coming—that is to say, the first Monday of Clean Lent—her mother and she will go to the pardon at Sheen,[1] and so forth to London, and there to abide in a place of hers in Bow Churchyard. And if it please you to enquire of her, her mother's name is Mistress Alborow, the name of the daughter is Margaret Alborow.

"The age of her is by all likelihood eighteen or nineteen years at the farthest. And as for the money and plate, it is ready whensoever she were wedded ; but as for the livelihood, I trow, not till after her mother's decease, but I cannot tell you for very certain, but you may know by enquiring. And as for her beauty, judge you that when you see her, if so be that ye take the labour, and specially behold her hands, for and if it be as is told me she is disposed to be thick.

"And as for my coming from Eton, I lack nothing but versifying, which I trust to have with a little continuance.

'*Quare, quomodo non valet hora, valet mora.*
*Unde di.*[2]
*Arbore jam videas exemplum. Non die possunt*
*Omnia suppleri, sed tamen illa mora.*'

"And these two verses aforesaid be of mine own making. No more to you at this time, but God have you in His keeping. Written at Eton, the Even of Saint Matthias the Apostle, in haste, with the hand of your brother,

"William Paston, Jun."

In another letter, which should perhaps be referred to the previous year, William Paston thanks his brother for a "noble in gold," which he had received, but says :—

"My creanser, Master Thomas, heartily recommended him to you, and he prayeth you to send him some money for my commons, for he saith ye be twenty shillings in his debt, for a month was to pay for when he had money last. Also I beseech you to send me a hose cloth, one for the holy days of some colour, and another for the working days (how coarse

[1] Co. Surrey.

[2] Probably *dico*, or *dictum est*. The first line appears to be the subject set by the Master, and the first word may stand for *Quære*.

soever it be it maketh no matter), and a stomacher, and two shirts, and a pair of slippers. And if it like you that I may come with Alweder by water, and sport me with you at London a day or two this term-time, then ye may let all this be till the time that I come, and then I will tell you when I shall be ready to come from Eton, by the grace of God, who have you in His keeping. Written the Saturday next after Allhallows Day, with the hand of your brother."[1]

Young Paston does not mention what his ordinary amusements were at Eton when he was not love-making; but it seems probable that he sometimes heard minstrels in the Hall.[2] In the absence of any positive statement, it is difficult to define the exact nature of the entertainments given there; but we know that the minstrels of the fifteenth century did not confine themselves to instrumental music. They were the singers, the actors, and the buffoons of the day. A company which sometimes performed at Eton had lately been constituted a corporate body by Edward the Fourth.[3] When a single minstrel in the service of Bishop Waynflete came to Eton, he probably enacted the part of jester and mimic.[4] There were yearly festivities in the Hall at Christmas and on certain days in the summer. A more exciting amusement was afforded to the boys by the exhibition of Lord Stanley's bears in the College.[5] There is no reason to doubt their having been baited there, as this pastime was not thought too cruel or too coarse for the eyes of Queen Elizabeth a century later.[6]

Soon after Westbury's death in 1477, the Fellows met in the Church in order to elect a new Provost, in conformity with the statutes.[7] The choice of a majority fell upon Thomas Barker, a

[1] *Paston Letters*, (ed. Gairdner) vol. iii. pp. 237, 238.

[2] "*In regardo dato ministrallis domini Regis per Magistrum Prepositum*, vj*s*. viij*d*." Audit Roll, undated, but evidently 1468—1469. "*Ministrallis domini Regis in festo Sancti Georgii*, vj*s*. viij*d*." Undated Roll, probably 1472—1473.

[3] See the *Essay on the Ancient Minstrels* in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. i. and Warton's *History of English Poetry*, (ed. Hazlitt) vol. ii. pp. 96—99.

[4] "*In regardo dato cuidam ministrallo domini Episcopi Wyntoniensis*." Audit Roll, 1484—1485.

[5] "*In regardo dato custodibus ursorum Domini Stanley per Magistrum Prepositum*, xij*d*." *Ibid.* 1482—1483.

[6] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, (ed. 1813) vol. ii. p. 285.

[7] Eton Register, vol. i.

former Vice-Provost, who was accordingly elected, in defiance of the wishes of the King. Barker, however, simplified matters by refusing the post, wisely enough, according to his epitaph :—

> "*Postea Prepositus electus, cessit honori*
> *Nolens : id meminit mors indignatio regum.*"[1]

The Fellows accordingly met again, and elected the King's nominee, Henry Bost, who had just been elected to a fifth Fellowship "to serve a turn," that is to say, for a qualification.

Bost already held the Provostship of Queen's College, Oxford, and the Mastership of King's Hall, Cambridge ; but he did not resign either of these preferments for some time.[2] His epitaph states that through his influence the wife of Edward the Fourth gave large sums to the College :—

> "*Illius auspiciis elemosyna conjugis uncti*
> *Edwardi Quarti larga pluebat opem.*"[3]

Eton tradition points him out rather as the confessor of Jane Shore, who could not with propriety be styled the *conjux* of the King. It is difficult to give any satisfactory account of three portraits to which the name of this unfortunate woman has been assigned. One of the two pictures of her at Eton shows only the head and shoulders of a beautiful woman ; the other represents the upper half of a naked figure standing by a bath, and holding a piece of transparent muslin in her hands. The third picture, which is at King's College, Cambridge, resembles the former. No direct evidence can be adduced in support of the tradition that Jane Shore pleaded the cause of Eton with her royal lover; but Sir Thomas More, in his interesting account of her life and character, says :—

> "Where the King toke displeasure, she would mitigate and appease his mind; where men were out of favour, she wold bring them in his grace; for many that had highly offended she obtained pardon; of great forfeitures she gate neu remission; and finally in many weighty sutes she stode many men in gret

[1] Epitaph at Eton, printed in Lipscomb's *History of Buckingham*, vol. iv. p. 489. The allusion is to *Proverbs* xvi. 14: "The wrath of kings is as messengers of death."

[2] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.*

[3] Brass in the ante-chapel, formerly in the choir.

stede. . . . At this daye she beggeth of many at this day living, that at this day had begged if shee had not bene." [1]

"Jane Shoar's picture" is mentioned in an inventory of goods at King's College, taken as far back as 1660.[2]

Bost was certainly acquainted with several members of the royal family. The young Prince of Wales visited the College in 1480, and Edward the Fourth was entertained there by the Provost in the month of January 1483.[3] This may have been the last occasion on which he came to Eton alive, as he died on the 9th of April at Westminster. His corpse lay in state for several days, and was then conveyed with great ceremony to Sion, and so, on the following day, to Windsor, attended by some of the principal nobles and bishops of the realm. The funeral car, drawn by six coursers, carried not only his embalmed body, under "a riche and large black cloth of gold, with a crosse of white clothe of gold," but also a lay-figure, or "personage like to the similitude to the King in habite roiall, crowned with the verray crown on his hed, holding in that one hande a sceptre, and in that other hand a balle of silver and gilte with a crospate." The procession halted at Eton, and was met by the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely, who came forward with the members of the College and censed the corpse,[4] while the bells were solemnly tolled.[5]

Skelton represents the spirit of Edward the Fourth lamenting over the transitory nature of this world and its joys :—

> "Where be my castels and buyldynges royall ?
> But Windsore alone, now I have no more,
> And of Eton the prayers perpetuall,
> *Et, ecce, nunc in pulvere dormio !*"

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[1] More's *Works*, (ed. 1557) pp. 56, 57.

[2] *Cambridge Antiquarian Communications*, vol. iv. p. 306. Sir George Scharf thought that Diane de Poitiers was the real subject of the portrait.

[3] Work was done "*erga adventum familie domini Principis.*" Audit Roll, 1479—1480. "*In vino, scilicet v lagenis, expenso in mense Januarii cum Rex E. 4^tus^ fuit in camera Magistri Prepositi*, iiij*s.* iiij*d.*" *Ibid.* 1482—1483.

[4] *Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 348; Gairdner's *Letters illustrative of the reign of Richard III.* vol. i. p. 7.

[5] "*In regardis datis xij personis pulsantibus erga corpus Regis E. 4^ti^ et continue per x dies singulis noctibus ad mandatum Magistri Prepositi*, vj*s* viij*d.*" Audit Roll, 1482—1483.




## 1483—1509.

Richard III. and Henry VII.—Death of Waynflete—Paintings in the Church—Mediæval Legends—Style of the Paintings—Restitution of Property—Altars and Images in the Church—Death of Dr. Bost—Election of Dr. Lupton—Distinguished Visitors.

THE reigns of Edward the Fifth and Richard the Third appear to have passed quietly enough at Eton. The Provost and one of the Fellows rode to London at the time of the coronation of the latter King,[1] and obtained from him a general pardon for the College.[2] Perhaps they would not have been so anxious to procure his portrait, which now hangs in the Election Chamber, if they could have foreseen the battle of Bosworth.

The union of the rival claims of the Houses of Lancaster and York seemed to promise a period of peace and prosperity for the College. Without giving any credence to the tradition that Henry the Seventh had himself been educated at Eton,[3] we may

[1] "*Pro expensis Magistri Wyther ad dominum Wintoniensem, London, tempore coronationis Regis Ricardi tertii, cum famulo*, xixs., *et pro expensis Magistri Prepositi apud Sanctum Jacobum, tempore coronationis Regis Ricardi tertii per vj dies*, xxxijs. xj*d. di.*" Audit Roll, 1482—1483.

[2] Preserved in a glass case in the Library at Eton.

[3] Sandford, who compiled his *Genealogical History* in the time of Charles II. is apparently the earliest authority for this story, which has been perpetuated in stained glass in the western window

easily imagine that he looked with favour on an institution in which his great-uncle and early patron had taken so warm an interest. A sign of the times may be noticed in the repair of a statue which the Bursars no longer scrupled to describe as that of "the most devout King Henry the Sixth, the Founder of the College."[1] Several persons who had been connected with Eton had by this time risen to high offices in the state, among whom may be specially noticed Rotherham, Archbishop of York, and Marshall, Bishop of Llandaff, a former Fellow. On the other hand, the College sustained a severe loss by the death of William Waynflete, who survived the restoration of his own party to power by only one year. However, he lived long enough to see the Church of Eton completed within as well as without.

The stalls which had been erected at Waynflete's expense in the choir were quite low, and not surmounted by canopies, so that there was a considerable interval between them and the string-course under the four western windows on either side. The idea of leaving large expanses of stone-work white and bare did not commend itself to mediæval architects, but of course the system of decoration adopted in different churches varied considerably. At Eton, it was resolved that the blank walls above the stalls should be painted with figure-subjects in the highest style of art then known in England. The whitewash applied in 1561, and the panelling erected in 1700, so effectually covered these paintings, that their very existence was quite forgotten until 1847. We shall hereafter have to describe the treatment which they received during the "restoration" of that year. Suffice it therefore to say, that it was not until after they had been dreadfully mutilated, that R. H. Essex, a skilful artist, was employed to make a series of pencil drawings from them,[2] and that what still remains of them is concealed from view by the canopies of the modern stalls.

of the Hall. In point of fact, Henry of Richmond spent many of his early years in Brittany. England would hardly have been a safe residence for him in the reign of Edward the Fourth or Richard the Third.

[1] Audit Roll, 1484—1485.

[2] These drawings are kept in the Library at Eton, and the woodcuts in this work have been copied from

There was originally a double row of paintings on the north and south walls of the choir, each row being divided longitudinally into seventeen compartments, alternately wide and narrow. The former contained historical compositions, the



St. Etheldreda.



St. Elizabeth.

latter single figures, represented as standing in canopied niches, prophets and evangelists in the upper row, and female Saints in the lower, many of them remarkable for their beauty. St.

them. Facsimiles of them have been recently published with explanatory notes by Dr. M. R. James, under the title of *The Frescoes in the Chapel at Eton College*. It is, however, desirable to remember that the original paintings were not executed in fresco.

Another series of drawings of the mural paintings was lithographed by the Misses Cust, daughters of one of the Canons of Windsor.

Catherine, St. Barbara, St. Apollonia, St. Dorothea, St. Juliana, St. Sidwell, St. Martha, St. Etheldreda, St. Margaret, and others were to be recognized by their respective emblems. Under each of the large compartments there was a Latin inscription, explain-



St. Dorothea.



St. Barbara.

ing the subject of the picture, and giving a reference to the book whence its story was derived.[1]

The works most frequently quoted were the *Legenda Sanctorum* and Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*, one of the earliest productions of the printing-press, which had gone

[1] Essex was unable to decipher some of these inscriptions, and he has given many of the references incorrectly. An elaborate list of the subjects, not, however, quite free from error, is given by Mr. Clark, vol. i. pp. 598—607.

through three editions before 1479. According to a practice which prevailed extensively in the fifteenth century, successive incidents of a story were often represented as forming only one scene, the same figures appearing two or three times in different combinations. The whole series was intended to exemplify the gracious protection afforded by the Blessed Virgin, the patroness of the College, to her votaries in all ages and countries. No less than six of the compartments were occupied by scenes from the life of a mythical Roman Empress. Her legend, as given in the *Gesta Romanorum*, has been turned into verse by Hoccleve ;[1] and one of its incidents has afforded themes to Chaucer[2] and Gower.[3] The paintings at Eton follow the version of Vincent,[4] which differs from the other in several particulars, and which may thus be rendered :—

### The Legend of a Roman Empress.

Once upon a time there was a Roman Emperor, who had a beautiful and excellent wife. None on earth were happier than they, and he trusted her entirely; so when he was starting on a long journey to the Holy Places, he committed the care of his kingdom to her. But he had a wicked brother, who loved the Empress with an unholy love, and tormented her daily with his suit. So she imprisoned him in a tower, and she ruled the country wisely and well. When five years were past, she heard that her dear husband would soon return to her again, and, in her joy, she released the wicked brother. But he was not grateful for this kindness, and hastened to meet the Emperor, and said to him, "Thy wife hath been false to thee ; so grievously hath she sinned that I shut myself up in a tower, lest I should be a witness of her crimes." Then the Emperor fell on his face and wept, and he lay for an hour like a dead man. So when the Empress came to welcome her lord the next day, he looked at her reproachfully, and smote her to the ground with his own hand, and ordered his servants to take her away and put her to death in a wood. But when they were about to ill-treat

[1] *Hoccleve's Works*, (ed. Furnivall) pp. 140—174.
[2] *The Man of Lawes Tale.*
[3] *Confessio Amantis*, lib. ii.
[4] *Speculum Historiale*, lib. vi. cap. 91—93.

her, there passed a good knight returning from the Holy Land. And he delivered her from shame and death, and took her home with him to be nurse to his own child. This knight also had a wicked brother who loved the fair nurse. But she would not love him. So he swore he would be avenged, and coming secretly one night into her chamber he




killed the child who was sleeping in her arms, and placed the bloody dagger in her hand. Thus the good knight and his wife were led to believe that the nurse had murdered the child. And they sent her away in a ship, saying to the captain, "Take this wretched woman hence, and leave her in some distant land, so that we may never see her face again." Then the wicked sailors, struck by her beauty, would have tempted her to evil, but, finding her to be good and virtuous, they left her on a desolate rock in the midst of the sea. And she lay down and slept sweetly. And there appeared to her a wondrously fair lady who was none other than the Holy Virgin, who said to her, "Gather the herbs that grow beneath thee on the ground, and with them thou shalt be able

to heal the sick." So she did as she was bidden, and the next day some men passed by the rock in a boat, and, taking pity on her, conveyed her to a neighbouring port. And there she saw many lepers and other sick folk; so she mixed the herbs with wine in a cup; and the sick folk drank of the wine and were healed. And among them there came to her one day the murderer of the good knight's child, but he knew her not. So when he was confessing his sins to her, one sin he hid; for he would not tell of the murder. Therefore the Empress would not heal him; but at last he repented of it, and then she healed him. And the good knight would have per-



suaded her to become the wife of his penitent brother, but she refused, for she loved none other but her own husband. So she journeyed on till she came to Rome, curing many lepers on the way. Now it so chanced that the Emperor's wicked brother, who was afflicted with a grievous illness, came and prayed her to give him a drink of her medicine. But before she would give it to him, she made him confess his evil deeds and his slanderous words before the Pope and the Senate. And when the fact of her innocence was thus clearly established, she made herself known to the Emperor, who received her with joy, and would fain have taken her back to be his wife. But she said, "When I was in sore distress, I took an oath that I would give myself entirely to God." So




HEAD I.

From one of the Mural Paintings in the Church at Eton.

she bade him farewell, and, renouncing her royal station, she entered a convent and became a holy nun.

Another story, taken from the *Golden Legend*, tells how a certain noble lady, being desirous, but unable, to attend mass on the feast of the Purification—Candlemas Day—fell into a trance in her own house, before an altar of the Blessed Virgin, and fancied that she saw in a church a number of virgins all bearing lighted tapers and headed by one who wore a crown; and that, during the celebration of mass, she herself also held a taper, which she refused to give up to a heavenly messenger. The story proceeds to say that when she awoke she actually found in her hand a taper, and that therewith she afterwards worked many notable cures.[1]

The other legends are shorter, but similar in character.

When these paintings were discovered, in 1847, it was assumed, from their great beauty and refinement, that they must have been executed by foreigners, and even so skilled a critic as the late Mr. G. E. Street had "no hesitation in saying" that they were most probably "executed by Florentine artists in the fifteenth century, who, for aught we know, may have been the pupils of the Beato Angelico, or their friends, as they were the contemporaries of Francia, of Perugino, and of Ghirlandaio."[2] It is difficult, however, to find any distinctive traces of Italian influence, either in the treatment of the figures, or in the style of the architectural ornaments. It would rather appear that the work was done by, or under the direction of, Flemish artists. The audit roll for 1479—1480 records a small outlay for "candles given to the painters working in the College," whose wages were doubtless paid by Waynflete. Three years later, mention is made of "pictures in the nave of the Church," that is to say in the ante-chapel; and the roll for 1484—1485 records the provision of commons for a whole year for a painter and a glazier, and a further purchase of candles "for the painters and glaziers working in the Church." Lastly, in 1487—1488, after the death of the munificent Bishop of Winchester, several entries occur "concerning the painting of the Church," the

[1] See p. 162 below.

[2] *Ecclesiologist*, vol. viii. p. 290.

College paying upwards of 8*l.* to "divers painters," and providing them with colours, oil, gold, and other necessary materials. Three shillings were also then paid "for divers other colours taken from the colours belonging to the painter himself, that is to say William Baker."[1] To this artist, evidently an Englishman, may probably be ascribed the upper row of paintings, which, in design and execution, were very inferior to those immediately above the stalls.

In 1489, the two collegiate foundations of Henry the Sixth presented a petition to the King in Parliament, setting forth "the great decaie and ympoveryshing" suffered by them during the last three reigns, and praying for the appointment of a commission to enquire into the titles of all the occupiers of estates formerly held by either College.[2] Their request was granted, and they soon succeeded in recovering a portion of their lost possessions.

Eton College received several new endowments from private persons in the reign of Henry the Seventh, among which may be noticed some land at Windsor Underoure, given by Dr. Bost. This Provost made permanent provision for an additional chaplain, who should be bound to say mass for him and his relations at least three times a week at the altar of St. Catharine, in the nave of the Collegiate Church.[3] As this altar is elsewhere said to have stood near the south door,[4] the row of niches now to be seen behind the statue of Provost Goodall must have formed part of its reredos. It was sometimes called "the altar of Thomas Jourdelay,"[5] after an inhabitant of Eton of that name, who was buried near it, in spite of his own directions that his grave should be dug in the churchyard.

[1] Audit Roll, 1479—1480; "*Ludovico Palmer pro spongiis emptis pro picturis mundandis erga festum Assumptionis Beate Marie*, xx*d*. *Et pro labore ejusdem Palmer et unius secum laborantis ad ipsas picturas in navi ecclesie mundandas*, xxij*d*." *Ibid.* 1482 — 1483; *Ibid.* 1484 — 1485; *Ibid.* 1486—1487. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 412.)

[2] Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*, pp. 382—385.

[3] Indenture between Eton College and Queen's College, Oxford, dated 9 Septemper 1506, preserved in the Library at Eton.

[4] Will of Thomas Swan, 1480, in Register, vol. i. f. 112. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 410.)

[5] Will of John Boraston, 1492. *Ibid.* f. 124.

His relict, Alice Jourdelay, left ten marks for the purchase of a missal and other necessaries for this altar, and was also buried near it.[1] The corresponding altar at the north-eastern corner of the so-called 'ante-chapel' was that of the Blessed Virgin.[2] The other two which stood on either side of the entrance into the choir were dedicated to St. Nicholas and St. Peter respectively.[3] Above these was the rood-loft, surmounted by a crucifix which faced westwards between wooden figures of St. Mary and St. John. There too was the organ, approached by stairs from below.[4] The font doubtless stood near one of the doors, while the brass lectern, which still survives, must formerly have been in the choir.[5] In various parts of the Church, there were images of the Holy Trinity, St. Anne, St. Andrew, St. Clement, St. Anthony, and St. Loo.[6] It would be difficult to say how many figures there were of the patroness of the College. Her Assumption was represented on a large scale in the choir,[7] and her image in the middle of the nave was adorned with costly dresses, gold rings, and silver shoes.[8] She guarded the south

[1] Wills of Thomas and Alice Jourdelay, 1468, 1482. Register, vol. i. ff. 106, 115.

[2] Will of Elizabeth Gosse, 1517, who desires to be buried "before owre Lady at the north dore," and leaves 4*d.* "to the awlter also, wher I intend to lye, of owre Lady." *Ibid.* f. 136.

[3] Will of John Kent, 1486. *Ibid.* f. 120. The will of Alice Ryall, 1486, mentions four altars in the nave. *Ibid.* f. 119. The will of Thomas Smyth, 1534, mentions "the four altars standing on a frunte under the crucifix of Eton Church." *Ibid.* f. 41.

[4] "*Pro factura parvi hostii in superiori parte graduum pulpiti*, vjd. *Et pro alio hostio ad inferiorem partem graduum assendencium ad magna organa.*" Audit Roll, 1498—1499.

[5] "*Simoni Forte operanti in ecclesia per iij dies erga festum Pasche circa sepulcrum Domini et facturam fontis in navi ecclesie.*" *Ibid.* 1479—1480. A font blessed on Easter eve 1483 was similarly moveable. A cover for the baptismal font is mentioned in 1484—1485.

The Audit Roll for 1487—1488 records a payment for cleaning the great lectern and the candlesticks before Easter.

[6] Wills of Nicholas Roche, Thomas Mede, John Durdaunt, Thomas Gyboy, and Robert Flecher, Register, ff. 118, 124, 126, 127, 147.

[7] "*Supra imaginem Assumptionis Beate Marie.*" Audit Roll, 1479—1480; *Ibid.* 1484—1485; *Ibid.* 1488—1489. It is said to be "*in cancello.*"

[8] "*Lego imagini Beate Marie de Eton in media ecclesie ibidem meam optimam zonam deauratam.*" Will of Alice Jourdelay, 1482. Register, vol. i. f. 115. Will of Nicholas Roche, 1485. *Ibid.* f. 118. Will of Alice Ryall, 1486, who leaves a gold ring to the images of the Virgin in the choir and nave. *Ibid.* f. 119. "*Pro calciamentis argenteis factis pro*

porch,[1] and the entrance of the choir,[2] and was also represented in stained glass in the east window with her emblem "le lylye potte" on a large scale.[3] St. Nicholas too appeared in several parts of the Church.[4] The jewels and relics used to be kept in the vestry on the north side.[5] In 1480, there is mention of "wykeris" placed under the feet of the priests and clerks ministering in the choir in winter. A chair of state covered with satin was left to the Church by Provost Bost, for the use of the King and other noble visitors.[6] It had doubtless done duty on several occasions, as, for instance, when the queen of Henry the Seventh came to Eton in March 1502,[7] and also when the Pope's Legate came thither, accompanied by a Spanish grandee.[8]

Dr. Bost bequeathed to his successors his furniture in St. James's Hospital near Westminster, and in the four rooms which then constituted the Provost's lodging at Eton.[9] He died in February 1504,[10] and Roger Lupton, an alien, was elected by a majority of the Fellows to succeed him. In order to provide him with the statutory qualification of having been a member of one of the royal foundations of Henry the Sixth, they

*imagine Beate Virginis in navi ecclesie, ponderantibus fere iiij*$^{or}$ *uncias et dimidiam.*" Audit Roll, 1488—1489.

[1] Will of Richard Clerk, 1485. Register, vol. i. f. 116.

[2] "*In ferramentis pro positione imaginis Beate Marie ad ostium chori, et Sancti Nicholai in parte australi.*" Audit Roll, 1487—1488.

[3] Audit Book, 1505—1506 (ascribed to 1500—1501 in Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 409).

[4] "*In denariis solutis Willelmo Isham pro portatione imaginis Sancti Nicholai ex dono Regis, per Magistrum Vicepreposituм*, xxs." Audit Roll, 1452—1453. "*Pro deauratione et pictura baculi pastoralis Sancti Nicholai, solutum pictori*, xxd." *Ibid.* 1484—1485.

[5] "*Pro j cophino empto London et deliberatum Ludovico Palmer pro reliquiis et jocalibus deportandis a vestibulo ad altare et retro in diebus solemnibus*, viijd." *Ibid.* 1482—1483.

[6] "*Tria tapetia*, le carpetts, *cum uno pulvinari coperto blavio serico, ad serviendum Regi et aliis magnatibus in ecclesia*," Will of Provost Bost, 5 November 1503. Register, vol. i. f. 129.

[7] *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*, p. 3.

[8] "*Pro vino et esculentis in refectione data Legato Pape et uno domino de Hispania.*" Audit Roll, 1501—1502.

[9] "*Omnia peripetasmata*, le hangynge, *iiij*$^{or}$ *camerarum mearum, cum quatuor culcitris plumaceis*, le fetherbedde, &c." Register, vol. i. f. 129.

[10] His monumental brass is in the ante-chapel. There is a woodcut of it in Lipscomb's *History of Buckingham*, vol. iv. p. 485.

first went through the form of admitting him as one of their own number. The eighth Fellowship thus revived for his benefit was suppressed as soon as it had served the purpose.[1]

The new Provost had taken the degree of Bachelor of Canon Law at Cambridge in 1483, and had since devoted much of his time to professional practice in the ecclesiastical courts. As a Canon of Windsor, he had been brought into contact with persons of influence, and the King may have had something to do with his appointment as Provost. Like his predecessor, Lupton had the honour of receiving several distinguished visitors. The Bishops of Lincoln and Lichfield came to see the College in 1504 or 1505;[2] and about the same time a grand entertainment was given to the Countess of Richmond, who is so well known at Oxford and Cambridge as "the Lady Margaret."[3] The King's company of players seem to have given a performance at Eton in 1505, and he himself dined in the Hall in October, thereby putting the College to considerable expense.[4] He does not appear to have made any halt at Eton on his way through the town in the following February, when travelling with his guest, or prisoner, Philip of Castile, but all the scholars were drawn up in line "along the barres of the chorche yeard" to welcome the two Kings.[5]

A search for the 'will' of the Founder in 1498 may possibly have been connected with a scheme for enlarging the fabric of the College.[6] The masons' house is mentioned in the accounts for the following year, and it seems probable that the range of buildings on the north side of the main quadrangle, parallel

[1] Register, vol. i.

[2] "*Pro expensis factis circa Episcopos Lincolniensem et Cestrensem in victualibus*, xix*s*. vij*d*." Audit Roll, 1504—1505.

[3] "*Pro expensis factis in esculentis et poculentis datis Domine Margarete, matri Regis*, iij*l*. vij*s*. vij*d*. *Et in regardis datis famulis ejusdem per Magistrum Prepositum*, xx*s*. *Et uni ducenti ferinam eodem tempore, in regardo*, xx*d*. *Et pro vino dato diversis extraneis in cubiculo Magistri Prepositi hoc anno*, xx*d*." Audit Roll, 1504—1505.

[4] "*Histrionibus domini Regis in regardo, mandato Magistri Prepositi*, ij*s*. *Pro expensis factis circa Dominum Regem Henricum Septimum existentem in Collegio in prandio xxj*° *die Octobris, cum diversis aliis magnatibus*, xviij*s*. ix*d*. *q*." Audit Book, 1505—1506.

[5] Tighe & Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. i. p. 444.

[6] "*In querendo ultimum velle Regis Henrici Sexti*." Audit Roll, 1497—1498.

with the Church, was erected soon afterwards, for the audit book of 1507 mentions a "new children's chamber," and that of 1515 alludes to "the building of the new school" as comparatively recent.[1] The former may almost certainly be identified with the 'Long Chamber,' now subdivided, and the latter with the 'Lower School' beneath the western part of that famous dormitory, as the mouldings of their windows and doorways are more similar to those of Lupton's work, of the reign of Henry the Eighth, than to those on the northern and eastern sides of the Cloister built in the reign of Henry the Sixth. In the absence of any indication of the manner in which the necessary money was obtained, a conjecture may be hazarded that it came out of the private resources of the Provost.

Until the end of the fifteenth century, the Scholars, the Choristers, and some of the Commensals had been distributed in several rooms, in accordance with the system in vogue at Winchester and specifically enjoined by the Founder of Eton.[2]

The Kitchen, only sixty years old, was to some extent rebuilt in 1507 or 1508.[3]

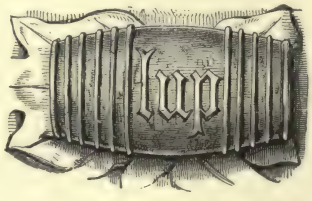
John Edmonds, who was elected a Fellow in 1491, gave or bequeathed to the College a cocoa-nut cup with a band and a foot of silver gilt. This is the earliest piece of plate now remaining at Eton.[4]

[1] "*Pro antiquis arris tempore edificationis nove scole.*" Audit Book, 1514—1515. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 430.)

[2] Mr. Clark's theory that there was only one "children's chamber" in the fifteenth century is refuted by Mr. Leach (p. 173).

[3] Audit Book, 1507—1508. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 415.)

[4] See the photographic illustration of it in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, vol. xvi. p. 248.



Rebus of Provost Lupton.




## 1509—1547.

New Buildings — Benefactors — Property near London — Ecclesiastical Surveys—William Horman—Resignation of Provost Lupton—Bishop Aldrich—Funeral of Jane Seymour—Richard Cox and Nicholas Udall—The Eton Plays—Confiscation threatened—Funeral of Henry VIII.

THE death of Henry the Seventh in 1509 did not in any way affect the fortunes of Eton. His son and successor paid a visit to the College at the beginning of July in the following year, and was entertained at a cost of nearly 18*l.*[1] His offering of 13*s.* 4*d.* in the Church, and his present of 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Schoolmaster and the scholars, were but a meagre return for the hospitality which he received.[2] The College, however, could by this time get on very well without royal subventions. Its revenue had increased so considerably that such charges for new buildings as were not borne by private benefactors could be defrayed out of ordinary income. Various minor works were executed in and about the Cloister during the early years of the reign. In 1510 or 1511, Humphrey Coke received 6*s.* 8*d.* for an architectural design and a like sum for earnest-money. Three or four years later, a payment was made to him "for the building of the cloister,"

[1] Audit Book, 1509—1510.

[2] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII,* (ed. Brewer) vol. ii. p. 1447.

which may perhaps be taken to indicate that he completed the ground floor of the Cloister by adding a western arcade. In 1515 or 1516, workmen were employed to pull down certain old houses "on the western side of the quadrangle," so as to clear the ground for "the new building" to be erected upon their site,[1] and a conjecture may be offered that the houses then demolished comprised the old dormitories of the Scholars and the old grammar-school, no longer required since the recent completion of the long range of buildings opposite to the Church.



Double Doorway in the North Walk of the Cloister.
*c.* 1445.

However this may be, there is a definite statement that on the 2nd of March 1517, "the fyrst stone was layd yn the fundacyon off the west parte off the College, wheron ys bylded Mr. Provost's Logyn, the Gate, and the Lyberary."[2] The design was furnished by Humphrey Coke, Henry Redman, and M. Vertue, the last of whom has been identified with a

[1] Audit Books, 1510—1511, 1514—1515, 1515—1516. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 415, 417, where, however, the last account quoted is referred to the year 1516—1517.)

[2] Memorandum in Building accounts.

freemason of that name who, in 1505, contracted for the roof of St. George's Chapel at Windsor.[1] Although the style generally resembles that of the original buildings, differences of detail may be detected, as, for instance, between a double doorway on the western side of the Cloister, and those on the northern and eastern sides.[2] It appears certain that the Provost's Lodging mentioned above constituted the southern part of the new build-



Double Doorway in the West Walk of the Cloister.[3]
*c.* 1517.

ing, being situated to the west of the Hall, in the exact position specified by the statutes of Henry the Sixth. The gate of 1517 is obviously that under the tower which still bears the name of Provost Lupton. Since his time, its western front, towards the School Yard, has been altered by the insertion of a clock-dial and the addition of a pair of bell-turrets. All traces of colour have moreover disappeared from the representations of the Assumption of the Virgin and the Royal Arms, carved above

[1] Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 418.
[2] Compare the cuts on the previous page and this.
[3] From Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 441.

and below the projecting window of the Election Chamber,[1] which seems to have been the Provost's withdrawing room, or possibly his 'Gallery.'

To the north of Lupton's Tower, on the first floor, is the room now known as the Election Hall, which, according to the memorandum quoted above, was built for a Library. It has the range of equidistant windows on either side characteristic of a mediæval library, and the mutilated fragments of stained glass in them indicate the different classes of literature to be represented upon the adjoining shelves, such as logic, theology, canon law, civil law and medicine. The date "1521" may be found on one of them.[2] If, however, the books of the College were ever placed in this apartment, they were removed again some few years later, when a married Provost converted it into a stately hall for the use of himself and his family. Some money was expended almost every year at that period on book-binding, or on purchasing chains of various sizes, wherewith to fasten the books to the desks.[3] Inasmuch, however, as the charges on this account are entered among the expenses of the Church, it is possible that the vestry served as a library.[4]

No attempt was made at this prosperous epoch to carry out the Founder's designs for the Church; but, in or before 1515, a small chapel was built between two of the buttresses on the north side, entirely at the cost of Provost Lupton. In the carved spandrels of the screen which separates it from the choir may be noticed the initial R of his Christian name, and the rebus of the letters Lup on a *tun*.[5] The shield, on the boss of the groined

[1] Audit Book, 1519 — 1520. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 418.)

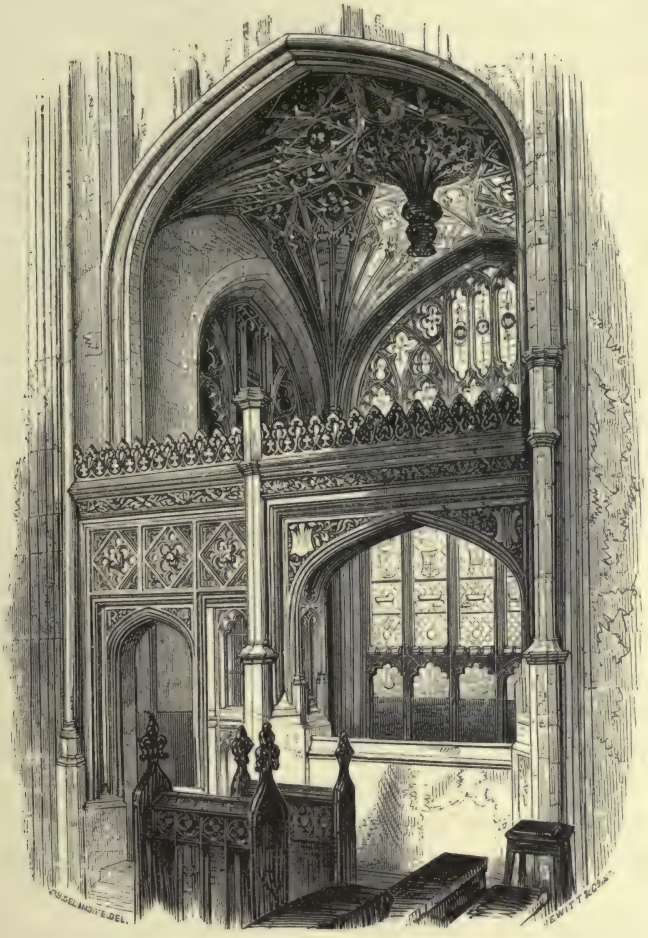
[2] James, *Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of Eton*, p. viii. Mr. Clark (vol. i. pp. 432, 454) identifies the Library of 1517 with the Election Chamber, and considers that the Election Hall was from the first intended for the Provost. The Election Chamber, however, has not the general appearance of a library, and it is hard to believe that any Provost would have tolerated a library common to the principal members of the College between his own hall and his bedroom. The contemporary memorandum quoted above clearly implies that the Gateway was between the Provost's Lodging and the Library.

[3] Audit Books, 1519—1521. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 453; vol. iii. pp. 431, 432.)

[4] On the other hand, see page 35 above.

[5] See the woodcut on page 94 above.

roof of this chapel, bears the Lupton Arms augmented by three lily-flowers *argent* on a chevron which would otherwise be plain *sable*. Roger Lupton followed the example of his great predecessor Waynflete, in adding Eton lilies to his paternal coat, and



Lupton's Chapel.

the Lupton family of Thame now bears these Arms, although of course its descent from the Provost can only be collateral. Lupton supplied his chantry with valuable ornaments and vestments during his lifetime, and transferred to the College the manor of Pirton in Hertfordshire, for the maintenance of the

priest who should use it. By the arrangement which he made with the Fellows in 1516, there was to be a yearly distribution of money on the anniversary of his death. The Provost was to receive 2*s.* 8*d.*; the Fellows, the Master, and Lupton's Chaplain, 1*s.* 4*d.*; the other Chaplains and the Usher, 8*d.*; the Clerks, 6*d.*; and the Scholars and Choristers, 1*d.* apiece. This penny makes one of the three which are still given to each of the Scholars and Choristers every year on the 27th of February—"Threepenny day."[1] Lupton stipulated that his chaplain should have his commons in Hall at the cost of the College, and a room to himself.[2] It is not clear whether the other Chaplains enjoyed this latter privilege. The Clerks certainly were still lodged two and two, as appears from an allowance made to one of them during his absence from the College, while his chum was lying dead.[3] Lupton lived more than twenty years after completing the arrangements connected with his chapel, but the priest entered on his duties at once, and used to celebrate the Provost's exequies on the 11th of January.

One of the earliest recorded appearances of the plague at Eton was in 1510, when it raged so fiercely that many of the scholars moved for safety to the neighbouring village of Langley.[4] The Master who accompanied them thither was a young Kingsman, Robert Aldrich, afterwards Provost. The introduction of Greek into the School is perhaps due to his exertions. Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College, Oxford, writing in 1556, says:—"I remember when I was a young scholler at Eton the Greke tongue was growing apace; the studie of which is now a late much decaid."[5] Pope was probably a Commensal; but no lists of his time have been

[1] The College has been accused of defrauding the boys by giving them this small sum instead of the value of half a sheep apiece, but on what grounds it is difficult to see. The boys might more justly claim three shillings, on account of the change in the value of money since Lupton's time.

[2] The agreement, dated 3 August, 8 Henry VIII., is among the muniments at Eton.

[3] "*Rogero Whitworth, clerico, in regardo mense Decembris, pro absentando seipso a Collegio ad tempus post obitum Hugonis clerici concubicularis sui,* iijs. iiij*d.*" Audit Book, 1525—1526.

[4] Audit Book, 1509—1510. The expenses were 7*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*

[5] Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 226.

preserved. One of the few incised brasses in the Church which have escaped destruction records the death of "Richard Grey, Lord Grey, Cotenore, Wylton, and Ruthyn" in 1521,[1] and represents him in the armour which he wore as henchman, or page-of-honour, to Henry the Eighth, from which we may infer that, by this date at least, the Founder's wish that the School should be frequented by the "sons of noblemen," as well as by "poor and needy scholars," had been realized.

The College appeared to be in such a flourishing condition in 1525, that Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, gave orders that the three vacant Fellowships should be filled up, so as to raise the number once more to ten, as prescribed by Henry the Sixth. The Provost and Fellows, however, answered that they were unable to obey the Visitor's mandate on account of the narrowness of their income;[2] and so the matter was allowed to rest for another century. Two years later, Bishop Longland held a visitation at Eton.[3] Cardinal Wolsey also cited the College to appear before him, although his right to do so was questionable, as he was neither Bishop of Lincoln nor Archbishop of Canterbury.[4] He may perhaps have considered that, in the capacity of Papal Legate, he might with impunity override all ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

A more friendly prelate was Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely, who had been elected from Eton to King's in 1483. At Cambridge he is said to have distinguised himself by setting fire to the Provost's Lodge, and carrying off some silver spoons. But "naughty boys sometimes make good men," and, in after life, "he would have quenched the fire he made in the College with his own tears; and in expression of his penitence he became a worthy benefactor to the house, and rebuilt the master's lodging firm and fair to the ground."[5] We do not know of his having any similar misdeeds to atone for at

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. pp. 58, 396, 400.

[2] *Sloane MS.* 4840, ff. 231, 232.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] "*Apparitori domini Cardinalis citantis Collegium ad visitationem mense Junii, in regardo*, ijs." Audit Book, 1526—1527.

[5] Fuller's *Worthies—Surrey*. The facts that West continued to hold his Fellowship till 1498, and that he took his degree in the regular manner, tend to discredit this story.

Eton, but we find him sending money to the College for the purchase of Church ornaments.[1]

Several other benefactors at this period may be dismissed in a few lines. John Argentine, Provost of King's, and physician to Henry the Eighth, left to Eton a large silver ewer and basin ;[2] and Geoffrey Blythe, Bishop of Lichfield, seems to have given various costly vestments, and to have intended to bequeath to the College a large standing covered cup, which had been given to him by Ladislaus, King of Hungary.[3] Robert Rede of Burnham left property for the celebration of a yearly mass for his soul and that of Meriel his wife. Dying in 1515, he was buried in the Church of Eton at the expense of the College.[4] Thomas Smyth, *alias* Butler, a layman of Eton, also made an arrangement for the solemn observance of the anniversary of his death, "yerly while the world shall induer." The services were to consist of a "*Placebo* and *Dirige* by note, with vj. lessons with *Laudis* on nyght, excepte on Pascall tyme, and on the morrow masse of *Requiem*." While these offices were being said, there were to be four tapers continually burning round a cross over a herse "sett in the myddis of the body of the Church." The College undertook to pray for the souls of Smyth's relations as well as for his own, and to pay a small annuity; but the price exacted for these privileges is not stated in the deed.[5] Smyth afterwards exhibited further proofs of his devotion by bequeathing money to the high altar, and "to the four altars standing on a frunte under the crucifix of Eton Church." He also left legacies to various members of the College, and some plate for the high table.[6]

The Eton baker must have been an adept in his art, for when Henry the Eighth was at Windsor he frequently had cakes from him. The Provost's servant who carried them up to the Castle

[1] "*In regardo dato famulo Episcopi Eliensis afferenti c. marcas ad Collegium pro ornamentis emendis ad templum*, xiij*s.* iiij*d.*" Audit Book, 1525—1526.

[2] Register, vol. i. f. 26.

[3] *Cole's MS.* vol. xiii. f. 107.

[4] Lipscomb's *History of Buckingham*, vol. iv. p. 489; Audit Roll, 1514—1515. The account in Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 92, is utterly erroneous.

[5] 6 July 1528. *Notes and Queries*, vol. xii. p. 280.

[6] Register, vol. i. f. 41.

generally received a fee of five shillings.[1] It would have been well for the College if the greed of the King could have been so easily satisfied, for he soon began to cast covetous eyes on something more substantial than cakes.

Henry the Sixth and Edward the Fourth had alike bestowed on Eton the Hospital of St. James near Westminster and successive Provosts had used a portion of it as an occasional residence. The property attached to it lay in several suburban parishes of Middlesex, which have, since that time, been absorbed into London. It did not yield any great rent in the early part of the sixteenth century; but owing to its position it was certain to increase in value. The King was shrewd enough to perceive this, and in 1531 persuaded, or ordered, the Provost and Fellows to effect an exchange of lands with him, by which they surrendered the Hospital of St. James with all its appurtenances, reserving only the *White Bear* in Cheapside, a tenement in Westminster, and the estates called Chalcots and Wilds in the comparatively distant parishes of Hendon, Finchley, and Hampstead. The property which thus passed to the King was situated principally between Charing Cross and Eye Hill—sixty-four acres being on the southern side of the great thoroughfare now called Piccadilly, and ninety-four acres in "the North Field" on the opposite side of that road. Besides this, there were eighteen acres at Knightsbridge, five at "Temmys meade," half an acre at "Chelsey meade," and two acres at Fulham.[2] It is difficult to estimate what the Eton revenue would now be if the College Bursar received the rents of the squares and streets which have since been built on this property. Henry the Eighth dismissed the sisters of St. James, pulled down the old buildings, and in their stead erected the Palace which still bears the name of the patron Saint of the ancient Hospital.[3]

The King does not appear to have paid many visits to the College, though of course he frequently passed through the

[1] *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.* (ed. Nicolas) pp. 52—64.

[2] Original deed in one of the glass cases in the Library at Eton; *Letters and Papers*, (ed. Gairdner) vol. v. pp. 201, 238, 276, 287.

[3] Wheatley's *Round about Piccadilly*, p. 286.

town of Eton. In 1519, he celebrated the festival of St. George with great pomp, a month later than usual, on account of the Saint's anniversary falling on Easter Eve. He left Richmond on the 27th of May, and went first to Hounslow, where he was met by the Knights of the Garter and their suites, each Duke bringing with him sixty horses, each Marquess fifty, and so on in proportion. The gorgeous cavalcade passed through Slough, and then through Eton, "where all they of the Colledge stood along in manner of procession, receiving his Grace after their custom." The Queen and the ladies of her Court had taken a shorter road from Colnbrook to Windsor, crossing the Thames by the ferry at Datchet.[1] Stow observes that this feast of St. George was held "with as great solemnity as it had beene the feast of a coronation."[2]

No subject, of course, could emulate such a display as this; but Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, used to live in great state, thereby incurring the jealousy of his royal cousin. He visited Eton in April 1521, and made an offering of half-a-mark "to our Lady,"[3] just a month before his execution. Another distinguished visitor was the Lord Chancellor Audley, who came to Eton in 1535 or 1536, after having given the Provost reason to expect him on two occasions in the previous year.[4]

The early years of the Reformation passed quietly enough at Eton. Lupton and the seven Fellows, without a single dissentient voice, formally repudiated the Pope's jurisdiction, and acknowledged the Royal Supremacy, in July 1534.[5] Henry the Eighth seems to have wished to invest himself with the revenues as well as with the prerogatives of the Pope, and in this year obtained from Parliament a grant of the first-fruits and tenths on ecclesiastical property.[6] In the valuation which was made in the following year, the net income of Eton College was set down at a few shillings short

[1] Ashmole's *Order of the Garter.*
[2] *Annals*, (ed. 1631) p. 507.
[3] *Letters and Papers*, (ed. Brewer) vol. iii. p. 501.
[4] Audit Books, 1534—1536.
[5] Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xiv. p. 505.
[6] *Statute* 26 Henry VIII. c. 3.

of 1000*l.* and the tenth, accordingly, at more than 99*l.*[1] A subsequent statute, indeed, exempted from the payment of these tenths the two Universities, and the Colleges of Eton and Winchester, "where yowth and good wyttes be educate and noryshed in vertue and larning." But, for a "perpetuall memoriall, and leste suche inestimable goodness and bounteouse gyfte by his Majestie at this tyme declared to his Universities and Colleges aforesaid should be had in oblyvyon," each of these bodies was ordered to say solemn masses for Henry the Eighth, Queen Anne Boleyn, and the Princess Elizabeth, on the 8th days of May and October, every year.[2]

Several inventories of plate, ornaments, relics, vestments, and books, drawn up at this period, and preserved among the muniments at Eton, deserve the attention of ecclesiologists. None of them have yet been printed. Among the items mentioned in them are :—

"A tabernacle of oure Lady of silver and gylt, sotelly enamelyd in every part."

"A coote of blewe velvett for our Ladie with rynges and othre dyverse brooches, with an image that my Lorde of Devonshire offred."

"A parte of the nayle that our Lorde was nayled withall closed in silver all white."

"A stone that Saint Stevyn was stoned withall."

"Stones of Saint Wenefryd's well."

Many of the items in these inventories are described as having once belonged to William Horman, the Vice-Provost. All the plate and the vestments which he presented to the College have disappeared since then, and only a dozen of his manuscripts remain in the Library,[3] to make us the more regret the loss of the others. Horman was probably the most learned member of the College at that time, and certainly an author of some reputation. A Wykehamist by education, he seems to have resigned his Fellowship at New College in 1486, in order to become Schoolmaster at Eton, and he held that office until the end of 1494, when he

[1] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. iv.
[2] *Statute* 27 Henry VIII. c. 42.
[3] James's *Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of Eton.*

accepted the corresponding position at Winchester.[1] He returned to Eton as a Fellow in 1502, and continued there until his death in 1535, at a ripe age, little short of a hundred years.[2] His most important work, entitled "*Vulgaria*," consists of a collection of short English sentences, with their Latin equivalents, arranged as in a phrase-book, according to the subjects. Many of the sentences are interesting as illustrating the manners and opinions of the time. Thus we read, in connexion with life at Eton :—

"Kynge Henry dothe many dyvers miracles.
*Divus Henricus non una miraculorum specie inclarescit.*"
"He hath made a gay laude upon Kynge Henry.
*Edidit egregium epycedion in regem Henricum.*"
"Tell me in laten what he sayeth in Greke.
*Quod Græce dicit, Latine mihi interpretare.*"
"Let yonge children be wel taken hede of, that they lerne no latyn, but clene and fresshe.
*Pueris sumopere sit cautum, ut nihil discant quod non latinum sit et elegans.*"
"We have played a comedi of Greke.
*Representavimus fabulam palliatam.*"
"We have played a comedy of latten.
*Representavimus fabulam togatam.*"
"I intende to rede you Tully, God spede us well.
*Ego (quod mihi vobisque feliciter vertat) paro Ciceronem enarrare.*"
"A principal poynt of a scole maister is to discerne the difference of wyttis in childrene ; and to what thynge every wytte is best disposed.
*Virtus preceptorum est ingeniorum notare discrimina, et quo quenque natura maxime ferat.*"
"He begynneth to tell shrewed talys upon me to the maister.
*Adoritur me apud preceptorem insimulare.*"
"The maister hath undone oure rennynge into the towne.
*Preceptor ademit nostrum discursum in oppidum.*"
"The tems is hye.
*Tamesis multus fluit.*"

[1] Kirby's *Winchester Scholars*, p. 79 ; Audit Rolls, 1487—1494.

[2] Epitaph incised on brass, printed incorrectly in Lipscomb's *History of Buckingham*, vol. iv. p. 489.

"The tems is rysen.
*Tamesis accrevit, vel intumuit.*"
"The tems is over the bankis.
*Tamesis alveum egressus est.*"
"The Tems is sore rysen above the bankis.
*Tamesis latæ* (sic) *restagnavit.*"
"Children do lerne to swymme lenyng upon the rynde of a tree or corke.
*Pueri nare discunt suberino cortici incumbentes.*"
"What devyl made the runne awey?
*Quæ mala ratio te fugere coegit?*"
"Playenge at cheriston is good for children.
*Pueri commode ludunt officulis ceraseorum.*"
"Men play with iij dice and children with iiij dalies.
*Viri ludunt tribus tesseris quadrantilibus vel cubis, pueri quatuor astragalis vel talis.*"
"It is a shame that a yonge gentylman shulde lose tyme at the dyce, and tabuls, cardis and hasarde.
*Dedecet ingenuum adolescentem tesseris et alveolo, tabellis pictis, aut alea, diem perdere.*"
"He hyt me in the yie with a tenys balle.
*Pila trigonali mihi oculum violavit.*"
"We will play with a ball full of wynde.
*Lusui erit nobis follis pugilari spiritu tumens.*"

The original contract between the author and Pynson, the celebrated printer, shows that the latter undertook to print 800 copies of the *Vulgaria*, in 1519, for 32*l.* 15*s.*—equivalent to some 400*l.* at the present time.[1] It has been calculated that the work could now be produced for half of this latter sum.[2] Horman dedicated his book to the Bishop of Lincoln, and obtained commendatory Latin verses from Aldrich, Master of Eton, from Lily, the famous Master of St. Paul's, and from Lily's son-in-law and subsequent successor, Rightwise, who had been educated at Eton. Two years later, Horman combined with his friend Lily in defending their system of teaching Latin, against the attacks of Robert Whittington, who had chosen to call himself "Bossus." They styled their

[1] *Letters and Papers*, (ed. Brewer) vol. iii. p. 118.
[2] See an article by the late Mr. Furnivall in the *Proceedings of the Philological Society.*

reply '*Antibossicon*,' and made several puns on the name of their adversary, which, they said, was derived from the Bosse of Billingsgate—a fountain in the shape of a bear. Horman accordingly wrote—

"*Nomine diviso*, BOSSUS BOS *efficit et* SUS,
*Ex junctis* BOSSUS *protinus* URSUS *erit*."

The book also contains a large woodcut representing a bear being worried by dogs. As Dr. Maitland remarks, "nothing could have been a more appropriate type of the style in which the controversy was carried on than a Billingsgate bear"; and it is curious to observe that the language of that locality had the same sort of reputation in the sixteenth century that it enjoys now.[1]

Horman died in April 1535; and another change in the *personnel* of the College was caused a few months later by the resignation of Provost Lupton.[2] The reasons which induced him to take this step are not stated, but he retained his stall at Windsor and other benefices until his death.

Lupton must have given some notice beforehand of his intended resignation, as the Fellows met on the very next day to elect a new Provost. There was no dissension among them, for they were in receipt of a letter from their "most loving and most illustrious prince," Henry the Eighth, who, as they well knew, could not be disobeyed with impunity. The proper forms were duly observed, and Robert Aldrich was declared to be the successor of Roger Lupton.[3] Aldrich was the first Provost who had been educated at Eton and at King's College, in accordance with the Founder's wishes; and he was no less qualified for the post in other respects. His learning was commended by Erasmus and Leland, the former of whom he had accompanied on his celebrated pilgrimage to Walsingham.[4] He had been Schoolmaster at Eton for some years, but had resigned that office in order to go abroad on a mission to the King of France and the Pope. About a year after his election to the Provostship, Aldrich was elevated to

[1] Maitland's *Early Printed Books in the Lambeth Library*, pp. 415—419.

[2] Eton Register, vol. i.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Nichols's *Pilgrimages of Erasmus*.

the see of Carlisle, and for some time he attempted to discharge the duties of both offices. The audit books accordingly show that he was often absent from Eton, especially during the sessions of Parliament, for he was a keen politician.[1] When he was at Westminster, the College had to pay his rent, as the Hospital of St. James was no longer available. Some rooms lately added to the Lodge at Eton were nevertheless panelled, hung with tapestry, and furnished for his use. A hall mentioned as forming part of the Provost's new residence cannot now be identified with any certainty.[2]

In addition to his other preferments, Aldrich held the office of Almoner to the Queen—Jane Seymour—but only for a short time, as she died on the 24th of October 1537, soon after giving birth to Prince Edward. Her dead body lay in state for nearly three weeks at Hampton Court, and thither Aldrich repaired in order to preach a sermon and to take his place in the procession which started for Windsor on the 12th of November. "The corpse was put in a chair covered with a rich pall; and thereupon the representation of the Queen in her robes of estate, with a rich crown of gold upon her head, all in her hair loose, a sceptre of gold in her right hand, and on her fingers rings set with precious stones, and her neck richly adorned with gold and stones; and under the head a rich pillow of cloth of gold tissue; her shoes of cloth of gold, with hose and smock, and all other ornaments." The hearse was drawn by six horses draped with black velvet.

Henry the Eighth did not appear at the funeral of his best-loved wife, having gone away, "leaving some of his counsellors to take order about her burial." The Princess Mary therefore rode as chief mourner between the Lords Clifford and Mountagu, and was followed by other ladies of the Court. The procession, after passing through Colnbrook, appears to have made a halt at Eton, where it was received by the Bishop of Lincoln, Visitor of the College, the Bishop of Carlisle, Provost, the priests, the clerks and the "children,"

[1] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.*; *Dict. National Biography.*

[2] Audit Books, 1537—1547.

all of whom carried lighted tapers.[1] There was an unusual number of strangers in the Hall that day, and an extra kilderkin of beer was consumed. The College authorities had employed labourers during the previous three days to repair the road between Baldwin's Pool and the Long Bridge.[2] The highway, indeed, seems to have been in a bad condition at this time, having doubtless been much injured by the heavy traffic connected with the building operations at the College. There were no turnpikes in the sixteenth century, and it was not unusual for inhabitants of Eton to show their "piety" by bequeathing money towards the repair of the road between Windsor and Slough.[3]

The last Schoolmaster who has been mentioned by name was Aldrich, and his two immediate successors were not in any way remarkable. The third, however, Richard Cox, deserves a passing notice on account of the celebrity which he afterwards attained. A native of the county of Buckingham, he gained admission as such to Eton, and thence duly proceeded to King's. At the age of twenty-eight or twenty-nine, he returned, in the capacity of Master, to his old school, "which was happy with many florishing wits, under his endeavours, and Haddon amongst the rest, whom he loved with filiall affection, nor will it be amisse to insert the poeticall passe betwixt them.

"Walter Haddon to Doctor Cox his schoolmaster :—

'*Vix caput attolens e lecto scribere carmen*
*Qui velit, is voluit scribere plura. Vale.*'

"Doctor Cox to Walter Haddon his scholar :—

'*Te magis optarem salvum sine carmine, fili,*
*Quam, sine te salvo, carmina multa. Vale.*'"[4]

[1] Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii. part i. p. 11; *Letters and Papers*, (ed. Gairdner) vol. xii. part ii. p. 374.

[2] "*Pro uno* le kylderkey *de byre empto in obitu Regine pro extraneis venturis in Collegium*, xij*d*." "*Et pro pabulo equorum domini Prepositi quando redibat de Hampton Curte cum Regina ad Collegium*, xvj*d*." Audit Book, 1537—1538.

[3] Wills of Thomas Jourdelay, Thomas Champeneys, Nicholas Roche, and Robert Fletcher. Eton Register, vol. i. ff. 107, 118, 147. Cf. Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life*, chapter i.

[4] Fuller's *Worthies—Bucks.*

At a later stage of his life, Haddon described Cox as the best schoolmaster of his time and "the greatest beater."[1]

Cox was from the first a warm adherent of the Lutheran party in the Church, and he probably imbued some of his pupils with his own views. One of them, indeed, Robert Glover, embraced the new doctrines so zealously as to suffer death at the stake on their behalf.[2] Cox left Eton in 1534, and was subsequently appointed tutor to Prince Edward, and Dean of Christ Church. At Oxford he caused great scandal by being the first to bring a wife to reside in College; but posterity will not judge him so harshly for this, as for his wanton destruction of the ancient treasures of literature and art that had until then been preserved in the various libraries at the University. In the days of persecution he fled abroad; but he was afterwards appointed Bishop of Ely by Elizabeth.[3]

Nicholas Udall, who succeeded Cox at Eton, was also inclined to Protestant opinions, though his manner of life was not such as to render him an ornament to any religious party. He undertook the management of the School in 1534, when he was about thirty years of age, having already had some experience in teaching. A work which he had just published under the title of *Flowers for Latine Spekynge, selected and gathered oute of Terence, and the same translated into Englysshe*, was doubtless taken into use in the School at Eton.

In the summer or autumn of 1537, Udall and the boys under his charge removed to Hedgerley, to avoid a pestilence then raging at Eton.[4] He seems to have resigned his place soon after their return, on appointment to the living of Braintree in Essex, but he did not stay long in his country parish.[5] In an account of payments made on behalf of Thomas Cromwell, the celebrated minister of Henry the Eighth, there is an entry of no less than 5*l.* given on the 2nd of February 1538 to "Woodall, the

[1] Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, preface. Mr. Leach has shown that the reference is to Cox and not, as generally supposed, to Udall.

[2] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.

[3] *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xii. p. 412.

[4] There are numerous references to the migration to Hedgerley in the College accounts, 1536—1538.

[5] *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII.* vol. xii. part 2, p. 299.

schoolmaster of Eton, for playing before my Lord."[1] Theatricals were more congenial to Udall than purely pastoral duties. Eventually he obtained royal licence to hold his vicarage and other ecclesiastical benefices without the necessity of personal residence.[2]

During his tenure of office, Udall acquired a great reputation for the discipline which he used to maintain by a free use of the birch. Thomas Tusser, the author of the *Five hundred points of good Husbandry*, records of himself :—

> "From Powles I went, to Aeton sent
> To learn straightwayes the Latin phraise,
> Where fiftie three stripes given to mee
> at once I had,
> For fault but small or none at all,
> It came to passe thus beat I was ;
> See, Udall, see, the mercy of thee
> to mee, poore lad ! "

The Eton tradition in favour of frequent flogging was maintained by William Malim, and, after a milder period, revived by John Keate. On one subject, however, there was a wide difference of opinion between Udall and Keate, for the former was as anxious to promote acting as the latter was to discourage it. It has been already seen that the Eton boys in the fifteenth century used to be entertained from time to time by the King's minstrels ;[3] but the exact date at which the College theatricals were introduced is unknown. An early notice of them occurs in 1525, when two plays were performed in the Hall at Christmas. They afterwards became a yearly institution, and a box full of "players cloathes" was kept in the room of the Master,[4] who generally undertook the management of the performances.

There is reason to believe that the earliest English comedy now extant was written by Udall for his scholars, and the history of its identification is singular. A small piece, styled "*Ralph Roister Doister*," was picked up by Thomas Briggs, an old

[1] *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII.* vol. xiv. part ii. p. 334.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. xiii. part ii. p. 280.
[3] Page 93 above.
[4] A list of its contents is printed in Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 214.

Etonian, in 1818, and by him presented to the College Library in December of that year, simply as a literary curiosity. The book had no title-page, and it was not until after it had been reprinted twice that the name of the author was discovered, through the occurrence in it of the original of a passage quoted in the third edition of Wilson's *Rule of Reason*, as being taken from "an interlude made by Nicholas Udall." Thus, by a strange coincidence, it proved that the volume presented to the Eton Library was in fact the long-lost composition of an Eton Master of the sixteenth century.[1] Inasmuch as the book containing the quotation was printed in 1554, and *Ralph Roister Doister* in 1566, the latter must have existed in manuscript only for several years. If we take into consideration the fact that Thomas Wilson had been educated at Eton under Udall,[2] we may fairly surmise that he had become acquainted with the play in question by having taken a part in it, or, at the least, witnessed its performance, during his school-days.

> "The scene of *Ralph Roister Doister* is laid in London, so that in no slight degree it is a representation of the manners of more polished society, exhibiting some of the peculiarities of thinking and acting in the metropolis at the time when it was written. It is divided into acts and scenes, and is one of the earliest productions for the stage which has reached us, in a printed shape, with these distinctions."[3]

Some of Udall's pupils seem to have cultivated the taste for acting which he had implanted in them, for when Queen Elizabeth visited Cambridge in 1564, an English play by him, entitled "*Ezekias*," was performed before her, being "handled by King's College men only."[4] It cannot have been written for the occasion, as the author had been dead several years; and it was probably selected because some of the actors had already appeared in it on the Eton stage.

Udall's career as Schoolmaster was brought to an abrupt

[1] *Ralph Roister Doister* has been reprinted at least six times since 1818. The edition published by the Shakespeare Society contains a memoir of Udall by Mr. W. D. Cooper.

[2] This fact has escaped the notice of the various editors.

[3] Collier's *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 450.

[4] Nichols's *Progresses of Elizabeth*, vol. iii. p. 177.

termination by certain disclosures seriously affecting his character, which were made in the course of a curious investigation at Westminster. It appears that a robbery of silver images and other plate had been committed at Eton in 1541 by two of the scholars, with the assistance of the Master's servant. Cheney and Hoorde, both boys of good family, were summoned before the Privy Council, confessed their guilt, and were committed to custody; as was also a London goldsmith, who was suspected of being their accomplice. They were all released a few days later, but only on very heavy bail, that of young Cheney being fixed at no less than 100*l.* In the meanwhile, Udall himself was examined on the matter by interrogatories, and, although seemingly innocent of the robbery, he had to confess to the most scandalous immorality. He was accordingly sent to the Marshalsea.[1]

The date and cause of Udall's release are unknown, but he evidently had some powerful friend at Court, and to him he addressed an abject letter. He begins by thanking his patron for a kind, though ineffectual, attempt to procure his "restitution to the roume of scholemaister in Eton," which he desires "oonly of an honest purpose to discharge my debts, and by little and little as I might to paye every man his own." He then makes the most piteous entreaties for further favour:—

> "Noo sikeness, noo losse of worldly goddes, none ympresonyng, noo tormentes, noo death, noo kind of other mysfortune could have persed my herte, or made in it soo deepe a wound as hath this your displeasure. . . . I doubte not but that it shall more redounde to your worship, by your clemencie to have made of an unthrifte an honest man, then through your extreme severitee to suffre me utterly to bee cast awaye. To hurt, to undoe, to spill a man, is a thynge of small glorie, and easie for every man to dooe; but to preserve, or to recover a man from present extinction *hoc demum magni excelsique ac generosi est animi* . . . . Accepte this myn honest chaunge from vice to vertue, from prodigalitee to frugall lyving, from negligence of teachyng to assiduitee, from play to studie, from lightnes to gravitee; nor esteme it the wurse or the

[1] *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, (ed. Nicolas) vol. vii. pp. 152, 153, 155, 158, 190, 191.

lighter, for that it begynneth of repentaunce, but rather persuade yourself that the same repentaunce shall still remein within my brest as a continual spurre or thorne to pricke and to quicken me to goodnes from tyme to tyme, as often as neede shall require." [1]

It was not until more than a year after his dismissal, that Udall obtained the arrears of his salary from the Eton Bursars.[2] His subsequent career does not strictly concern us, and so it may be summarized in a few words. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, he produced a translation of the *Apothegmes* of Erasmus, and of his more celebrated *Paraphrase* of St. Luke. Under Edward the Sixth, he was able to proceed further in the direction of Protestantism, by translating Peter Martyr's Treatise on the Eucharist, which caused his name to be placed on the Roman *Index*. The accession of Mary did not affect him injuriously, and he superintended two dramatic performances in her presence, one of which took place at her coronation. Protestant opinions, and a notorious outrage on morality, did not prevent Udall from obtaining the Mastership of Westminster School, in December 1555. He died a year later.[3]

The investigation resulting in the disgrace of Udall had been conducted, not before an ordinary court of law, but before the Privy Council, which then exercised authority in a great variety of cases. An order made by that body a few months earlier related to Bishop Aldrich, who was accused of having left his diocese for the sake of lingering at his comfortable residence at Eton, rather "than for any other just cause." He was accordingly commanded, on the King's behalf, to return forthwith to Carlisle, "there to remain for the feeding of the people, both with his preaching and good hospitality." [4]

Aldrich was doubtless present at the funeral of his predecessor, Roger Lupton, who died in the month of February

[1] *Letters of Eminent Literary Men* (Camden Society).

[2] "*Solutum Magistro Udall pro stipendio suo a retro et aliis ei debitis pro officio suo dum informaret pueros, in plena satisfactione,* liijs. iiij*d*." Audit Book, 1542—1543. This entry was not known to Mr. Cooper or Mr. Arber.

[3] Cooper, pp. i—xxxiv. Leach, p. 185.

[4] *Proceedings of the Privy Council,* (ed. Nicolas) vol. vii. p. 88.

1540. This ex-Provost had left elaborate instructions concerning a feast to be held in the College Hall on the day of his funeral, and again at his 'month's mind,'[1] and for the daily tolling of a bell in the interval. He had provided more than 20*l.* for distribution among the various members of the College on these two occasions, more than 15*l.* for the poor and the children in the town, and 4*l.* for forty strange priests who were to say mass for his soul at Eton.[2] Lupton lies buried in his own chapel, where a monumental brass represents him vested in the distinctive cope then worn by the Canons of Windsor.

Henry the Eighth, not satisfied with the exchange of lands which he had concluded with the College in 1531, compelled the Provost and Fellows, eleven years later, to cede another portion of the former property of the Hospital of St. James. On this second occasion, he paid 52*l.* for "syx acres of meadowe lying near Chilcotthyll in the parishe of Seynte Pancrase and Marybone, in the countye of Middlesex, inclosed within his Grace's parke of Marybone," and fourteen adjacent acres of wood.[3] The College was fortunately allowed to retain more than a hundred acres of land close to Primrose Hill, where a cricket-ground and several streets now take their name from Eton. This property is likely to yield a considerable revenue in the future.

A worse danger, however, than any partial loss of lands soon threatened the College, for Henry the Eighth, having squandered the enormous proceeds of his previous acts of spoliation, obtained from the Parliament of 1545 a grant of all chantries, free chapels, hospitals, and colleges.[4] Eton and Winchester, as well as the two Universities, were thus placed at his mercy, and their experience of his former proceedings was not reassuring. Their alarm has been characterized as "unnecessary" by the apologist of Henry the Eighth;[5] and it might seem incredible that the King should for a moment have

[1] For 'Month's Minds' see Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, (ed. 1813) vol. ii. p. 213.

[2] Will at Somerset House. *Alenger*, f. 4.

[3] Original deed at Eton.

[4] *Statute* 37 Henry VIII. c. 4.

[5] Froude's *History of England*, (ed. 1867) vol. iv. p. 490.

thought of suppressing the principal seats of learning in the country. Yet it must be remembered that no consideration of the educational work carried on by the regular clergy up to the time of their dispersion had induced him to spare a single monastery. Henry the Eighth did indeed assure the Universities of his pacific intentions towards them; but he seems to have contemplated the destruction of Eton. At any rate, his commissioners proceeded thither on the 27th of March 1546, and prepared a report on the finances of the College. According to their summary, the nett yearly revenue was about 1004*l.* out of which about 149*l.* went in stipends and allowances, and in the maintenance of obits for the Founder and his wife, his father and mother, and Bishop Waynflete. In view of the fact that Edward the Fourth had taken away much of the College property, the Provost was receiving only 30*l.* a year in money, instead of 75*l.* allowed to him by the statutes; there were seven Fellows at 5*l.* apiece instead of ten at 10*l.* and five Chaplains at 4*l.* instead of ten at 5*l.* The stipends of the Schoolmaster, the Usher, and the ten Clerks were also smaller than those to which they were statutably entitled. Out of about 855*l.* thus remaining available, the College had to provide the diets of the Provost and his five servants, the Fellows, the Chaplains, seventy Scholars, thirteen poor children, ten Choristers, and various servants, besides liveries and wages, and to meet all charges for repairs and the like.

There are several indications that the report to this effect was drawn up in haste. Henry the Fifth is styled Henry the First; the title of 'Conducts' is applied to the Clerks instead of to the Chaplains; no notice is taken of the chantries endowed by Provosts Bost and Lupton, or of obits for other benefactors; and the undoubted rights of the Schoolmaster, the Usher, and the Clerks to 'commons' are ignored. As a rough estimate of the revenue that the Crown might obtain by suppressing the College, it was doubtless sufficiently accurate. At the same time, the royal commissioners were careful to take an exact inventory of the ecclesiastical ornaments, and to weigh all the plate. The former were set down as worth 373*l.* while the latter was found to amount to 2314 ounces, of which only 152

were plain silver, the remainder being either gilt and enamelled, gilt, or parcel gilt. These precious goods were "delyvered and commytted" by the King's commissioners to the Provost and Fellows, "to be safelye kepte, usyd, and preserved, to the use of our seide soverign lorde, untill his highnes further pleasure shal be signyfied and declared in that behalf." From this the Fellows knew pretty well what to expect, and one of them wrote on the counterpart of the commissioners' indenture an appropriate quotation :—

"*Fuit Ilium et ingens*
*Gloria Teucrorum, ferus omnia Jupiter Argos*
*Transtulit, incensa Danai dominantur in urbe.*" [1]

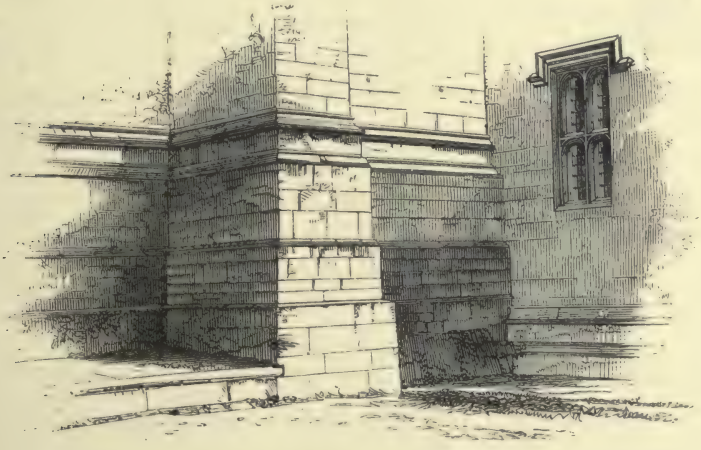
The death of the King himself afforded little security against further molestation, so long as his courtiers retained office and influence.

Eton has never seen a more gorgeous procession than that which accompanied the corpse of Henry the Eighth, from Westminster to Windsor. The highway had been cleared and mended, and the various parishes lying on it had received "hatches and escotcheons of armes," as well as grants of money, so that no place was without some signs of mourning. According to the custom of the time, there was laid upon the coffin an effigy of the deceased King "with the true imperial crown on the head, and under it a night-cap of black sattin, set full of precious stones ; and appareled with robes of crimson velvet, furred with minever, powdered with ermine, the collar of the Garter, with the order of St. George, about the neck ; a crimson satin doublet embroidered with gold, two bracelets of gold about the wrists set with stones and pearl, a fair armoury sword by his side, the sceptre in the right hand, the ball in the left, a pair of scarlet hose, crimson velvet shoes, gloves on the hands, and several diamond rings on the fingers." The chariot was "drawn by eight great horses, trapped with black, adorned with escutcheons, and a shaffedon on their heads, on each of which rode a child of honour carrying a

[1] Compare Creasy's *Eminent Etonians*, p. 74, with Leach's *English Schools at the Reformation*, pp. 15, 16.

bannerol of the king's arms. Thus, with an exceeding great train of four miles in length, the body was conducted to Syon," on the 14th of February. On the following morning, all the lords and their attendants "marched forth from town to town, where they were received in procession with the priests and clerks of every parish on each side of the way censing the corps, as the day before; and all the bells rung in every church against their coming. And so they proceeded till they came to Eton, where along the churchyard wal were the Bishop of Carlile (the Provost), *in pontificalibus*, and al the fellows and masters of the said Church, in their best ornaments and copes; and by them al the young children scholars of the College in their white surplices, bare-headed, holding in the one hand tapers and in the other bookes, saying the seven psalms; and as the corps came by, kneeled and censed it, bidding their *de profundis*, and other prayers. And so the corps passed till it came to the town of Windsor."[1]

[1] Tighe & Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. i. p. 557; Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 302—304.



South-western angle of the School Yard.
(From Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 429.)




## 1547—1558.

Bishop Longland—Suppression of Colleges—Sir Thomas Smith—Marriage of the Clergy—Charges against the Schoolmaster—Inquest on a Scholar—Changes in the Church—Roger Hutchinson—Destruction of Books, etc.—The Marian Reaction—Provost Cole.

JOHN LONGLAND, Bishop of Lincoln, and consequently Visitor of Eton, did not long survive Henry the Eighth, to whom he had for many years acted as confessor. He died at Woburn in May 1547, and the instructions which he left as to his interment are somewhat curious. By a will dated soon after the accession of Edward the Sixth, he directed that his heart should "be conveyed to Lincoln Churche and there buried afore the most blessed sacrament at the high aulter," but that his body should be buried in the choir at Eton at the place at which the Epistle was read, "yf it please the Maister and company to licence the same." He left five marks to be distributed among the "maisters, felowes, mynisters of the queere, and scholers" of Eton, and various other small sums to members of the College, and to the bell-ringers. In return for this, he stipulated for a dirge, lauds, commendations, and a mass of *requiem*. His most valuable legacy to his College consisted of the works of Chrysostom, Hilary, Origen, Bernard, and Athanasius, and the *Sermons* of Augustine, all of which were to

be chained in the Library.[1] An epitaph at Eton used to testify to the due performance of at least part of his dying instructions :—

"*Hæc ædes corpus, Woburnia viscera, servat,*
*Atque pium sedes cor Cathedralis habet.*"

This inscription once formed part of an incised brass, on which Longland was represented in full episcopal costume ;[2] but every trace of this memorial has been destroyed by some act of vandalism within the last two centuries. The Bishop's elaborate chantry in the south choir-aisle at Lincoln has fared better, and still bears the punning inscription :—

Longa terra mensuram ejus Dominus dedit,

with the Arms of the King between the fourth and fifth words.

In the first year of Edward the Sixth, an exchange of lands, which had been arranged with Henry the Eighth, was concluded ; and the College thereby acquired several advowsons and estates that had formerly been held by the regular clergy.[3] It was part of the adroit policy of the Government to make all classes in the country accept some share of the confiscated property, so as to ensure their opposition, through motives of self-interest, to any scheme for the re-establishment of the monasteries. The very existence of Eton College, however, was again threatened by another bill for the suppression of all colleges, chantries, and free chapels. The University of Cambridge was seriously alarmed ;[4] but the friends of learning were sufficiently powerful in the House of Commons to carry a clause, specifically exempting Colleges in the two Universities, those of Winchester and Eton, the chapels at Newton and Windsor, and the cathedral churches of the kingdom.[5]

Soon after the passing of this Act, Aldrich, who viewed with some disfavour the rapid progress of ecclesiastical inno-

[1] Will at Somerset House : *Alen*, f. 39.
[2] *Rawlinson MS.* B. 267.
[3] Lispscomb's *History of Buckingham*, vol. iv. p. 474.
[4] Strype's *Life of Sir T. Smith*, p. 29.
[5] *Statute* 1 Edward VI. c. 4.

vation, resigned the Provostship of Eton, retaining nevertheless his bishopric of Carlisle. For the place thus vacated, the Duke of Somerset, then supreme in England, selected Dr. Thomas Smith, Master of his Court of Requests, and closely connected with him in the administration of public affairs. There was, however, a manifest obstacle to the accomplishment of his wishes. Although Smith had been ordained priest in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and was still a prebendary of Lincoln and rector of Leverington in Cambridgeshire, he had, on the accession of Edward the Sixth, "put off" his clerical attire and practically renounced all clerical obligations.[1] In order, therefore, to qualify him for the Provostship of Eton, the Protector had recourse to the ecclesiastical authority of his nephew as "supreme head" of the English Church. A power of dispensation rivalling that of the least scrupulous popes of the middle ages was arrogated to the young King in letters patent issued on the 24th of December 1547. By this remarkable document, Edward the Sixth, after declaring his intention that Thomas Smith should be elected Provost of Eton, notwithstanding any local statutes to the contrary, authorized him not only to retain his prebend and his rectory, but also to accept any number of deaneries, headships of colleges, canonries and prebends, although not in holy orders, and granted to him unlimited leave of absence from all his benefices, with full permission to marry.[2] This licence under the Great Seal was followed on the next day by a less formal letter under the King's signet, ordering the Fellows of Eton to elect Thomas Smith as their Provost. It proceeds :—

> "And to thentent that ther myght be no stop nor lett to the same bycause the sayd Thomas is not priste or Doctor of Divinite, or otherwyse qualyfyed as your statutts dothe requyre, we consyderynge his other qualitees, thexcellency wherofe so far surmount the defect that this before rehearsyd shold make, have dysspensyd and by these presents do dispense with you, and the said Thomas, and any other that shall admytt the same, with and for all suche thyngs or matters as shold in any wyse stope or lett the same election.

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 117.

[2] Patent Roll, 1 Edw. VI. part 7, m. 4.

Wherefore, as our trust is of your gentil conformytie therin, so we do not dought but in thaccomplyshment of this oure pleasure you shal have cause to thynk yourselfe furnyshed of such a Master, or Provost, as apperteynythe."[1]

In direct contravention of the statutes, which forbade all dispensations, Smith was elected Provost on the 29th of December 1547, and he was formally admitted by the Bishop of Lincoln five days later.[2] By virtue of the royal licence, he was appointed Dean of Carlisle on the 1st of January 1548,[3] and he took further advantage of it, a few months later, by marrying, to the grave scandal of the more rigid party in the Church. Cole, who succeeded him at Eton, could hardly endure the mention of his name, and indignantly described him in the College Register as "*quidam laicus et conjugatus*." In other respects, Smith was well qualified to preside over a seat of learning. At Cambridge he had been distinguished for his scholarship, and he had travelled as far as Italy. In conjunction with Cheke, he had introduced a new manner of pronouncing the lately revived Greek language, by assigning separate sounds to the vowels ε, η and ι, and the dipthongs αι and οι, all of which were pronounced alike by the Greeks of his own time.[4] He was less successful in an attempt to reform the English language, on a converse principle, by adapting the spelling to the pronunciation. With this object he compiled a phonetic alphabet consisting of thirty-four letters, in which, among other innovations, there was a long form as well as a short one for each of the vowels. C was to be abolished, except when it was to be sounded like the Greek χ, but the author was hardly consistent when he retained the letter Q.

Soon after his election to the Provostship, Smith was appointed one of the Secretaries of State, and received the honour of knighthood.[5] The duties of office naturally called him away

[1] Register, vol. ii. f. 2.

[2] "*Solutum Magistro Goldwyn Vicepreposito et Magistro Willyat equitantibus in negotiis Collegii ad dominum Episcopum Lincolniensem pro admissione novi Prepositi, ut patet per billam*, xlvs. jd." Audit Book, 30 December 1547.

[3] Patent Roll, 1 Edw. VI. part 7, m. 41.

[4] Mullinger's *University of Cambridge, 1535 to 1625*, pp. 54—63.

[5] Strype's *Life of Sir T. Smith.*

from Eton for long periods; and once he was detained in London against his will, being compelled to share the temporary confinement of his patron, the Duke of Somerset, in October 1549.[1] There is in the British Museum a small manuscript volume, entitled :—

"*Certaigne Psalmes or Songues of David, translated into Englishe meter by Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, then Prisoner in the Tower of London, with other prayers and songues by him made to pas the tyme there*, 1549."[2]

One of the prayers commences thus :—

> "We can not forget, o Lord, in all our cares and thoughts at this present tyme the wofull estate of this Realme which is outwardly with foreyne enemies assailed and within sore shaken with this eyvil dissencion as well of the comons heretofore as of the nobilitie; thend whereof is only knowen to thee, greatly feared of us even in our great feares. This realme, o Lord, shuld be, and is, a chosen realme to thee, to which thou hast vouchsaved to give the true knowledge of thi veritie and gospell, first by the late King of most famous memorie, Henrie the eighth, and now more amply by his most swete sonne, the King's majestie that now reigneth through the admonicion, advise, and counsell of his loving uncle, who is now one of us in perill and danger."

There is some variety in the metres employed in the other portion of the volume, but the quality of the verses is uniformly bad. The following is a very favourable specimen :—

> "If I have gone about to hurt any man
> Or for to sowe discorde,
> Than let them hurt me as thei can,
> And help me not, o Lorde.
> But if I have alwais sought for peace
> And laboured discord to remove,
> Than help me thou, though thei do not cease
> To pursewe me, for thi love."

After more than four months' confinement, Sir Thomas Smith was released, upon entering into recognisances in a sum of

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 117; *Acts of the Privy Council*, N.S. vol. ii. p. 343.

[2] *King's MS.* 17 A xvii.

3000*l.* to ensure his appearance when wanted and his obedience to future orders.[1] Although he was not reinstated in office as Secretary of State during the reign of Edward the Sixth, he was received back into favour and sent on an embassy into France.[2]

Several members of Eton College hastened to follow the example of their Provost in marrying, although it is difficult to see how they could justify so distinct a breach of the statutes. Richard Williat for instance, one of the Fellows, openly bequeathed money to his wife, by a will dated in the fourth year of Edward the Sixth.[3] The dismissal of several Chaplains, who were no longer required for the celebration of solitary masses, may have provided rooms for the reception of women and children, the very thought of whom would have scandalized the pious Founder. Barker, the Schoolmaster, received a royal licence in 1551, enabling him to retain his post, although he was avowedly married;[4] but such proceedings were regarded with aversion by the stricter portion of the community. A married priest was considered capable of almost any enormity, and Barker had already come in for his share of abuse. William Goldwyn, the Vice-Provost, wrote to Sir Thomas Smith on the 5th of May 1549, to explain :—

> "Where ill reportt hathe byn that the Scholmaster shuld be a disepleyare, cardeare, riatore, or gaumeare, nott applyeng his schole trewlye, that reportt is manifestlye false, for I know he is none of that sortt. I can fynd no faught in hym butt (as I have honestly informe hym) he is sumwhat to gentle and gyvethe his scholears more licence than they have byn usid too before tyme, of the wiche thing evill tounges mey spred mutche matter and diffame withe owt care of ony good redresse. I trust there be no suche in owre cumpanye."[5]

One of Barker's pupils met with an untimely fate, which led to one of the few inquests that have ever been held within the

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, N.S. vol. ii. p. 398. This appears to be the sole foundation for the statement in Froude's *History of England* (vol. v. p. 261) that he was "made to refund 3000*l.* of public money which" he "had embezzled."

[2] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 118.

[3] Register, vol. ii. f. 46.

[4] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* vol. i. pp. 275, 556.

[5] S. P. Dom. Edward VI. vol. vii. no. 4.

Liberty of the College. From the account of the proceedings on that occasion, it appears that one of the scholars named Robert Sacheverell was in the "pleyeng lease" about seven in the evening on the 29th of July 1549, and there went to bathe at "le watring-place" with some of his companions. While in the water he was carried away by the stream to a place known as "le whirlpol," and so disappeared. The jurors therefore pronounced "that water execrable, and the cause of his death; on whose soul may God have mercy."[1]

This last sentence has a Catholic sound, but, in point of fact, the College authorities had followed the successive changes in matters of religion. Sir Thomas Smith had been a supporter of the Reformation from his earliest years, and several of the Fellows shared his views. The changes under Henry the Eighth had been chiefly political, but those under Edward the Sixth extended to the services of the Church.

About a month after the election of Smith, the images at the high altar were pulled down and carted away;[2] and the College lost no time in purchasing a book of the *Homilies* and a copy of the new Communion-book.[3] In 1551, the embroidered frontals of the other altars were sold, the Provost and such of the Fellows as wanted any buying them for their own purposes.[4] This confirms a well-known statement by Heylin:—

> "Many private persons' parlours were hung with altar cloaths, their tables and beds covered with copes instead of carpets and coverlets; and many made carousing cups of the sacred chalices, as once Belshazzar celebrated his drunken feast in the sanctified vessels of the Temple. It

[1] "*Unde dicunt aquam illam execrabilem et causam fuisse mortis illius. Cujus animæ misereatur Deus.*" Register, vol. ii. f. 42. The Audit Books of the sixteenth century contain frequent references to the Playing Fields. In 1507, some work was done "*in campis puerorum.*" In 1511, *1s.* was paid "*pro sera pensili et clave ad clausuram prati lusorii.*" In 1512, there is mention of hedges in "le playing lesse."

[2] 25 January 1548. Bursars' Accounts, 1547—1548. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 442.)

[3] "*Pro libro homeliarum*, xvj*d.*" 5 January 1548. *Ibid.* "*Pro libro Communionis*, iij*s.* viij*d.*" *Ibid.* 1549.

[4] "Received of our master for a front and a frontell of whyte damaske and a red frontell, iij*l.* v*s.* iij*d.*" &c. Audit Book, 1550—1551.

was a sorry house, and not worth the naming, which had not somewhat of this furniture in it, though it were only a fair large cushion, made of a cope, or altar-cloth, to adorn their windows, or make their chairs to have somewhat in them of a chair of state." [1]

One of the purchasers of frontals was Roger Hutchinson, a good patristic scholar for his age, who was in the habit of making Greek quotations in his writings and discourses. He published a work entitled "*The Image of God*," in 1550, and being afterwards elected a Fellow of Eton, he there delivered three sermons on the Lord's Supper. His views on that sacrament were decidedly anti-Roman, although not always quite consistent. In one place he uses a local analogy to express his doctrine :—

"The body and blood of Jesus Christ, be in His holy supper, as thy house, with thy garden, and other commodities, is in thy lease, which thou hast by the College seal of Eton or of Windsor." [2]

In another passage, he distinctly says that "the natures of bread and wine are changed and altered" after the consecration.[3] Hutchinson did not indulge in such scurrilous language respecting his adversaries as many writers of his party, and he was sufficiently liberal to appreciate the services rendered to the nation and church by men like Henry the Sixth :—

"Noble benefactors, which did build houses and endow them with lands for the good education of youth, for the reward of learning, and that this realm should be furnished with godly and learned preachers, are slandered as superstitious and popish founders. It shall be better with the heathen at the day of judgment than with us ; for they honoured their benefactors, we deprave and deface them, and accuse them of superstition and folly." [4]

Hutchinson took part, as a Fellow, in suppressing the observance of seven of the festivals appointed by the Founder.

[1] *History of the Reformation.*
[2] *Hutchinson's Works* (Parker Society), p. 251.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 277.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 309.

Extra 'commons' had hitherto been allowed on twenty-five days of the year, but, after the autumn of 1551, the College authorities ceased to recognize the feasts of the Death and Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Corpus Christi, Relics, the Nativity and the Assumption of the Virgin, and the Dedication of the Collegiate Church.[1]

An attempt was made at this period to change the formal designation of the College by inserting a mention of the Fellows and omitting the name of the Blessed Mary as patroness ; but a lease granted in the name *Præpositi et Sociorum Collegii Regalis de Eton* was declared void in the next reign in a legal judgement, which was respected even during the period of Puritan ascendancy a century later.[2]

The virtual abrogation of the old rules enforcing clerical celibacy led to several changes at Eton, in all of which the personal comfort of Sir Thomas Smith was specially studied. Whereas his predecessors and his successors were generally styled "Master Provost," or "Mr. Provost," the Fellows habitually spoke of him as "our Master." The audit books mention "our Master's new cellar," his "new kitchen," and "his buttery," rooms which became necessary for the first time when he brought a wife to live within the precincts of the College.[3] Either in his time or soon afterwards, the large room built for a library in 1517 was converted into a hall for the Provost's lodging, and the Provost appropriated the whole of Lupton's building, as well as the north-western tower built by Henry the Sixth. During the year ending at Michaelmas 1551, Sir Thomas Smith received, in the money of that time, 50*l.* as Provost, 25*l.* as Rector of the parish, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the wages

[1] Audit Book, 1550—1551. The expenditure on all the festivals was allowed at the Audit, but the names of those mentioned above were afterwards cancelled, as a note that they should not reappear in the following year.

It may here be remarked that although the workmen engaged at Eton in the reign of Henry VI. seem to have observed the 5th of June as "the Dedication day" (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 310), the College, year after year from 1447, celebrated the Dedication of the Church on some day between the 4th and the 8th of November. Audit Rolls and Books, *passim*.

[2] Dyer's *Reports*, p. 150a. Trinity Term, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary.

[3] Bursars' Accounts and Audit Books, 1547—1551.

of servants, 10*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* for his livery, and 100*l.* for his diet, although he was continuously absent. The College furthermore maintained his stable, at a cost of nearly 60*l.* and furnished his rooms. Altogether, he seems to have lived in a grand style, and it is recorded of him that "he used to wear goodly apparel and went like a courtier."[1]

The position of the Fellows and the Schoolmaster was also improved, their respective stipends being raised to the full amounts sanctioned by the Founder. Definite allowances seem to have been granted to them for their diets, and provision was made for the diets of their servants, possibly representatives of the poor boys mentioned in the statutes. Payments in money were also substituted for the clothes which they had hitherto received from the College.

The Schoolmaster's residence at this period was in the tower at the north-western angle of the Churchyard, or School Yard, and from his upper room therein he had direct access to the Scholars' dormitory, afterwards known as the 'Long Chamber.'[2] Immediately below this room was another which, under the name of 'Chambers,' is to this day used by the Head Master for official purposes.[3] At the eastern end of the Long Chamber was the single room of the Usher,[4] who continued to dine at the second table in the Hall, in company with the Chaplains, or Conducts, and the Clerks.

The appropriation by the Provost of the room now known as the Election Hall, either in the reign of Edward the Sixth or in that of Elizabeth, must have necessitated some fresh arrangement with regard to the Library, but it is impossible to say with certainty where the books were actually stored before the Provostship of Henry Savile. Six labourers were employed for ten days in 1548 or 1549 "on cleansing the new Library,"[5] and the Fellows proceeded to cleanse it in another sense by getting

[1] Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 32.

[2] Audit Book, 1552 — 1553. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 431.)

[3] "Mr. Scholemaster's lower chamber" is mentioned in the accounts for 1608—1609. (*Ibid.* p. 462.)

[4] Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 430, 462.

[5] "*Circa bibliothecam novam purgandam.*" Bursars' Accounts, 1548 – 1549.

rid of certain "superstitious" books. Perhaps they were seriously afraid of the penalties of an Act of Parliament, then recent, and still nominally in force, under which the owners of old missals, breviaries, and the like are rendered liable to fine and imprisonment.[1] They certainly sold some volumes to a bookbinder of Cambridge,[2] and there is every reason to believe that a large portion of the library was either alienated or destroyed. Whereas the expenditure on iron bars, chains, and materials for binding between the years 1519 and 1521 shows that there was then a considerable collection of books at Eton,[3] the number of volumes written or printed before that date which now remains there is comparatively small. A single anthem-book of the beginning of the sixteenth century has somehow been preserved,[4] but the literary gifts of early benefactors have for the most part disappeared. One volume, apparently rejected by the College in the reign of Edward the Sixth, has been identified, and, strangely enough, it proves to be a copy of the Bible.[5]

The College of Eton was specifically included in the scope of a royal commission which was appointed, in November 1548, to visit the University of Cambridge,[6] but Sir Thomas Smith, who was one of the commissioners, seems to have persuaded his colleagues that there was no occasion for them to interfere with him in his own province. On the 6th of May 1552, however, some of their number were ordered to go in person to Eton College, to see what things should be "reformed or corrected there" and give such injunctions as would tend to "the increase of vertue and lerning," according to their commission. Eight days later, doubtless in consequence of some report from them, Henry Riley, the Vice-Provost, was ordered to appear before the Privy Council at Greenwich, bringing with him Robert Avise, one

[1] Stat. 3 and 4 Edw. VI. cap. 10.

[2] "Received of John Pother, bokebinder of Cambridge, for certeine boks in the librarye, xl*s*." Audit Book, 1550—1551.

[3] Willis & Clark, vol. iii. pp. 431—432.

[4] *Archæologia*, vol. lvi.

[5] It had been given to the College by Provost Lupton in the reign of Henry VIII. and it was in Sir Robert Cotton's collection before 1597. It is now in the British Museum—*Cotton MS. Titus A xxii.*

[6] State Papers Domestic, Edw. VI. vol. v. no. 13.

of the Fellows, and Thomas Harland, the Usher. Thomas Fawding, another Fellow, was at the same time examined upon a charge of having "reported certaine lewde woordes touching the sucession of the Crowne" and was committed to the Fleet prison.[1]

About Whitsuntide in the same year, Sir Thomas Smith also appeared before the Council, seemingly on account of his "perpetual contention with the Fellows of Eton."[2] The questions at issue are not specified, but Smith has been represented as a man of haughty manners and a grasping disposition,[3] which may well have annoyed some who did not differ from him in religion, that most fruitful cause of dissension in the sixteenth century. Under date of the 26th of September, Edward the Sixth records in his Journal :—

> "The Duke of Northomberland, the Marques of Northampton, the Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Petre, and Mr. Secretary Cicel ended a matter at Eton College between the Master and the Fellows ; and also took order for the amendment of certain superstitious statutes."[4]

The audit book records the expense incurred by the College in entertaining these illustrious guests, and, in some autobiographical notes of later date, Sir Thomas Smith states with satisfaction that he was acquitted of every charge made against him, to the infamy and disgrace of his accusers.[5] No other account of the proceedings has been preserved.

A curious entry in the audit book for 1553 records a payment of no less than 53*s*. "to Matthew Bargman and ten others watching the Colledge when theves shuld have robbyd it." These last must have had designs upon the buttery, for an inventory taken in December 1550, shows that the Church would not have yielded a rich booty. Most of the ornaments scheduled four years previously had disappeared, and the list specifies only five patens and chalices—probably one for the high altar and one for each of the altars in the nave or ante-chapel—

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, N.S. vol. iv. pp. 35, 44, 46, 47.
[2] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 118.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 121—125.
[4] Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, (ed. Pocock) vol. v. p. 85.
[5] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 118.

one pair of candlesticks, two censers, a chrismatory, a pix, and four staves for the rulers of the choir, in all less than 300 ounces of silver.[1]

In May 1553, the Privy Council resolved that the bells of Eton College should be confiscated to the King, and that the remainder of the Church goods there should be converted "from monumentes of superstition to necessarie uses."[2] The remains of the old ecclesiastical plate were accordingly "exchanged at the commaundement of the King's cownsell, as appeareth by the lettre subscribed with their hands," and in its stead the College obtained some "plate for the buttarie," consisting of silver wine-pots, jugs, and bowls. One chalice alone was retained for use.

The Provost and Fellows would hardly have been so willing to dispose of their

> "Crosses, relics, crucifixes,
> Beads, pictures, rosaries, and pixes,"[3]

if they could have foreseen the reaction which set in upon the death of Edward the Sixth a few months later. Like many others, they tried to avoid trouble by conforming to the revived ceremonial. Two months after the accession of Mary, the high altar was set up and repaired,[4] and, a little later, the stoup for holy water was replaced in its old position near the door.[5] Some texts which the Reformers had caused to be painted on the walls of the Church were also blotted out.[6] No acts of submission, however, could save the married clergy from expulsion, and three new Fellows were admitted on one day, the 2nd of March 1554. Even after this, parties were so equally divided in the College that it was found impossible to fill up a fourth vacancy by the ordinary process of election, and the right of nomination was allowed to lapse to the Bishop of Lincoln.

It is somewhat remarkable that, while the married Fellows were deprived of their places, Sir Thomas Smith was suffered to remain in undisputed possession of the Provostship for

[1] Inventory at Eton.
[2] *Acts of the Privy Council*, N.S. vol. iv. p. 270.
[3] Butler's *Hudibras*.
[4] Audit Book, September 1553.
[5] *Ibid.* 1553—1554.
[6] *Ibid.* (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 442.)

about a twelvemonth after the death of Edward the Sixth. Having been duly ordained, he might indeed still claim to be a priest, in spite of his lay costume, and it is stated that he "did sometymes interprete Scripture" at Eton.[1] The difficulty caused by his marriage had, moreover, been removed by the death of his wife, on the day of Queen Mary's entry into London.[2] Nevertheless, it is probable that he owed his immunity less to any technical considerations than to the facts that he was a member of the new House of Commons and had powerful friends at Court. The circumstances under which he eventually quitted his place at Eton are somewhat obscure, but it is evident that his action in the matter was not wholly voluntary. After recording in some autobiographical notes that he had "spontaneously" resigned the Provostship of Eton and the Deanery of Carlisle about the month of May 1554, "or soon after," he himself qualified this statement by inserting the word "*quasi*" before the word "spontaneously."[3] There are fair grounds for surmising that his resignation was connected with his engagement to a widow, whom he married on the 23rd of July. However this may be, the audit book records the journey of Henry Pauley, one of the new Marian Fellows, "to Wynchester, to the Bishope of Lincole, our visitor, for the resolution of certeyne doubts in our founder's statutes." Another entry shows that, while Mary was awaiting the arrival of Philip of Spain, the same Fellow rode "to Farnham, to exhibit a supplication to the Quene's majestie for fre election, accordinge to our founder's wyll and ordinances."[4] His second mission was presumably unsuccessful, for Henry Cole seems to have been nominated by the Queen to succeed Smith. At any rate he was elected Fellow and Provost on one day, in spite of the adverse votes of a minority of the Fellows.[5] Sir Thomas Smith was allowed 100*l.* a year, in compensation for the loss of the Deanery of Carlisle and the Provostship of Eton;[6] and the College

[1] State Papers Domestic, Eliz. vol. ccli. no. 117.
[2] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 118.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 108, 118.
[4] Audit Book, June to September 1554.
[5] 13 July 1554. Register, vol. ii.
[6] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. p. 118.

accounts mention a payment to him of 50*l.* "for the lease of Cottesford," which had been granted to his brother, John Smith.[1]

Henry Cole, the new Provost, was a man of considerable note among the members of his own party. He had been educated on Wykeham's foundations, and, during the reign of Henry the Eighth, had held several ecclesiastical preferments, of which the most important was the Wardenship of New College. In the next reign, he is said to have professed himself a follower of Peter Martyr, and he has thereby incurred the accusation of being a time-server. It appears, on the contrary, that he resigned all his places before the death of Edward the Sixth, finding it impossible to keep pace with the changes in matters of religion. His zeal and learning fully entitled him to the favour which Queen Mary showed him.[2]

Under Cole's direction, the Church at Eton was, as far as possible, restored to its former condition. The rood and the side-altars were again set up, and the College barber was directed to clean the painted walls of the choir, and decorate Lupton's Chapel.[3] The re-introduction of the Sarum rites involved the purchase of various books—*Kyries*, *Alleluias*, and *Sequences*, a *Hymnal* and a *Great Legend*—as well as of chrismatories, bells, and chalices.[4] "An image of our Ladie of Assumption" cost 3*l.*;[5] and a magnificent suit of white damask vestments embroidered with the same subject, and with lilies emblematical of the Virgin and of Eton, cost no less than 9*l.*[6] In one instance at least, restitution was made by Sir Thomas Smith, who sent his servants to the College "bringinge a clothe of tyssew from Ankerwyke."[7] The ex-Provost may have taken it away for his own private chapel, where, as late as the eleventh year of Elizabeth, he kept a chasuble and an alb.[8]

[1] Audit Book, and Lease Book.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[3] Audit Book, June to September 1554; *Ibid.* 1556—1557. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 442.)

[4] Audit Book, 1553—1554.

[5] *Ibid.* 1557—1558.

[6] *Ibid.* June to September 1554.

[7] *Ibid.* 1555—1556.

[8] Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 171; Lipscomb's *History of Buckingham*, vol. iv. p. 595. Cf. *The Guardian*, 21 and 28 March, 1877.

It was during the short period of the revival of the old services that Thomas Lewin, Alderman of London, bequeathed to the College the reversion of an estate at Cippenham, which still bears his name. He stipulated that an obit should for ever be kept for him and certain of his relations in the parish church of Burnham, and that the College should yearly pay 3*s.* 4*d.* to the churchwardens "to have masse before the image of Jesu there," 10*s.* to priests, clerks, and bell-ringers, and also 6*s.* 8*d.* in alms to the poor on Good Friday. Failing the performance of these conditions, the property was to lapse to the Company of Ironmongers, of which the testator was a member.[1] Lewin died in 1555, and the distribution of spiced bread and wine at his elaborate funeral in London has been duly chronicled by a fellow-citizen.[2] The widow survived till 1562, by which date the College had become released by law from any obligation to say masses;[3] but the preacher at Burnham on Good Friday to this day receives 3*s.* 4*d.* for himself, and distributes 16*s.* 8*d.* among the poor of the parish.

In 1556, Provost Cole was selected to deliver a sermon at Oxford immediately before the execution of Cranmer. The memorable scene at St. Mary's—the preacher's exhortation to the supposed penitent, the Archbishop's solemn prayer, and unexpected withdrawal of his recantations—has long been a favourite theme with historians, and needs no description here. Cole conducted himself on the occasion so much to the satisfaction of his patrons, that he was successively appointed Dean of St. Paul's, Vicar-General to Cardinal Pole, and Dean of the Court of Arches. He was afterwards sent to Ireland, with ample powers for the suppression of heresy; but, while he was staying with the Mayor of Chester on the way thither, his hostess contrived to abstract his credentials. Soon after his arrival in Dublin, he tendered to the Irish officials the leathern case in which he had placed the all-

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4840, f. 313.

[2] *Machyn's Diary* (Camden Society), pp. 91, 294, 344, 392.

[3] Register, vol. ii. f. 100. "To Mr. Browne's servante brynginge letters of the death of Mystreis Lewyn, 6*s.* 8*d.*" Audit Book, 1562.

important documents: we may imagine his consternation at finding that, when opened, it contained nothing but a pack of cards with a *knave* uppermost. The Lord Deputy said quietly:—"Let us have another commission, and we will meanwhile shuffle the cards." Cole hurried back to England, but before he could return invested with proper authority, he heard of the deaths of Queen Mary, and his special patron, Cardinal Pole.[1]

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.*



Gateway under Lupton's Tower.




# ETON LIFE
## IN THE
# SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

WE must here make a pause in the narrative of events at Eton, in order to examine, more minutely than has hitherto been possible, the system of education which was formerly pursued in the School. For such a survey, the statutes, the audit rolls and the other ancient muniments of the College afford but little material. In the sixteenth century, however, we meet with three important documents, each of which gives details of the lessons done in the different forms and some information about the general discipline of the time.

The first of these documents dates from the year 1528, when the Master of the Free Grammar School at Cuckfield, in Sussex, undertook to teach "after the form, order, and usage taught in the Grammar School of Eton," which were accordingly set out at some length.[1]

The second document is a return furnished, between 1528 and 1531, by Richard Cox, Master at Eton, for the information and

[1] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. ii. pp. 592—597. Mr. Leach gives some corrections from the original manuscript.

guidance of the Master or the Governors of the Grammar School at Saffron Walden in Essex.[1]

The third document is an elaborate *Consuetudinarium*, or description of the customs, ordinary and extraordinary, which were observed at Eton at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. It is preserved, next to a transcript of the Bursars' accounts for the year ending at Michaelmas 1560, among the manuscripts given to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by Archbishop Parker, and there can be little doubt that both papers were prepared for the information of the royal commissioners who visited Eton in 1561. The former, which alone concerns us here, bears on its fly-leaf the name of William Malim, who was then the Schoolmaster. The *Consuetudinarium* consists of two parts, of which the first enumerates all special and exceptional customs observed at different times of the year, while the second sets forth the daily routine of school life.[2] Malim's treatise is written in Latin prose, more classical perhaps than the mediæval statutes of the College, but far less intelligible. The Provost is in one passage styled *Præpositus*, in another *Præses*; the Schoolmaster is indifferently *Informator*, *Moderator*, *Magister*, *Ludimagister*, and *Gymnasiarcha*.

Except in the matter of certain religious observances and in the use of particular text-books, there was probably little change in the routine of the School between the years 1528 and 1560, and it may be convenient to consider the three accounts together. An occasional reference to the Winchester system is also useful.[3]

In 1528, there were apparently six Forms at Eton. Cox and Malim alike mention seven, but the lessons done in the Seventh, or highest, did not differ from those done in the Sixth. The first three Forms constituted the Lower School, and, in 1560, the

[1] Printed in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 38, but there misdescribed. Mr. Leach gives an amended version of this document also.

[2] *Etoniana*, pp. 65—71. The versions printed in Creasy's *Eminent Etonians* (pp. 77—84), and in Heywood & Wright's *Statutes* (pp. 626—633) are incorrect and incomplete.

[3] The account of Winchester printed by Bishop Wordsworth in *The College of St. Mary Winton* (pp. 7—21) and there ascribed to Christopher Johnson, dates only from the middle of the seventeenth century.

Fourth Form, normally belonging to the Upper School, was under the jurisdiction of the Usher for two hours in the day. There were no Assistant Masters, some *Magistri* mentioned by Malim being evidently the Fellows. For purposes of instruction and discipline alike the authorities had to rely largely upon members of the Seventh Form, who may almost be described as 'pupil-teachers.' The boys thus set over their juniors were styled '*præpositores*,' and, under the contracted form of '*præpostor*,' the name has survived to our own time, although the qualifications for the office and its duties have greatly changed. As to the number of præpostors in the sixteenth century it is not quite easy to reconcile Cox with Malim, or even to understand Malim alone. In one passage, however, the latter enumerates eighteen præpostors at Eton, and this was certainly the number at Winchester in the seventeenth century.[1]

Cox speaks of "two præpositores in every forme," who made lists of the absentees from any lesson, and Malim alludes to them as apparently subordinate to the four præpostors of the school. Perhaps they were identical with the fourteen other præpostors specified by him as having distinctive duties. Four had jurisdiction in the Long Chamber, perhaps in rotation, and four "in the field, when they play, for fyghtyng, rent clothes, blew eyes, or siche like." There was one in the Hall, and a *Præpostor Immundorum* "for yll kept hedys, unwasshed facys, fowle clothis and sich other."[2] The præpostors of the church will be mentioned later.

The designation '*custos*' was used in a peculiar sense at Eton and some other schools in the sixteenth century. Whereas the *custos* of a mediæval community was a responsible officer, such as a church-warden, a bridge-warden, or the foreman of a gang of workmen, the Etonian *custos* was practically the dunce.

[1] "*Præfecti octodecim seniores rite vocantur;*
*Exemplo monituque scholæ moderamina servant.*"

[2] The old Audit Books show that 1*s.* used to be paid every term "to the præpositor of the Haule for wryting the commons boke." The payment on this score in 1860 was 6*s.* At Westminster there were two *Monitores immundorum* in the seventeenth century.

The opprobrious name could be acquired by talking in English, by making three mistakes in the repetition of a rule in grammar, or by making three mis-spellings in a written exercise.[1] From Cox's language it seems doubtful whether there was a *custos* in the First and Second Forms; "the tender babes and young scholars" could hardly be expected to talk in Latin. Malim explicitly states that the *custos* of each Form was the first to repeat the lessons and to answer questions. Thus there was some analogy between his duties and those of a *custos chori*, who began the singing in church.

The principal difference between the arrangements at Winchester and those at Eton consisted in the number of dormitories provided for the Scholars on the foundation. At the former place there were six, while at the latter there was, in the sixteenth century, but one, the Long Chamber.

Like the boys on Wykeham's foundation,[2] the Eton scholars rose early, being awakened at five by one of the præpostors, who thundered forth :—"*Surgite.*" While dressing, they chanted prayers, probably Latin psalms, in alternate verses. Each boy had to make his own bed, and to sweep the dust from under it into the middle of the Long Chamber, whence it was removed by four juniors selected for the purpose by the præpostors. All then went down stairs two and two to wash, doubtless at the "children's pump" mentioned in the audit books. There was no morning service for the boys in the Church, and therefore, their ablutions ended, they proceeded at once to their respective places in the School. The Usher came in at six, and, kneeling at the upper end of the room, read prayers. Whilst he was engaged in teaching the lower Forms, one of the præpostors made

[1] John Brinsley, writing in 1612, says:—"It is a usual custom in schools to appoint *Custodes* or *Asini*, to observe and catch them who speak English in each form, or whom they see idle, to give them the *ferula*, and to make them *custodes* if they cannot answer a question which they ask." Watson's *English Grammar Schools*, p. 315.

[2] "'*Surgite*' *Præfectus clamat;*
'*Num stertitis? ohe,*
*Jam campana sonat; vos surgite, surgite pigri.*'
*Surgendum est; vestes, caligæ, soliæque petuntur;*
*In classem properant; et si campana taceret,*
*Discincti inciperent psalmum cantare Latinum.*
*Postea sint versæ cameræ, pexique capilli,*
*Sternuntur lecti; facies sit lota manusque.*"



LONG CHAMBER, A.D. 1844.

a list of those who were late for prayers, and the *Præpostor Immundorum* examined the faces and hands of his schoolfellows, in order to report any who appeared dirty to the Schoolmaster, on his entry at seven o'clock. Work of various kinds was carried on until after nine, when, as Cox tells us, there was an interval of a quarter of an hour for breakfast. It is, however, very doubtful whether this light meal was supplied by the College. At ten o'clock one of the præpostors shouted :—"*Ad preces consurgite*," and, standing in order on either side of the room, the boys recited further prayers.

Dinner was served at eleven o'clock, and the boys marched to the Hall and back in double file. The work in school began again at midday, and lasted continuously until three, when the Master and the Usher went out. If the boys did not also go out then, they got no time in the Playing Fields in the whole course of the day. Anyhow, regular lessons were resumed at four. At five the boys again left the school in procession, apparently for supper.[1]

The duties of the Schoolmaster and the Usher were now ended for the day, as the work between six and eight was carried on under the superintendence of teachers chosen from among the members of the Seventh Form. There was a slight break at seven o'clock for another meal, which probably consisted only of a draught of beer and a slice of bread.[2] At eight the boys went to bed chanting prayers.

Such was the ordinary routine of the first four working days of the week, but as we shall see, more time was allowed for recreation in the summer months. Friday was at this time observed as a fast-day throughout England. At Eton, as at Winchester,[3] it must have been doubly unpleasant, for all the offences committed during the past week were then enumerated, and the

[1] This was certainly the hour of supper at Winchester.

[2] "*Potum dimittuntur.*"

[3] "*Proh! dolor, heu! Veneris lux sanguinolenta propinquat;*
*Sanguineamque voco, nam si peccaveris hujus*
*Hebdomadæ spatio, pœnas patiere cruentas;*
*Flecte genu, puerique duo, qui rite vocantur,*
*Demittent ligulas, manibusque ligamina solvent.*"
Friday was also the day for 'accusations' at Westminster. *The Public Schools* [by W. L. Collins], p 94.

culprits punished. On Friday and Saturday, the boys were examined in what they had learned during the week, and on the latter day the elder boys sometimes took part in disputations. It may fairly be presumed that they had received some preparatory instruction in rhetoric and logic. There is no mention of any teaching on Sunday or of the services which the boys had to attend.

Each of the three documents upon which this chapter is mainly based affords independent information as to the system of education pursued at Eton in the sixteenth century and enumerates certain authors, ancient and modern, whose works were studied. It need not, however, be supposed that every boy, or even a majority of the boys, was equipped with printed school books. A great deal of the teaching was done by dictation, the boys writing out rules and sentences and eventually learning them by heart.

By 1528, the time-honoured Grammar of Donatus, mentioned in the statutes of Henry the Sixth, had been entirely superseded at Eton. The "babies" in the First Form were at that date taught out of books by the Wykehamist, John Stanbridge, entitled respectively '*Accidentia*,' '*Parvulorum Institutio*,' and '*Vocabula*.' They also did small and easy 'Latins,' "such as the children may understand and have a delight in." Some of the instruction imparted to them was intended as much for their spiritual benefit as for their advancement in Latin. Thus they were taught to say the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave Maria*, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, or other things "meet for Christian people." A treatise in elegiacs beginning *Quos decet in mensa*, compiled by John Sulpitius, an Italian schoolmaster of the previous century, served to inculcate brief rules for polite behaviour.[1]

In the Second Form, the boys were taught grammar out of Whittington's treatises '*De nominum generibus*' and '*De heteroclitis nominibus*,' and they studied the *Disticha de Moribus* of Dionysius Cato, an ethical composition in very simple language. They also did 'Latins.'

In the Third Form, grammar was taught out of Whittington's

[1] Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, (ed. Dibdin) vol. ii. pp. 220–225.

*Verborum præterita et supina.* Construing was done out of Terence, with the *Similitudines* and the *Colloquia* of Erasmus as possible alternatives. 'Latins' were also made.

In the Fourth Form, grammar was further taught out of Whittington's treatise '*De concinnitate.*' The exact subjects of the 'constructions,' or construings, are not stated in the document at Cuckfield.

In the Fifth Form, the boys advanced to the composition of Latin verses. They construed Virgil, Sallust, Horace, "or any other meet for them," such as Ovid's *Epistles.*

In the Sixth Form, attention was paid to a new book by Erasmus '*De copia verborum*' and to other works not specified.

The list of school books furnished by Cox as used in his time at Eton does not differ materially from that of 1528. In the very short period, however, that had elapsed between the preparation of the Cuckfield scheme and that of his report, at least one important change had been made by the abandonment of Whittington's Grammar. Its place had been taken by the Grammar of William Lily, which afterwards became *the King's Latin Grammar*, and, in 1758, *the Eton Latin Grammar*, a book familiar to many persons still living. With regard to the Second Form, Cox states that Æsop's *Fables*, of course in Latin, were studied in addition to the *Disticha* of Dionysius Cato. In the Third Form, Terence was taught on four days of the week, and "properest," or "most proper," hymns were learned on Friday and Saturday. The work of the Fourth Form was very similar, the *Bucolics* of Virgil being, however, substituted for the Latin hymns. With regard to the Fifth Form, the return at Saffron Walden is more definite than that at Cuckfield, as it specifies the books to be construed :—Sallust, Cicero's *Epistles*, and Virgil's *Æneid.* In the Sixth and Seventh Forms, practically one form, the boys continued to study Cicero and Virgil, with the addition of Horace, and the *Figuræ* of Peter Schade, a German schoolmaster commonly called 'Mosellanus,' and the more famous work of Erasmus '*De copia verborum*' mentioned above.

The boys in the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Forms composed "themes," "epistles," and "verses," following the rules laid

down by Despautier, a schoolmaster at Bergen-op-Zoom. Friday afternoon was mainly devoted to the "rendering" of rules learned by heart in the different forms during the previous four days, and Saturday afternoon to the "rendering," or "repeating," of 'Latins' and 'Vulgars,' except in the First Form, which did not go beyond easy 'Latins.'

Malim, in 1560, seems to limit versification to the Sixth and Seventh Forms. No *Gradus ad Parnassum* then existed, to assist the would-be poets in finding suitable words for their compositions, and they had to rely on the contents of their own note-books for "flowers, phrases, or idioms of speech, antitheses, epithets, synonyms, proverbs, similes, comparisons, stories, descriptions of epochs, places and persons, fables, witticisms, figures, and apothegms." The Master and Usher used to read aloud and explain to the boys the passages which were to be learned by heart. The books studied in the School were :

In the First Form, the *Disticha de Moribus* of Dionysius Cato, and the *Exercitatio Linguæ Latinæ* of John Lewis Vives.

In the Second, Terence, Lucian's *Dialogues* (in Latin), and Æsop's *Fables* (in Latin).

In the Third, Terence, Æsop's *Fables* (in Latin), and selections by Sturmius from Cicero's *Epistles*.

In the Fourth, Terence, Ovid's *Tristia*, and the *Epigrams* of Martial, Catullus, and Sir Thomas More.

In the Fifth, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Horace, Cicero's *Epistles*, Valerius Maximus, Lucius Florus, Justin, and the *Epitome Troporum* of Susenbrotus.

In the Sixth and Seventh, Cæsar's *Commentaries*, Cicero '*de Officiis*' and '*de Amicitia*,' Virgil, Lucan and the *Greek Grammar*.

The beginning of the year, in the sixteenth century, found the School enjoying the winter holidays ; but, as appears from Malim's account of the month of December, these holidays were of a kind that would not suit the ideas of Etonians of our own day, inasmuch as the boys were not allowed to go home, or even to remain idle at school. On the 1st of January, they played for 'little new-year's gifts,'[1] in the afternoon and evening, and,

[1] "*Pro strenulis*," equivalent to the French *étrennes*.

"for the sake of good luck,"[1] they wrote verses either for presentation to their teachers, or for circulation among themselves. The kindly interchange of gifts has disappeared long ago, but a trace of the verses survived until about thirty-five years ago, under the name of the *Calendæ* copy, in which the Captain of the School recounted the principal events of the past year. Several of these latter compositions have received places in the *Musæ Etonenses*, as favourable specimens of Latin scholarship; and it is difficult to find any adequate cause for the abolition of so ancient and interesting a practice. The corresponding verses made at Westminster are still annually printed at full length in the newspapers.

In the sixteenth century, the feast of the Epiphany brought the Eton holidays to a close, and the ordinary routine was resumed on the following day. On the 13th of January, the College celebrated the exequies of its great benefactor William Waynflete, some sort of services for the dead being still in vogue in the earlier years of Elizabeth. Each boy received twopence on this day, apparently out of the fund provided by Provost Bost. Malim's account of the last special ceremony in the month of January is one of the most interesting portions of his *Consuetudinarium*, for it contains the earliest notice of the famous Eton procession *ad Montem*. Inasmuch as a future chapter will be devoted to this unique institution, there is no need to describe it in this place. The feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin was of course a holiday; and the school work was again suspended on the 7th of February for the exequies of Provost Bost. The boys had a half-holiday on the following day, after the conclusion of the services for the dead.

On Shrove Monday, Malim used to make his pupils write verses in praise or in condemnation of Father Bacchus, the special patron of poets. The compositions of the boys in the Seventh and Sixth Forms, and of some of those in the Fifth Form, were hung up on the inner doors of the College. The

[1] "*Ominis boni gratia.*" Malim evidently had the *Grammar* of Festus before him, where this expression is used to reconcile the two senses of the word *strena*—"*Strenam vocamus, quæ datur die religioso, ominis boni gratia.*"

name *Bacchus* continued to be given to copies of verses rendered at this season until the nineteenth century, although their original subject had long been abandoned as unsuitable for annual treatment. Samuel Pepys, who visited Eton in February 1666, the year after the great plague of London, relates how he went "to the Hall, and there find the boys verses *de Peste*, it being their custom to make verses at Shrovetide. I read several, and very good ones they were, better, I think, than ever I made when I was a boy, and in rolls as long or longer than the whole Hall by much."[1] In the eighteenth century, the *Bacchus* seems to have been the principal literary exercise of the year, the subject of it being set some five months beforehand. Some of the verses were "sent up," presumably to the Provost, on "*Bacchus* Monday," and others on the following day.[2] They were then suspended by coloured ribands from hooks which may still be seen on either side of the College Hall. One of these rolls of Latin hexameters, composed by Porson, was presented by Mrs. Keate to the Boys' Library. The Marquess Wellesley, writing in 1845, expressed his regret that *Bacchus* verses had been abolished since his school days.[3]

No work was done on Shrove Tuesday after 8 A.M., and at Eton, as elsewhere on this day, the practice prevailed of tormenting some live bird. The College cook carried off a crow from its nest, and fastening to it a pancake, hung it up on the School door, doubtless to serve as a target. At other English schools, a cock was generally selected as the victim. Cock-fighting, and the custom of throwing sticks at cocks, at this season, can be traced back to an early date, and down to the end of the eighteenth century. Even in the time of Charles the Second, Sir Charles Sedley was not ashamed to bid a cock

> "be punished for St. Peter's crime
> And on Shrove Tuesday perish in thy prime."

Well might a sarcastic foreigner say, that, after eating pancakes, the English "immediately go mad and kill their cocks."[4]

[1] *Diary*, 26 February 1666.
[2] MS. Diary of Dr. Davies.
[3] *Primitiæ et Reliquiæ.*
[4] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, (ed. 1813) vol. i. pp. 61—71.

It is evident that in the time of Elizabeth, cruelty to animals was not counted among the sins for which penitents required to be shriven before the beginning of Lent. Malim's notice of Ash Wednesday is curious, inasmuch as, after describing the observances of the day, he crossed his pen several times through the whole passage, to show that some change had just been introduced. It is accordingly omitted in some printed versions of the *Consuetudinarium*; but it certainly deserves notice. It states that all the boys—Oppidans as well as Collegers—went to church at ten o'clock, and there chose confessors from among the Fellows and Chaplains, "for confession is a wholesome medicine for the sinner." The names of those who received absolution were inscribed on rolls, and the next four days were devoted to penitential exercises. On the 27th of February, were celebrated the exequies of Provost Lupton: the boys received a penny apiece, and played from dinner to bed-time. Lady-day ranked only as a 'minor double' in the church calendar, but the Master was allowed to declare it a holy-day at Eton, because the College was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

On the Wednesday before Easter, the regular school routine was discontinued at nine o'clock. The younger boys received writing-lessons, while the more skilful ones drew figures for others to copy. About four o'clock in the afternoon, they all attended a service in the Church, probably based upon the ancient *Tenebræ*. On Maunday Thursday, the Master selected such of the scholars as appeared most fit to partake of the Blessed Sacrament. The communicants feasted together sumptuously, and usually obtained leave to take an afternoon walk in the country, on promising not to enter any wine-shops or ale-taverns.[1] Immediately after communicating, they repaired to the choir in their surplices, and, later on, they attended the singing of grace in the Hall. The rest of the scholars played on that day from dinner to bed-time.

[1] They were not the only persons entertained on this day, for there is note of a payment "*pro collatione facta choro et parochianis in cœna Domini*," in the Audit Book, 1528—1529, and similar entries occur in other years.

On Good Friday, the boys had a writing-lesson, and then went to church for matins at nine o'clock. After dinner the Master came to the School-room about one o'clock, and there delivered a lengthy address,[1] explaining the nature of the Blessed Eucharist, "how it should be received, by whom it may be received worthily, by whom unworthily." At four o'clock the boys went to church again, and they afterwards played. During this play-time the Master settled who should communicate on a subsequent day, that is to say on Easter morning. On the Saturday, the writing-lesson lasted from 7 to 8 A.M., after which the boys went to church. They were allowed to play from dinner-time till evensong, but went to bed at seven, for, says Malim, "they *used* to rise at the third watch commemorating the exceeding glory of the death and resurrection of the Lord with most grateful memory. Here, while the custom lasted, three or four of the elder scholars were selected by the Master at the request of the Sacristan (*sacrorum ædilis*) to watch the Sepulchre with lighted candles (*cereis*) and torches according to custom (*pro cæremonia*), lest the Jews should steal the Lord, or rather lest misfortune should occur from any neglect in watching the lights."[2]

The boys had writing-lessons every day in Easter-week, but they were allowed to play after dinner on holy-days, and after supper on ordinary days. The regular school routine was resumed on the second Monday after Easter Day.

On the feast of St Philip and St. James, if the weather was fine, some of the boys rose at four

"to do observance to a morn of May."[3]

[1] "*Unam horam aut alteram bene terit.*"

[2] According to the Use of Sarum, a pix containing one of the three Hosts consecrated on Maunday Thursday was kept in the Sepulchre, together with a crucifix, for three days. It was removed to the High Altar on the morning of Easter Day, after which the choir sang "The Lord is risen," etc. In some churches the Sepulchre was a solid structure; in others it was moveable. The Audit Roll 1479—1480, contains the following entries :—"*Et* iij*s.* iiij*d. solut' Thome Halle pro certis instrumentis ferreis ponderantibus* xl*li. pro sepulcro Domini, erga diem Parasceve.*" "*Et* ij*s. solut' Simoni Forte operanti in ecclesia per iij dies erga festum Pasche circa sepulcrum Domini, et factura fontis in navi ecclesie.*" There are other similar entries in 1482—1483.

[3] *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act 1, sc. 1.

"For May wol have no slogardie a-night;
The seson priketh every gentil herte,
And maketh him out of his slepe to sterte."[1]

Having been cautioned by the Schoolmaster against getting their feet wet, they went out into the country, to pick branches of *may*, wherewith to decorate the windows of their dormitory.

"Devotion gives each house a bough,
Or branch; each porch, each doore, ere this,
An arke a tabernacle is
Made up of white-thorn neatly enterwove."[2]

The later practice of decorating Long Chamber at Election-tide with green boughs from the College woods at Hedgerley was perhaps derived from this old May-Day custom. It was only discontinued when the Long Chamber was subdivided. English compositions in prose or verse, interlarded with quotations from the Roman poets, were written by the boys at this season, to celebrate "the flowery sweetness of the spring-time."

The feast of St. John *ante Portam Latinam* fell upon the 6th of May, and from that day forth the hours of work were considerably relaxed. The boys were allowed to take a *siesta* in the school-room after dinner, and were only aroused in time for '*bever*' (*merenda*) at three o'clock.[3] An additional play-hour was also allowed in the evening from seven to eight o'clock. A Latin adage quoted by Malim describes the pleasures of the season :—

*Porta Latina pilam, pulvinar, pocula præstat.*

On the 21st of May were celebrated the exequies of Henry the Sixth, and the boys received 2*d.* apiece. The only real vacation in the year began on Ascension Day, when those who were "carried away by the desire of visiting their parents or friends" received permission to leave Eton. Before dismissing the boys, the Schoolmaster used to exhort them to behave themselves properly, so as not to bring any discredit on their school or their teacher. The holidays lasted three weeks, ending on the eve of

[1] Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, l. 1044.
[2] Herrick's *Hesperides*.
[3] *Bever*, consisting of bread and beer for the Collegers and their friends every afternoon in summer, survived at Eton until June 1890, when it was discontinued. *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 528

the feast of Corpus Christi. Any Scholars who failed to return on that day were flogged, whilst any who absented themselves beyond the next day, were deprived of their places.

On the eve of Midsummer Day in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the Eton boys used annually to decorate their bedsteads with pictures, and with copies of verses relating to episodes in the life of St. John the Baptist. They were allowed to sit up till nine o'clock that evening, and to lie in bed till six o'clock the next morning. Soon after matins on the 24th, they used to raise a bonfire near the east end of the Church, and stand in order round it while the choristers sang three antiphons.[1] The feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, five days later, used to be observed with similar ceremonies ; and the bonfire was once more lighted on the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury (July 7). These peculiar customs had been abolished shortly before the date at which Malim wrote, but the feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin (July 2) and the feast of Relics were still kept as holy-days.

Notices of the days of election to Eton and to King's College were duly affixed to the College gates seven weeks beforehand, as ordered in the statutes. The elections took place near the end of July, and the Provost and 'posers' from Cambridge were expected to attend the exequies of Robert Rede, which were celebrated at that time. The boys did no work after dinner on five days during the week of election. The feast of the Assumption (August 15), once the most solemn day in the year at Eton, was a whole holiday even in the reign of Elizabeth, and on the previous day no lessons were done after evensong. The anniversary of the beheading of St. John the Baptist (August 29) was considered the last day of summer, and was usually allowed as a whole holiday at the request of the College steward. On this day the boys enjoyed their *siesta*, their '*bever*,' and their evening play-hour, for the last time.

The ancient observance of the feast of the Nativity of the

[1] In other parts of England, and indeed of Europe generally, it was customary to light the midsummer bonfire on the eve of the festival, instead of on the day itself. Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, (ed. 1813) vol. i. pp. 238--268.

Blessed Virgin (September 8) had been abolished shortly before the date of the *Consuetudinarium.* "On a certain day" in September, the boys went out nutting in the same order in which they marched *ad Montem* in January. On their return, they offered some of their spoils to the Schoolmaster, in proof of their gratitude for the day's enjoyment, and some to the Fellows. Before obtaining leave for the expedition, however, they had to exert themselves to the utmost in writing verses in praise of the "apple-bearing autumn," and in mournful deprecation of the "deadly cold" of the approaching season. We may believe that the unfortunate boys wrote with feeling, as they must have suffered bitterly in school in the dark winter mornings. "Thus learning from their childhood, the vicissitude of all things, they 'leave their nuts' (*nuces*), as the proverb has it, *i.e.* laying aside the pursuits and trifles (*nugis*) of childhood, they turn to graver and more serious subjects." Malim does not specify the exact day of the nutting expedition, but, judging by analogous customs elsewhere, we may set it down as the 14th of September :—

> "This day, they say, is called Holy Rood Day,
> And all the youth are now a nutting gone."[1]

On all the holy-days between the feast of the Translation of King Edward (October 13) and Easter, the boys received religious instruction in school between four o'clock and five. The feast of All Saints was a holy-day, and on the following morning the boys went to church in their surplices at seven o'clock to celebrate the feast of All Souls. After dinner they went to the school-room, and there repeated prayers for the dead, read aloud mournful passages selected by the Schoolmaster, and wrote verses about "the glory of the resurrection, the blessedness of souls, and the hope of immortality." Having devoted so many hours to the contemplation of these grave subjects, they were allowed to amuse themselves as they liked from two or three o'clock until bed-time.

There was formerly a custom at Eton of electing a Boy-Bishop from among the scholars, on the feast of St. Hugh

[1] Old play quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, (ed. 1813) vol. i. p. 280.

(November 17), but the custom had been abolished before the date at which Malim wrote. It is curious to observe that this day does not tally with that specified by Henry the Sixth for the ministrations of the Boy-Bishop, for he explicitly mentions the feast of St. Nicholas (December 6), "on which, and not by any means on the feast of the Holy Innocents, we allow divine service, except the sacred portions of the mass, to be performed and said by a Boy-Bishop of the scholars, to be chosen from among them yearly for the purpose."[1] The apparent discrepancy may, however, be explained by a conjecture that although the Boy-Bishop was elected on the 17th of November, he did not actually officiate before the 6th of December. In other collegiate and cathedral churches, the authority of these mock prelates used to be absolute from the latter date to Childermas, or Holy Innocents' Day. The young bishop and his assistants were generally styled 'Nicholas and his Clerks,' and were dressed exactly like the clergy whose duties they parodied. We have an illustration of this at Eton in the mention of a rochet for the Boy-Bishop.[2] This abuse was tolerated even by the enlightened Dean Colet, who ordered the boys at St. Paul's School to hear a Child-Bishop preach a sermon on Childermas Day. Although prohibited by a proclamation of Henry the Eighth in 1543, it survived in some parts of England until the reign of Elizabeth. The profanity of the proceedings is scarcely extenuated by the plea "that there might this at least be said in favour of this old custom, that it gave a spirit to the children; and the hopes that they might at one time or other attain to the real mitre, made them mind their books."[3] Inasmuch as the boy who officiated as a bishop

[1] *Statute* xxxi.

[2] "*In factura unius rochet ordinate pro episcopo Nicolacensi*, js. vj*d*." Audit Roll, 1446—1447. "*Pro reparatione* le rochet *pro episcopo puerorum*, xj*d*." Audit Book, 1507—1508. In an inventory of the reign of Henry VIII. this is described as a present from James Denton (King's, 1486) for use at St. Nicholas's time. "*Pro pelle pergameni ad inscribendum nomina officiariorum episcopi in festo Sancti Hugonis*, iv*d*." Audit Book, 1536—1537.

[3] For further particulars about Boy-Bishops see Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, Hone's *Ancient Mysteries*, Walcott's *William of Wykeham*, p. 205, Strype's *Memorials*, and *Camden Miscellany*, vol. vii.

on the feast of St. Nicholas at Eton was sometimes styled "*Episcopus Nicolacensis*," Malim thought it witty to call him "*Episcopus Nihilensis*," a bishop of nothingness.

The mummery of the Boy-Bishop was not the only entertainment permitted at Eton in the later part of the year, for, at the end of November, the Schoolmaster chose plays for public performance by the boys at Christmastide. Malim admits the levity of these representations; but he pleads in their defence that nothing is more conducive to fluency of expression, and a graceful deportment. The plays were usually in Latin, but English ones were sometimes selected if specially clever and witty.[1] Udall's comedies were doubtless popular.

The regular school work was suspended from the 20th of December until the Epiphany. During that interval, the only instruction given was in the art of writing, in which, to judge by specimens still extant, the Eton boys were adepts. The more industrious scholars, however, got through a good deal of work at this time, for they used daily to vie with one another in verses, epigrams, and speeches. These exercises were purely voluntary, and were carried on almost without the knowledge of the authorities. But in case any boy seemed too much absorbed in his studies, the Master would urge him to take part in the games of his schoolfellows. No work whatever was done on Christmas Day, and the boys went to bed at seven, earlier than usual

[1] The entries in the Audit Books about the plays are so numerous that it will be sufficient to give a few specimens. "*Pro expensis circa ornamenta ad duos lusus in aula tempore Natalis Domini*, xs." 1525—1526; "*Solutum informatori pro vj berbis, juxta xd.*, vs. *Solutum eidem pro iiij* ly whyte caulis, *juxta vd.*, xx*d.*" 1548—1549; "a barrell of beare spent upon strangers at the playe in the haull, iv*s.* vj*d.*"; "To Mr. Usher for an interlude that was plaide in the Haull, vj*s.* viij*d.*" 1550—1551; "To Oliver the charpenter, for settinge up the staige, the furst of January, vj*d.*" 1552—1553; "To the Scholemaster for beardds to the players in Christemas, vj*s.* viij*d.*" "Item paid to Grave for a horse lock delyvered at Chrystemas laste paste at the commandement of my Lord of Mischief, viij*d.*" "For mendinge of the players raymente, viij*d.* Item to the mynstrells, ij*s.* vj*d.*" 1556—1557; "Delyveryd to Mr. Scholemaster at playes, iij*s.* ix*d.*" "Item candells for the playes and the children, ij*s.*" 1557—1558; "To Mr. Scholemaster for his charge setting furthe ij playes, 19*o.* Martii, iij*l.* xiij*s.* viij*d.* 1566—1567; "For ij dossen of links at iij*d.* the linke for the childrens showes att Christmass, vj*d.*" 1568—1569; "For vj poundes of candles at the playes in the Halle, ix*d.*" 1572—1573.

because in pre-Reformational times they had been obliged to rise between three and four for matins. On all church festivals at Christmastide, the boys played in the afternoon and evening near the fire in the Hall, but on school days they played there in the evening only.

We may supplement the foregoing account of the School discipline by a few notes respecting the position of the *Commensales* in the middle of the sixteenth century. The original scheme of Henry the Sixth had offered gratuitous instruction at Eton to an indefinite number of boys, who in other respects were to be maintained by their relations; and the statutes contemplated two classes of these independent scholars, corresponding respectively to Gentlemen Commoners and Commoners. The audit books show that the former duly took their meals in the Hall at the second table with the Chaplains, the Usher, and the Clerks, while the latter sat with their schoolfellows who were members of the foundation.

In school there was presumably little or no distinction between the different classes of boys. In church, however, the Scholars, members of the foundation, seem to have sat together. Cox states that in his time there were two "prepositores in the body of the chirche" and two "in the qwere." The former may probably be identified with the two Præpostors who had authority over the *Oppidani* in Malim's time.[1]

Most of the early Commensals seem to have lodged in private houses. In the letter from William Paston, already quoted, he mentions his "hostess," in 1479, and Cox states that there was a monitor to see that the boys spoke only in Latin as they went "home, two and two in order," until they came to their "hostise dore." A person who took in lodgers at Eton was styled a "hostess" as late as 1617, but the name afterwards gave place to that of "dame." Such houses as accommodated four or five boys had "monytores" in the sixteenth century, charged to prevent "chydyng" and to enforce "Latyn spekyng."

[1] "For two newe chandlestycks for the opydans in the churche, ijs. vjd." | Audit Book, 1557—1558.

The Master had much greater authority over the independent scholars than over those who were maintained by the bounty of Henry the Sixth after formal admission as members of the College. Cox says :—

> "When any dothe come newe, the Master doth inquire from whens he comyth, what frendys he hathe, whether there be any plage. No man gothe owte off the schole, nether home to his frends with owt the Master's lycense. Yff there be any dullard, the Master gyvith his frends warnyng and puttyth hym away, that he sclander not the schole."

In the strict sense of the word, an Oppidan was a boy who not only lodged but also boarded in the town of Eton, that is to say outside the precincts of the College. On the other hand, the term Commensal could not be applied to any boy who did not dine and sup in the Hall.

There can be little doubt that the number of Commensals increased considerably in the course of the sixteenth century. The charges for their board also increased rapidly, partly in consequence of the depreciation in the value of money. The following is the earliest bill for an Eton boy which has been preserved. It was addressed to Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms, and may with certainty be referred to one of the earlier years of the reign of Mary.

> "Mr. Garter,
>
> After most hartye commendacions unto you, theise shalbe to lett you understande that the commons are raysed ij*d.* weeklye in every commensall. Soe that the some for Nicholas your sonne commeth to xvj*s.* Tother expenses for washinge and other necessaries are particularlye mencyoned undernethe.

| | |
|---|---|
| Imprimis for store monye | ij*s.* viij*d.* |
| Item for washinge | xvj*d.* |
| Item for paper | viij*d.* |
| Item for candles | iij*d.* |
| Item for quarters stipend | vj*s.* viij*d.* |
| Summa | xj*s.* vij*d.* |

> I am bold to troble your mastershipe with my ettres att this present, because I must paye a great deal of monye nowe out

of hand. I pray you sende itt by this bringer, or els the next weke by one of your servants.

Yours to comaunde to his power
WILLIAM GRENE, Usher of Eton."[1]

It appears from the above that the Schoolmaster and the Usher had already begun to disregard the express command of Henry the Sixth, that they should impart instruction gratuitously to all comers. Nicholas Dethick must have been a Commensal at the lowest table, where the charge for board about this period was 1*s.* a head per week, which just covered the expense incurred by the College. Each mess of four boys, whether foundation Scholars or Commensals, received food to the value of 2*d.* at every meal, with an extra pennyworth at supper on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. A further sum of 1*s.* 4*d.* was allowed in the week "for breade, drink, otemell, and sause," so that the total cost of the commons was 3*s.* 11*d.* a week in each mess, close upon 1*s.* a head. Every Commensal at the second, or gentlemen's, table paid 1*s.* 8*d.* a week. The fare at the high table was of course much more luxurious. Strangers paid 2*d.*, 1½*d.* or 1*d.* for a meal, according to the table at which they were placed.[2] The entertainment of them was thus a source of profit rather than of loss to the College.

The next Eton boys of whom we have any particular account were the two sons of Sir William Cavendish, who were placed there in 1560. Their stepfather, Sir William St. Loe, writing to his wife, the famous 'Bess of Hardwick,' says :—

> "The Amnar[3] saluteth the, and sayeth no jenttlemen's chyldren in Ingland schalbe bettar welcum, nor bettar looked unto than owre boyes."

Henry, the elder of the two, a godson of the Queen, was nearly ten years old, and William Cavendish was just a year younger. The bill for their expenses begins on the 21st of October, when they lodged at the inn, and there entertained the two sons of Sir Francis Knolles, at supper. They appear to have dined with their young friends on the following day,

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, A.D. 1838, vol. ii. p. 490.

[2] Audit Book, temp. Mary.

[3] *i.e.* Almoner, or Bursar.

as the only payment recorded was 4*d.* for their servant's dinner. On the third day of their residence at Eton, they moved into lodgings kept by one Richard Hylles, who undertook to board them and their attendant for 13*s.* 4*d.* per week, exclusive of the wood burned in their chamber. A few days later, they gave a breakfast to "the cumpanye of formes in the scole, according to the use of the scole"; but as the breakfast cost only 6*d.* the number of guests cannot have been large. On the 16th of November, some furniture arrived at the wharf and was thence conveyed to the lodgings. The two brothers soon after this began to dine and sup in the College Hall, paying 1*l.* 4*s.* a month to the Bursars, so that they must have become Commensals at the second table. The books used by them in school were Cicero's *Atticus* and *de Officiis*, Lucian's *Dialogues*, Æsop's *Fables*, and Edward the Sixth's *Latin Grammar*. Most of the entries in the bill relate to candles or to articles of dress, among which were gowns of black frieze then worn by Commensals as well as by Collegers. Mention is also made of coats of a better material called "fryzado," doublets lined with cotton, girdles of "say," and furred gloves. Both the Cavendishes must have been somewhat extravagant in shoe-leather, as they had new boots at Easter, Whitsuntide, and the other great festivals. In the course of a single year, each of them bought seven pairs, and those belonging to the younger brother were constantly undergoing repair. A curious charge of 6*d.* occurs every term as "quarterydge in penne and ynke, brome, and byrche." On one occasion they gave 3*d.* "to a man, to see bayre bayting and a camell in the Colledge, as other schollers dyd."[1] William Cavendish was afterwards created Earl of Devonshire; and many of his descendants have, like him, received their education at Eton.

[1] *Retrospective Review*, Second Series, vol. ii. pp. 149—155.




## 1558—1595.

Fall of Provost Cole—Election of William Bill—Ecclesiastical Changes—Addresses of the Scholars to the Queen—Election of Richard Bruerne—Visitation of the College—Election of William Day—French Hostages—Fast-days—Dispensation to the Fellows—Royal Visits.

THE accession of Elizabeth, in November 1558, effected a great change in the position and prospects of Provost Cole, who had allied himself so closely with the persecuting faction, in the previous reign, as to have become an object of aversion to many of the Reformers. Regardless of consequences, he boldly proclaimed himself an opponent of any further ecclesiastical innovations. He soon had an opportunity of defending his principles, at a formal disputation held at Westminster Abbey, in March 1559, between several prominent representatives of the two religious parties. Being selected as the first spokesman on his side, he argued at some length in favour of the retention of the Latin service-books.[1] According to Jewel's account, Cole stamped, raved, snapped his fingers, and frowned at his adversaries, styling them fire-brands, and the

[1] Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, (ed. Pocock) vol. ii. pp. 615—616; vol. v. pp. 514—529

authors of heresy.[1] The conference came to an abrupt termination on a question of procedure ; and Cole was declared contumacious, fined 500 marks, and deprived of his preferments. He was eventually committed to the Fleet prison, and ended a memorable career in such obscurity that even the date and place of his death are not known with certainty.[2]

In the meanwhile, a royal commission was issued, ordering Sir William Cecil, Sir Anthony Cook, and Drs. Parker, Bill, Haddon, May, Wendy, Horne, and Pilkington, to hold visitations at Cambridge and Eton, and to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to the principal members of the various colleges.[3] Five days after the date of this document, William Bill, one of the commissioners, was elected to a Fellowship at Eton, and within the next fortnight he was advanced to the Provostship, by an unanimous vote. The see of Lincoln was then vacant by the deprivation of Bishop Watson, and that of Canterbury by the death of Cardinal Pole, and so the Vice-Provost and Fellows had to present their new chief, for confirmation, to the Dean and Chapter of the metropolitan church of Canterbury.[4] The College Register does not make any direct mention of a royal mandate, but there is an entry in the audit book of a payment made "to hym as browght the Quenes majesties letters" on the 8th of June, which probably had reference to the election. At any rate the Fellows must have felt sure that their choice would be approved in high quarters. The commissioners were so well satisfied with these signs of loyalty to the Queen and of respect to one of their own body, that they abandoned their intention of holding a visitation at Eton.

William Bill, the new Provost, was a self-made man. He had been educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, but on such slender means that his election to a Fellowship had to be postponed for a time, in consequence of his inability to pay the trifling sum of money then claimed by the Crown as first-fruits. He rose to be Master of St. John's College, and

[1] Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, (ed. Pocock) vol. vi. p. 409.

[2] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, vol. i. p. 418.

[3] Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, (ed. 1824) vol. i. p. 248. 20 June 1559.

[4] 25 June and 5 July, 1559. Register, vol. ii. ff. 31, 32.

afterwards of Trinity College, whence, however, he was summarily ejected by Mary.[1]

On the Sunday immediately following the accession of Elizabeth, Bill was the preacher at St. Paul's Cross, which has been described as "the oracle before which whoever would prognosticate the coming changes, whether in advance or in retrograde, would take his stand and listen in eager expectation."[2] On this, as on other occasions, Bill assumed a moderate, pacific tone, and he seems always to have been willing to receive his instructions from the Court. That men of his calibre were scarce may be inferred from the fact that at one and the same time he held three such important posts as the Provostship of Eton, the Mastership of Trinity College, and the Deanery of Westminster. He was moreover Chief Almoner to the Queen, and on this score he obtained from the Vice-Provost and Fellows leave of absence from Eton for an indefinite period.[3] Nevertheless, we find him spending about fifteen weeks in a year at the Lodge,[4] which must have proved a convenient residence when the Court was at Windsor.

The first step taken by the new Provost was to procure a royal licence for the annual election of Scholars.[5] Ecclesiastical changes were introduced with caution. During the first two years of the reign of Elizabeth, the full number of festivals enjoined by the Founder was observed in the Hall, and the old system of obits was maintained:[6] epitaphs requesting prayers for the dead were still allowed to be set up in the Church.[7] On the other hand, the use of the Sarum Missal was discontinued, and new Communion Books and Psalters were purchased.[8] The College soon combined with that of Winchester, and with the two Universities, in a petition for

[1] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, vol. i. p. 210.

[2] Milman's *St. Paul's Cathedral*, p. 255.

[3] Register, vol. ii.

[4] Audit Book, 1560—1561.

[5] "Mr. Provosts servaunts expenses to the Courte for licence of the election, iij*s.* ij*d.*" *Ibid.* 1558—1559.

[6] Audit Book, 1558—1559.

[7] Brass of Robert Stokys in the Church (Lipscomb's *History of Buckingham*, vol. iv. p. 488), and epitaphs of John Belfield, and of "Sir Alexander Philippe, Chantrie preist for Doctor Lupton," now missing. *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 349.

[8] Audit Books, 1558—1559, 1559—1560.

leave to conduct divine service in Latin, so that the scholars might be familiarized with that language, and the Queen granted this request by letters patent, only stipulating that in those



Mural Painting in the Church.[1]

Colleges, which, like Eton, possessed churches instead of mere chapels, special services in the vulgar tongue should be provided for the parishioners.[2]

[1] See page 83 above.

[2] Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 223. 6 April 1560.



HEAD II.

FROM ONE OF THE MURAL PAINTINGS IN THE CHURCH AT ETON.

The high altar at Eton was spared until Elizabeth had occupied the throne for a full year, but was finally destroyed on the 9th of November 1559.[1] A year and a half later, it was replaced by a communion table, surmounted apparently by boards inscribed with the Ten Commandments.[2] It was at this latter date that the beautiful mural paintings of the fifteenth century were effaced. They suffered this indignity at the hands of the College barber, who received six and eightpence "for wypinge oute the imagery worke uppon the walles in the Churche."[3] The material employed was, doubtless, mere whitewash, and, thus hidden, these interesting works of art remained comparatively uninjured to our own age. It was reserved for the 'restorers' of the nineteenth century to destroy with chisels and scrapers as many of the paintings as were not to be concealed from view by the canopies of the new stalls.

The Eton scholars were not tardy in declaring their devotion to Queen Elizabeth, as is evinced by a small volume of Latin verses now preserved in the British Museum.[4] It professes to be a new-year's gift to the Queen, and the names of the contributors enable us to fix its date with tolerable certainty as 1560. The collection comprises the productions of forty-five boys in the upper Forms; but more variety is observable in the metres employed than in the subject-matter of the verses.[5] All the compositions abound in fulsome flattery, and in prayers that Elizabeth will gratify her loyal people, as well as her own inclination, by contracting an early marriage. Edward Scott, one of the first contributors, goes so far as to write :—

"*Di tibi dent natos, exoptatumque maritum,*
*Di faxint nati ut sint, similesque tui.*"

Thomas Gillingham likewise prays :—

"*Di stirpem tibi dent, Elizabetha, piam.*"

[1] Audit Book, 1559—1560, f. 246. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 442.)

[2] "To the joyner for a table frame and the selinge behinde the Communion Table, and for ij fraymes of the tables for the Commandments, x° Maii, xls." *Ibid.* 1560—1561.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *King's MS.* 12 A lxv.

[5] A list of the contributors is printed in *Etoniana*, p. 148.

Others follow in the same strain, the style of their Latinity exhibiting a vast improvement on that of William Paston. The Queen had at this time two suitors at least on hand. Jewel writes :—

> "The Swede and Charles, the son of Ferdinand, are courting at a most marvellous rate. But the Swede is most in earnest, for he promises mountains of silver in case of success. The lady, however, is probably thinking of an alliance nearer home." [1]

Prince John of Sweden attended the Court to offer his own and his brother's new-year's greetings on the very day on which the young Etonians tendered their verses.[2]

At the beginning of August in the same year, Provost Bill presented Elizabeth with another collection of Latin verses, epigrams, and acrostics, neatly written in one hand, and adorned with illuminations of the arms of England and Eton.[3] Most of the compositions are of a purely complimentary character, with reference to the Queen's visit to Windsor. Richard Craswell for instance foreshadows the manner of her reception :—

> "*Ardua purpureo velentur tecta tapete,*
> *Altera Vyndsoram Debora clara petit.*
> *Fragranti patulæ spargantur flore fenestræ,*
> *Et flavas nectat parva juventa comas.*"

Others again express a hope that the Queen will soon marry. Out of the forty-three young poets whose names are given in the volume, twenty-eight were elected Scholars of King's College in 1561 and the three following years.[4]

Although Elizabeth did not follow the advice so freely given by the young match-makers, she came to see their school in 1560 or 1561. The audit book mentions a payment of 15*d.* "for fyve burthens of russhes to strewe Mr. Durston's chamber against the Quene's commynge," and another of 11*s.* to two cooks who came from Westminster to assist in the kitchen. Durston was one of the Fellows who had been elected during the

[1] *Zurich Letters* (Parker Society), vol. i. p. 46.
[2] Strickland's *Queens of England* (ed. 1843), vol. vi. p. 194.
[3] MS. at Hatfield House.
[4] *Registrum Regale.*

Marian reaction, and he must have exhibited more loyalty towards Elizabeth on this occasion than he did when next summoned to acknowledge her authority.

Dr. Bill was not destined to enjoy his numerous preferments for long, as he died just two years after his election to the Provostship. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where an epitaph says of him that he was a quiet man, "*et bene perfecit multa loquendo parum.*" [1] The parish clerk at Eton received two shillings for "ringynge Mr. Provoste's knyll, 17 Julii," 1561.[2] By a will, dated a short time before his decease, Dr. Bill bequeathed to the College a quarter of his theological library, and also the sum of 40*l.* for providing a good coverlet for the bed of every Scholar.[3] A silver seal originally engraved for him was used by successive Provosts until a few years ago.[4]

The Fellows had exercised such an unusual amount of power during the frequent absences of Dr. Bill, that they did not hesitate to decide on a successor to him without awaiting any instructions from Court. Their choice fell upon Richard Bruerne, who was elected on the 25th of July, and formally installed in the choir of the Church a week later.[5] Bruerne was a Bachelor of Divinity, and had formerly held a Fellowship at Eton, so that he was well qualified for the office of Provost, according to the statutes. Nor was he deficient in learning, for his adversaries acknowledged him to be "an excellent Hebraist." [6] On the other hand, his sympathies lay with the Roman party, and, worse still, he had been guilty of immorality so scandalous that he had been obliged to resign the Regius Professorship of Hebrew at Oxford.[7] Following the precedent set in the case of Dr. Bill, the Fellows accorded leave of absence to the new

[1] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, vol. i. p. 211.

[2] Audit Book, 1560—1561, f. 272.

[3] Will at Somerset House. *Loftus*, f. 37.

[4] "For three ounces of silver for a seale belonginge to Mr. Provosts office, xv*s.* Item for the gravinge thereof, l*s.*" Audit Book, 1559—1560, f. 251. Mr. Pettigrew erroneously calls this seal "that of the Church, college, and parish of Eton." *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xii. p. 60. The original matrix had to be recast for Dr. Goodford. See the woodcut on page 181 below.

[5] Register, vol. ii. ff. 43, 44.

[6] *Zurich Letters* (Parker Society), vol. i. p. 66.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 12.

Provost, who was thus enabled to retain a stall at Christ Church, and another at Windsor.[1]

The boldness of these proceedings aroused the indignation of reformers and courtiers alike. Bishop Grindal wrote to Secretary Cecil complaining that "ytt is a shame thatt suche a sorte of hedge-priestes shulde presume so farre upon any obsolete statute, knowynge the Queens majesties prerogative so long exercised without interruption, and that they shulde doo it *impune*, or that it shulde stande in force."[2] A royal letter was thereupon despatched to the Archbishop of Canterbury, ordering him to summon some of the members of the old commission, and forthwith to hold the visitation of Eton so long postponed. The commissioners were specially instructed to examine into the circumstances of the late election, when the Fellows "without our assent or without our pleasure therein by them sought, have chosen one to be their Provost, of whom there is disperst very evil fame."[3] Archbishop Parker addressed the notice of the intended visitation to the "Provost," Vice-Provost and others,[4] although the deprivation of Dr. Bruerne was a foregone conclusion. The College gave a handsome fee to the bearer of the document, and at once despatched the Vice-Provost to London;[5] but all attempts to avert the impending trouble proved fruitless.

The Archbishop came to Eton accompanied by two of his colleagues, Horne, Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Anthony Cook;[6] and the investigation commenced in earnest on the 9th of September 1561. The Provost at first challenged the authority of the commissioners, urging that it had expired at the end of a year from the time of their appointment. On the production of the Queen's letter, only a few weeks old, he withdrew his protest, and put in a formal appearance. He was accompanied by the Vice-Provost, three Fellows, the Schoolmaster—William Malim, the Usher, five Chaplains, four Clerks, and a notary public.

[1] Register, vol. ii. f. 44; Wood's *Antiquities of Oxford*, vol. ii. p. 849; Le Neve's *Fasti*, vol. ii. p. 517.

[2] 11 August 1561. S. P. Dom. Eliz. vol. xix. no. 18.

[3] *Ibid.* no. 30; Strype's *Memorials of Parker*, vol. iii. p. 28.

[4] Register, vol. ii. f. 44.

[5] Audit Book, 1560—1561, f. 273.

[6] "To my Lord Canterburies pawntler, iij*s*. Item to his cooke, iij*s*. Item to Sir Anthony Cooks servaunt, iij*s*. Item to Mr. Scholemaster for gold foyle, read, and white, to set forth the College armes at the visitacion, xxij*d*." *Ibid.*

Three Fellows, Kirton, Ashbrooke, and Pratt, and one of the Chaplains named Leg did not appear, and were accordingly deprived of their places for contumacy. The like penalty was inflicted on John Durston, one of the Fellows, who, although he answered to his name, refused to acknowledge the Royal Supremacy. The Provost escaped the indignity of a formal dismissal by tendering his resignation ; and the commissioners decreed that he should receive 10*l.* from the College funds by way of compensation.[1]

When writing to report the proceedings of the commission, Archbishop Parker expressed a hope that the Queen, in nominating a new Provost to the College, would take care "that that princely foundation might be so preserved, that it might tend to the flourishing of the realm ; and not serve some private men's affections or commodity." In a letter to the Secretary of State, he put forward the names of Richard Cheney, "a good, grave, priestly man," and Andrew Pierson, his own almoner. He specially pointed out that they were both Bachelors in Divinity, and unmarried ; and added, with some irony, that except for the fact "that neither of them had been in Germany, and peradventure by a frailty had been at Mass in Queen Mary's time," he should consider them unexceptionable, and incomparably superior to some more zealous Protestant candidates. He also mentioned the name of Alexander Nowell, in case the Queen would consent to appoint a married clergyman. Elizabeth's strong views in favour of clerical celibacy were well known, and by no one better than by Parker himself, to whose wife she had administered a characteristic rebuff.

Cecil considered the Archbishop's list of candidates too narrow, and applied for advice to the Bishop of London. Grindal, in reply, sent in no fewer than fourteen names, specifying four men as married, and four as unmarried. The former were Nowell, Aylmer, Mulleyn, and Wattes. The latter were "Mr. Cheney, Mr. Robinson, chapleyn to my Lord of Canterbury, who made a very good sermon yesterday at the Cross,

[1] Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*, pp. 634—638 ; Strype's *Memorials of Parker*, vol. i. pp. 205—206 ; Audit Book, 1560—1561, f. 264.

Mr. Daye of Cambridge, and Mr. Calfhille, both eligible by the statutes."[1] The Queen's choice eventually fell upon William Day, and he was duly elected Provost on the 18th of December 1561.[2] Dean Nowell was not aware that his name had been proposed, and so was not disappointed,[3] while Cheney and Aylmer were shortly afterwards raised to the episcopal bench. As soon as the election was ended, one of the Fellows went to London to acquaint the Secretary of State with the result, and subsequently went to Cambridge to conduct the new Provost to Eton in state.[4]

If Elizabeth had nominated Day on account of his celibacy, she soon had occasion to repent of her choice, for, having thus obtained a good preferment, he proceeded to marry a daughter of Bishop Barlow, a prelate whose five daughters all became the wives of bishops.[5] Day had been educated at both the great colleges of Henry the Sixth, and he was the younger brother of a former Provost of King's. Unlike his brother, he had espoused the cause of the Reformation, and had preached before the Convocation of the Clergy in which the *Articles of Religion* were framed. He is described as "a man of good nature, affable, and courteous, and at his table and in other conversation pleasant, yet allwayes sufficiently retaining his gravity." He had "a good plainfashion of preaching, apt to edify, and easy to remember."[6]

In Convocation, Day had given his vote against the retention of the ceremonies, and in his first year at Eton he gave orders "for pullynge downe a tabarnacle of stone in the bodie of the Churche," and "for whitinge Doctor Lupton's Chapell."[7] He reduced the number of chaplains from six to four; and he seems to have taken for his private use, or other-

[1] Strype's *Memorials of Parker*, vol. i. pp. 207—209.

[2] Register, vol. ii. f. 91.

[3] Churton's *Life of Nowell*, p. 68.

[4] "For Mr. Atkynsons expenses rydinge to London with letters to Mr. Secretarie Cicell, 18 December, 22*s*. Item for Mr. Atkynsons expenses rydinge to Cambridge to fetche Mr. Provost 1° Januarii, 4*l*. 11*s*. 8*d*." Audit Book, 1561—1562.

[5] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, vol. i. p. 279.

[6] Harington's *Nugæ Antiquæ* (ed. 1779), vol. i. pp. 77—79.

[7] Audit Book, 1561—1562.

wise alienated, some of the College plate, for the audit books contain several notices of the carriage of the plate to Queenhithe, near the Tower of London.

In the second year of Day's Provostship, the plague made its way to Eton, and the house at Cippenham, which the College had just acquired by the death of Mrs. Lewin, proved very useful for the reception of some of the boys.[1] The tenant there was thenceforth bound by a clause in his lease to take in six scholars free of charge for the space of one term ; and this arrangement continued until the erection of a Sanatorium in 1844. When the pestilence drove Elizabeth from London to Windsor in September 1563, the Eton scholars again greeted her with a collection of Latin verses, now preserved in the British Museum.[2] The little volume contains seventy-two compositions, but the number of contributors was smaller than on the previous occasion, some of the boys sending in as many as six sets of verses apiece. Among the more prolific poets may be noticed Giles Fletcher, afterwards Ambassador to Russia ; Longe, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh ; and Bound, afterwards Vice-Provost of Eton. Many of the verses can be read backwards as well as forwards, while others form acrostics on the name of Elizabeth, or on the letters of the alphabet. The volume also contains several poor illuminations of the College Arms, probably executed by William Malim, the Schoolmaster, who wrote four lines in Greek on the reverse of the title-page, describing himself as "Ιλερμος ὁ Μαλίμος Καντοναριεύς τῆς τῶν Αἰτωνιεων σχολῆς ἀρχιδιδάσχαλος." His pupils vied with one another in the extravagance of the compliments which they addressed to the Queen. With more loyalty than reverence, they compared her to Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Gideon, Samson, Samuel, and

[1] "To Shepperdes wiffe and others for making cleane the house at Cipnham for the children, the iij of June, xvj*d*. Item for strawe for the childrens beddes, iiij*d*. Item given to Foster the carriar for his paynes labouring at Cipnham aboute provision for the children of Colledge there the iij of June, xij*d*. Item for a padd locke for the buttrye doore at Cipnham." *Ibid.* 1563—1564.

[2] *King's MS.* 12 A xxx. The cover is of white vellum impressed with the Royal Arms, scrolls, etc. in the style of the period.

Judith; and the heathen mythology was also called into requisition :—

> "*Nempe Minerva, Venus, Juno, tibi munera clara*
> *Distribuunt, corpus Venus eximium, tibi Juno*
> *Divitias Arabum, gazas, gemmasque nitentes,*
> *Virtutem Pallas quæ non peritura vigebit.*"

A comparison to Lucretia must have been especially soothing to a princess whose fair reputation had already been attacked by calumny. In a preface in Latin prose, the light which centred in Elizabeth was reflected back on both her parents, at some sacrifice of consistency. The author—evidently Malim himself—could hardly have had the sad story of Anne Boleyn very clearly before him, when he described Henry the Eighth as "*quadam divina Providentia tanquam Semideus.*" The volume concludes with a Latin prayer that the Queen may be preserved from the plague; but the real object of the offering is stated more clearly in the preface. The boys are there made to request the Queen, if she is pleased with their productions, to bestow some mark of her favour on "our dearest master, by whose kindness and extreme watchfulness, by day and by night, we have in a short time attained such proficiency in literature," and "not to suffer him to be oppressed by any grievous want, or to be ground down by ceaseless labours and studies," after twenty years of work at Eton and Cambridge.

Malim is elsewhere described as a good scholar, who, after taking his degree at King's, had travelled as far as Constantinople and Jerusalem.[1] His pupils may really have been anxious that he should be promoted, or, at any rate, removed, for we read of several of them running away from Eton "for fear of beating." This event created some sensation at Windsor, and a conversation on the subject in Cecil's rooms at the Castle induced Roger Ascham to compose his celebrated treatise on education, entitled '*The Schoolmaster*.'[2]

Another occurrence of a graver nature brought the College under the immediate notice of the Secretary of State at this time.

[1] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, vol. ii. p. 175.

[2] Preface to Ascham's *Schoolmaster*.

It had been found desirable to place De Foix, the French Ambassador, under some restraint, in retaliation for his royal master's ill-treatment of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton; and rooms were provided for him in the College at Eton, so that he might be near the Court. Cecil described him as "better lodged than ever he was in England, at liberty to walk and ryde where he will";[1] but De Foix himself complained that all his movements were watched. At the end of four months, the smouldering animosity between him and Provost Day burst into a flame. It seems that strict orders had been given that the gates of the College should be kept closed at night, but that the Frenchman claimed immunity from all discipline. On the 30th of December 1563, the Ambassador detained a couple of guests—one of them an Italian—in his room until half-past eight o'clock, and then sent his servant for the keys. The Provost, however, absolutely refused to give them up, and showed himself equally obdurate when the strangers and the Ambassador's secretary came to him for them, a few minutes later. The interview ended in high words, and the Provost, anxious to avoid another scene, locked his outer door. He had barely done so, when it was violently assailed from without, and broken open. De Foix and his secretary came in with swords in their hands, and accompanied by their suite; they compelled the Provost to go into the outer hall, and threatened to leave him out in the cold until morning. Day, being unarmed, and having only one man with him, saw that resistance was useless, and yielded up the keys quietly.[2] The altercation seems to have been carried on in Latin, and some of the Ambassador's insulting words have been recorded:—"*Nos non sumus obstricti vestris legibus. Exi! Tu ipse cubabis cum eis*," meaning those who would be "unlodged" that night. Strype thus relates the sequel:—

> "In the morning the ambassador sent two of his servants unto the Secretary,[3] to complain of the Provost, fashioning a tale of the Provost's refusal; with a remembrance, by the way, that they were forced to break open the door. The Secretary

[1] 20 August 1563. Wright's *Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. i. p. 137.

[2] S. P. Foreign, Elizabeth, vol. lxvii. no. 3.

[3] Sir William Cecil.

answered, that he would send for the Provost, and hear him also; and if it should appear that he used himself otherwise than became him, he should bear the blame. Which speech of his they liked not; but said he was partial to the Provost, and suddenly departed. Being scarcely gone from the chamber, they met the Provost coming to the Secretary to complain, as he had cause. And the Frenchmen passing out of the Castle met with two of the Provost's men, whose hearts, as it seems, did rise against them for misusing their master; and so they fell to some quarrelling, and drawing of their swords. But there was no hurt on either part. Upon this the Frenchmen came back to the Secretary's chamber with another cry; and finding the Provost with him, who knew nothing of the matter, the Secretary sent for the Knight-Marshal, to examine the matter, and, if he saw cause, to commit the Provost's men to prison; which though the Marshal found no great cause, yet it was ordered so to be."

A few days later, the Provost sent in a written account of the disturbance at the Lodge, with a long list of complaints against the Ambassador and the members of his retinue. The latter were accused of introducing women of loose character into the College, and of attempting to corrupt the morals of the scholars. The page was said to have played practical jokes by putting stones in the locks of the doors, and the like.

"4, Item, the said page mysused the Fellowes by evill language, as calling them all knaves, which some of them hearde and complayned to me therof."

"7, Item, wheras their kichen ys under the Usshers chambre,[1] they have sundry tymes thrust upp spittes in suche places as the bordes be not close joyned, and also dischardged their dagges[2] uppon other places of the sayd bordes, to the great daunger of those that be above, but which of them did it yt cannot be well knowen, because they that be above cannot see them that be beneth, save that the fyrst of Januarie about three of the clock at afternoone oon of them was seen thrust upp a spitt wherwith he had allmost hitt a litle boy

[1] Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 94—97. The document from which Strype derived this information is now missing. His account of the quarrel between Day and De Foix is evidently based upon the manuscript in the State Papers, though differing from it in a few particulars.

[2] The Usher's chamber was at the eastern end of the Long Chamber.

[3] *i.e.* pistols.

that was in the chambre, and he that did this was in a graye fryse coate or jerkyn, and therby it is thought to be Eustace the boye of the buttrie, for none other in the howse hath at anie tyme worne graye fryse but he only.

"8, Item, they have used to molest the sayd Ussher by immoderate noyse at unseasonable tymes of the night, and this was don by them which lye nigh the buttrie and kytchen, and the like noyse hath ben made by them that lye on the other syde towardes the Colledge, wherof complaynt hath ben made to me by the Fellowes of the howse dyverse tymes.

"9, Item, they have broken open a dore that leadeth out of their lodging into the Colledge leades, where, besydes the shamefull abuse of the place which is not to be rehersed, they have cutt away the leade to shoote in their gonnes. They are to be charged with this that lye in that lodging.

"10, Item, they have and do use daily to kill fesantes, heron-shawes, mallardes, teeles, and doves, with their hand gonnes, of all which sortes of fowles I have seen some myself brought into the howse. The principall doers of this are theis—Augustine and the cooke, besydes other that use commonly to shute, as Sebastian the butler, his stuarde, his chamberlayn, and another that was lately delivered out of prison and committed to him. Everie oon of theis I have seen myself in the fieldes with his piece.

"11, Item, the laste of December, the lackye with others whose names I cannot learne, spoyled a great manie of the Colledge brickes lying on the back side of ther kytchin which they threw at the Schollers as they passed betwen the Schole and the fieldes. Fyve of the sayd Scholers came to me the same daye to complayn, and brought of the bricks with them which were throwen.

"12, Item, the xxix$^{th}$ of Decembre, Sadocke, the goodman of the howse where his horses stand, and some of his servantes lodge, complayned to me that suche of the Frenche men as lodge in his howse used to come to their lodging at unseasonable howers, and that they have broken upp his doers and wyndowes to come in in the night season, wherby oon of the Quenes highnes men that lodged there was in feare both of daunger toward himselfe and also in doubt of losing that he had."

Provost Day also complained that the Ambassador openly avowed his intention of retaining, during his whole stay, the

furniture and plate which had been lent to him on his arrival at Eton.[1] If only one half of these charges were well founded, there was good reason for the removal of the Frenchmen, which was at once ordered by the Secretary of State.

Although the sojourn of the French Ambassador at Eton ended thus disastrously, other foreigners of eminence were from time to time provided with apartments in the College, which was conveniently near to the royal residence at Windsor. The Marquis de Havre, ambassador of the States General, lodged there in 1577,[2] Don Antonio, the pretender to the throne of Portugal, in 1586,[3] and the Vidame of Chartres in 1593.[4]

More important to the College than the visits of any foreigners was the destruction of the few remaining objects in the Church that could possibly have been considered superstitious. The holy rood had doubtless been taken down soon after the accession of Elizabeth ; but the lofty screen which had supported it was spared until 1569 or 1570. Some idea of the size and grandeur of this structure may be gained from the fact that its demolition at this period occupied twenty-one days of carpenters' work, irrespectively of the time spent in "joyninge the weinscott," and "repairing and washinge the walls where the roodloft stoode, and pavinge the same place with gret stone and bricke." Another entry of the same year records a payment "to Glover and his laborer for two daies brekinge downe images and fillinge there places with stone and plaister."[5]

In iconoclastic zeal Provost Day was equalled or surpassed by one of the Fellows, John Wulward, who had narrowly escaped being deprived of his Fellowship at King's for refusing to celebrate the Holy Communion with his face turned towards the East.[6] Henceforth the pulpit was more frequently in use than the altar, and a sounding-board was put up over it, to give importance to the preacher.[7]

[1] S. P. Foreign, Eliz. vol. lxvii. no. 2.

[2] *Historical MSS. Commission, Twelfth Report*, Appendix iv. p. 114.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, vol. iii. p. 650.

[4] S. P. Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxlv. p. 95.

[5] Audit Book, 1569—1570. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 443.)

[6] Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*, p. 209.

[7] Audit Book, 1578—1579. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 443.)

The utterances of the ruling powers in the reign of Elizabeth on the subject of fasting were not quite consistent with one another. A statute enacted in her fifth year imposed a fine of 3*l.* on any one who unlawfully ate meat on fish-days, or even on Wednesdays, which were thus added to the existing fast-days; but it guarded itself against being supposed to teach that abstinence from flesh was of any necessity for the salvation of the soul of man, and laid great stress on the importance of encouraging the fisheries. A royal proclamation, however, in 1572, associated the religious with the political objects of fasting, styling the eating of meat in Lent a "licentious and carnal disorder, in contempt of God and man, and only to the satisfaction of devilish and carnal appetite." A later proclamation protested against any superstitious interpretations of its motives; while, on the other hand, the unrevoked *Homilies* continued to describe fasting as "a work profitable to us and accepted of God."[1] The orders issued on the subject were nominally of universal obligation, but dispensations were readily granted, or rather sold. The two Universities, and the College of Westminster, were exempted from the Wednesday fast in 1564;[2] but the College of Eton, so often associated with them in other matters, did not obtain the like privilege until 1577.[3] The dispensation issued at this later date did not affect the Lenten fast, and special supplies of ling and haberdine continued to be procured in London year after year.[4]

A dispensation of a very different character had already been granted by Elizabeth, of which it is hardly too much to say that

[1] Hallam's *Constitutional History* (ed. 1867), vol. i. pp. 397—399; Haweis's *Sketches of the Reformation*, pp. 248—267.

[2] Strype's *Memorials of Parker*, vol. i. book ii. ch. 25.

[3] "For baskets and lyne to packe parte of our Lenten provysion, and for the Lord Maior his warrant to carye it owt of the Cyttie, 3*s.*"; Audit Book, 1568—1569. "Mr. Barker his expenses at London and Lambeth with the Bisshoppe of Canterburye for Wednsdayes license." "To her Majestie, the bishopp of Canterburye and many other officers of the Chauncery the fees for our lycence of Wednsdayes dyet, 4*l.* 8*s.* 4½*d.*" "Item geven at Mr. Larks office and other offices the same tyme for expedicion, 5*s.*" "Item for Mr. Barker his expenses to get owt the greate seale to be annexed to the Bysshops lycense and other tymes, 11*s.*" *Ibid.* 1576—1577.

[4] Audit Books, *passim*

it effected an essential and lasting change in the collegiate system of Eton. The statutes of Henry the Sixth had made it unlawful for the Fellows to hold any other preferment, and the clause to this effect had been strengthened by an explicit prohibition of the acceptance of any dispensation whatever.[1] It had, therefore, been the custom for every Fellow to vacate his place at Eton on undertaking a cure of souls. Elizabeth, however, was advised to abolish this restriction ; and by a letter dated at Greenwich on the 11th of June 1566, she gave permission to the Fellows to hold one living apiece of the yearly value of 40 marks. The reason assigned for this change was :—

> " Because we certainly perceive the pryce mete for maytenance of hospitalitie and lyving is far greter at this daye than ben in former tymes, and that it is not inconvenient for youe to have some cures abrode, where youe maye both teach and inform our subjectes in their duties to God and us." [2]

The effect of this dispensation will be seen by comparing the number of Fellows elected in the centuries respectively preceding and succeeding that year. Whilst the *Registrum Regale* gives ninety-seven names between 1466 and 1566, it gives forty-six between 1566 and 1666. The next century counts for only thirty-seven names. Had the Fellows continued to reside regularly at Eton, and to take some part in the work of education, modern legislation might have taken a very different course.

Far more beneficial than any personal dispensation was an Act of Parliament passed in 1575 requiring that by all future leases to be granted by Colleges at Cambridge, Oxford, Winchester and Eton, the tenants should be bound to pay at least one-third of the old rent in wheat at 6*s.* 8*d.* the quarter, and malt at 5*s.* the quarter, or less. In default of payment in kind, the Colleges were to receive the value of the wheat or malt, calculated not according to the rates specified, but according to the rates actually prevailing in the markets of Cambridge, Oxford, Winchester and Windsor. Sir Thomas Smith, formerly Provost of Eton, is credited with this fatherly legislation. " The advantage thus secured to the colleges is," says Mr. Mullinger, " obvious. In

[1] *Statute* xxv.

[2] *Sloane MS.* 4844, f. 166.

times of scarcity and famine, such as had before often half emptied these struggling societies, the collegian now lived secure. A cheap loaf had become his certain and inalienable privilege; and the governing body could apportion out the expenditure of the yearly revenue of the College with comparatively little misgiving as to the results which might follow upon a deficient harvest." [1]

During part of Day's tenure of office at Eton, he had under him as Vice-Provost his own brother-in-law, William Wickham. Sir John Harington states that, during any occasional absence of the Master, it was usual for the Vice-Provost to undertake the management of the School. It was thus that Harington fell under the jurisdiction of Wickham, who showed towards him "as fatherly a care as if he had been a second tutor" to him.[2] William Wickham became successively Dean and Bishop of Lincoln, and Bishop of Winchester, and he is remembered as the preacher of the sermon at the funeral of Mary, Queen of Scots, at Peterborough, in 1587.

The epitaph on Thomas Smith, one of the Fellows at this period, deserves to be quoted as an example of the kind of versification which was then tolerated at a seat of learning :—

"Anno 1572. August 18 daye.

"Under this stone lieth Thomas Smith, late a Fellow heare,
And of Cambridge Mr. of Arts of the King's Colledge theare.
He did departe from earthlie life the tyme above exprest,
Whose soule we hope dothe now remain in Abrams brest."

Ten years later, another Fellow, Matthew Page, bequeathed 40*l.* for the purchase of fifteen coverlets "of good and faier tapestrie to laie uppon the bedds of the Scholars Collegiate." He desired that on each of them should be worked the Arms of Henry the Sixth and of Queen Elizabeth, with the following Latin couplet :—

"*Qui Leo de Juda est, et flos de Jesse, leones*
*Protegat et flores, Elizabetha, tuos.*"

[1] *The University of Cambridge from 1535 to 1625*, pp. 374—380.

[2] *Nugæ Antiquæ* (ed. 1779), vol. i. p. 74.

and also the Arms of Eton and King's Colleges, and a few Latin words recording the name of the donor.[1]

When the office of Schoolmaster became vacant in 1563, it was given to William Smyth, who had been one of the Fellows, and he was re-elected to a Fellowship some eight years later. His epitaph curiously describes him as "sometime schoolmaster and fellow of Eton College, and now viker of Sturminster Marshall and preacher of Wimbourn." His two immediate successors, Reuben Sherwood and Thomas Ridley, were laymen, less than thirty years of age at the dates of their respective appointments to the Schoolmastership. The former eventually became a physician at Bath ;[2] the latter, who was a relation of Provost Day, was made a Master in Chancery, and received knighthood at the hands of James the First.[3] Both were Kingsmen, and it may here be noticed that five out of the first eight Masters of St. Paul's School had been educated at the colleges founded by Henry the Sixth.[4] Ridley was succeeded at Eton by John Hammond, another layman, married in contravention of the statutes. His son learned Latin from him as if it were his mother tongue.

> "*Filius Hammondi vix tres compleverat annos*
> *Romanas potuit cum audire et reddere voces.*"[5]

Under Hammond's superintendence, the Eton boys prepared a fourth collection of Latin verses for presentation to Queen Elizabeth. Unlike those composed in Malim's time, they are of a historical character, and the little volume is divided into twenty-eight books, each dealing with a separate year of the reign. The total number of lines is about four thousand, but

[1] Will of Matthew Page, 15 June 1582, in Register, vol. iv. f. 4. The Audit Book, 1581—1582, records a payment "to Keene the glasier for drawinge the armes that are to be sett in the coverletts given by Doctor Byll and Mr. Page, 18*s*."

[2] Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, vol. ii. p. 271.

[3] *Dict. of National Biography*, vol. xlviii.

[4] Knight's *Life of Colet*. Their names were Rightwise, Cook, Malim, Harrison, and Mulcaster. The first of these was the composer of the *Propria quæ maribus*, and *As in præsenti*, which, for more than three centuries, assisted schoolboys in their difficulties about Latin genders, and irregular verbs.

[5] Epitaph on John Hammond, who died at Eton in July 1589. *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 149.

the names of the authors are not given, and the work is dedicated to the Queen by the whole school collectively.[1]

When Hammond was about to resign his place at Eton in order to practise medicine, he obtained a letter from the Queen desiring that he should receive the beneficial leases of two farms belonging to the College. To this the Provost and Fellows replied that one of the properties named would not come into their hands for nine years, and that the other had been promised to a member of their own body, who had done good service. Although they denied that Hammond deserved or needed any special favour, they expressed their willingness to please the Queen by giving him a gratuity of 40*l.* or 50*l.*[2] Eventually, however, he obtained a lease of Creeting manor, belonging to the College,[3] and his influence at Court continued so powerful that he might have become Provost if he had not died in 1617.[4]

Queen Elizabeth paid several visits to Eton, which are not recorded in the histories of her life;[5] and the College was also honoured by the presence of the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas

[1] *Rawlinson MS.* G. 174.

[2] 22 October 1593. *Historical MSS. Commission, Calendar of Cecil MSS.* vol. iv. p. 395.

[3] Lease Book, 27 January 36 Eliz.; *Ibid.* 5 Dec. 38 Eliz.; *Ibid.* 18 July 1610; *Ibid.* 28 March 1618.

[4] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. xciii. no. 74; *Dict. of National Biography.*

[5] "To Philip Wilde for makinge the two waies for the Quenes majestie to pass throwe Brockess, 12*d.*" Audit Book, 1569—1570. "To Thomas Keyne the glasier for worke done in Mr. Provostes lodginge against the comynge of the Quene, *ut per billam*, 9*s.* 6*d.*"; "Item to William Russell for one dayes worke to pull downe the porche at the Schole doore against the Quene's commynge, 12*d.*" "Item to Mr. Daye for 53 els of canvas for the Gentlemen and Children, to make table clothes against the commyng of the Quene, *ut per billam*, 49*s.*"; *Ibid.* 1588—1589. "To Holdernes for 3 dayes dressinge of the playing-filde by the garden when the Quene came, 18*d.*" "Making railes at Shawe and digging holes for them at the Quenes commyng, 8*d.*" *Ibid.* 1589—1590. "To Goodman Bell for 12 loads of sand when the Quene came, 4*s.* Item to George Flame 3 days dygging the sande, 3*s.* Item to Rolfe 2 dayes and a halfe carryinge of sande to the Seller and other places when the Queen was here, 20*d.* Item to Rolfe for 3 dayes rydding awaye rubbishe in the kytchen yearde, clensing the garden diche and spredding sande, 2*s.* Item to James and Loveroye for sweeping the hall, galleries, cloysters, and other busynes when the Quene was here, 3 dayes, 4*s.* Item to Skydmore and Biddle 3 dayes taking downe and setting up things in the chambers when the Quene was here, 6*s.*" *Ibid* 1591—1592.

Bacon, in 1578,[1] and of the Duke of Wurtemberg, in August 1592.[2]

During some years at least of the reign of Elizabeth, Eton College rented a portion of a house in London from the sister College at Cambridge.[3] The site of it is not specified, but it was probably in the Ward of Baynard's Castle, where King's College holds property still called 'Gardrobe Duke Humphrey,' after the famous Duke of Gloucester.[4]

The audit books show that the Provost and Fellows were in the habit of making grants of money for extraneous purposes. Thus in the year of the great Northern Rebellion, they provided a steel saddle and the armour requisite for a light horseman;[5] they also contributed 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* towards "the new erecting of the Colledg at Rippon, for the maintenaunce of a preacher for the same towne," and 2*l.* to a subscription in favour of "Partholmeus, Archbusshopp of Larissa, taken with the Turkes."[6] Another entry records the journey of one of the Fellows "to London, to lay wayte amonge the goldsmithes for the College plate that was stolne."[7]

William Day held the Provostship of Eton for no less than thirty-four years, although generally considered worthy of a higher office. As early as 1570, he was proposed as a suitable successor to his father-in-law, William Barlow, Bishop of Chichester, and was also recommended by Archbishop Parker for the see of London.[8] Fourteen years later, Archbishop Whitgift put his name down for London,[9] and, in 1587, the Queen led him to believe that he was to be appointed to Durham.[10] In 1594, he applied successively for London and for Durham,

[1] "To Ralford for 2 loades of gravell againste the Lord Keeper's comynge, 8*d.*" Audit Book, 1577—1578.

[2] Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 17.

[3] "Paide by the handes of Mr. Bust, Vicepreposit, the rent due to the King's Colledge of Cambridge for the lodging in their howse in London due for one half yeare endinge at Michaelmas 1577, 46*s.* 8*d.* Item paide to Mr. Bust towardes his charge rydinge to Cambridge abowt that business, 28*s.* 6*d.*" Audit Book 1576—1577.

[4] *Ecclesiologist*, vol. xx. pp. 306, 307.

[5] Audit Book, 1569—1570.

[6] *Ibid.* 1589—1590.

[7] *Ibid.* 1587—1588.

[8] Strype's *Life of Parker*, vol. i. p. 537; vol. ii. p. 6.

[9] Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, vol. i. p. 327.

[10] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Calendar of Cecil MSS.* vol. v. pp. 7, 8.

relying not only upon his own qualifications as a preacher, but also upon the avowed desire of the Earl of Essex to create a vacancy at Eton for Henry Savile, Warden of Merton College, Oxford.[1] Disappointed of both these important sees, he consented to be made Bishop of Worcester, but within a few days, he withdrew his acceptance of that office on pecuniary grounds, being loth "to seek another country, a strange air, new acquaintance, and another living, without sufficient maintenance." He did not feel in any way bound to impair his own fortune, in order to oblige the Earl of Essex and his nominee, by exchanging the Provostship of Eton, the Deanery of Windsor, and other minor preferments, for a place which could not at the best yield more than 800*l.* a year, saddled with heavy expenses.[2] Eventually, in November 1595, he was appointed to succeed his brother-in-law, William Wickham, in the rich see of Winchester. One of his last acts at Eton was to despatch a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, informing him that the electors had been unable to agree upon a suitable person to take the place of William Whitaker, deceased, the eminent Master of St. John's College, who had been a Fellow for more than eight years.[3]

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Calendar of Cecil MSS.* vol. iv. p. 616; vol. v. pp. 7, 8, 291.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 48, 49, 79, 84, 121, 122.

[3] 5 January 1596. Register, vol. iii. f. 17.




Official Seal of the Provost.




## 1595—1623.

Election of Henry Savile—The Eton Library—Distinguished Visitors—Lady Savile—The Eton Press—St. Chrysostom—Baldwin Collins, John Chamber, John Clavering, Adam Robyns, William Charke, and Richard Mountague—The Commensals—Philip Lytton—Dismissal of a Schoolmaster—Death of Sir Henry Savile—Thomas Murray.

ON the elevation of Dr. Day to the see of Winchester, Secretary Cecil took care that the Fellows of Eton should have no excuse for ignoring the claims of the royal prerogative, and accordingly ordered them to suspend the election of a new Provost until the Queen's pleasure should be known. He justified this prohibition on two grounds, partly on the general right of the Crown to present to every benefice rendered vacant by the incumbent's acceptance of a bishopric, and partly on the particular right of nomination which the Queen and her predecessors had ever exercised in regard to the Provostship of Eton.[1] The Fellows sent an obsequious answer,[2] and so the matter rested for some time.

In order to understand the situation, it is necessary to go back several months. Long before any definite arrangements had been made about the promotion of William Day to a bishopric, Henry Savile, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, was pressing

[1] Register, vol. iii. f. 17.

[2] *Ashmolean MS.* 1729, f. 179.

his claims to succeed him. As early as September 1594, he showed himself "resolute" to obtain the Provostship, refusing all offers of other places in its stead.[1] Seven months later, the question of his eligibility was very warmly debated. In view of the expected vacancy, an anonymous memorial, evidently composed at Eton, was presented to the Queen, pointing out that the Provostship was "a pastorall charge, as having cure of soules not only of the saide College, but also of the parishe of Eaton," and that there was no lack either at Eton or at King's of men "both learned and every way most fit and worthie."[2] To this Savile replied that when the right of presentation to any benefice belonging to a College fell into the Queen's hands, she was in no way bound by the statutes of that college, and that the statutes of Eton had been disregarded in the election of four recent Provosts. According to him, the Fellows had "litle els to doe but to looke on and shew their obedience" to the Queen's wishes. They had, he said, been willing enough to profit by royal dispensations with regard to benefices and absence, and he maintained boldly that no prince since the foundation of the College had "suffered any man to live in that place so in his viewe, and, as it were, under his nose, but of his meere and sole nominacion and appoyntement," without regard to such "pettie circumstances" as statutes and the like.[3]

In writing on the subject to Sir Robert Cecil, Savile declared that "one commendation" from his father, Lord Burghley, "in cold blood, and seeming to proceed of judgment," would prevail with the Queen more than "all the affectionate speech" that her favourite, Essex, could use, and he supported his application by an unblushing offer of 300 angels to the Secretary of State.[4] Essex also wrote on his behalf, and Cecil's aunt, Lady Russell, was asked to exert her influence.[5]

Although assailed from several quarters, the Queen seems to have had grave scruples about nominating a layman to an office

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Calendar of Cecil MSS.* vol. iv. p. 616.
[2] S. P. Dom. Eliz. vol. ccli. no. 117.
[3] *Ibid.* no. 118.
[4] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Calendar of Cecil MSS.* vol. v. p. 189.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 291; Strype's *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 319.

involving the cure of souls, and at the beginning of March 1596, it was reported that she had herself appointed Savile to be Secretary of the Latin Tongue and Dean of Carlisle, "in order to stop his mouth from importuning her any more for the Provostship of Eton."[1] Essex, however, continued firm, thinking that his own interests would be compromised by the rejection of a candidate whose cause he had so warmly espoused. When the Provostship had been actually vacant for three months, the Fellows wrote to Cecil, respectfully urging that the College was suffering inconvenience from want of an official chief,[2] but, even after this, there was further delay, and the royal letters in favour of Savile were not despatched until the 18th of May 1596.[3] The claims of the royal prerogative were pushed to an extreme point in the *mandamus*, which declared that it was merely "for the respect and honor" that the Queen bore to her "noble progenitors, founders" of the College, that she allowed the Fellows to go through even the form of an election, the place being in her "sole and absolute gifte" in consequence of Day's promotion.[4] The Queen's nominee was accordingly elected on the 26th of May.[5]

Savile has been styled "the most learned Englishman in profane literature of the reign of Elizabeth,"[6] and old writers have called him a "lay-bishop" in consideration of his great theological knowledge.[7] After completing a severe course of study at Oxford, he travelled on the Continent for some time, and on his return he assisted Elizabeth in the study of Greek and mathematics. In 1586, he was apppointed Warden of Merton College, and he continued at that post, together with the Provostship of Eton, up to the day of his death.

"Thus this skilfull gardiner had at the same time a nurcery of young plants and an orchard of grown trees, both flourishing under his carefull inspection."[8]

[1] Birch's *Memoirs of Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 441.
[2] *Calendar of Cecil MSS.* vol. vi. p. 137.
[3] S. P. Dom. Eliz. vol. cclvii. nos. 88, 94.
[4] Register, vol. iii. f. 18.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Hallam's *Literature of Europe* (ed. 1854), vol. i. p. 520.
[7] Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, vol. i. p. 118; Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa* (ed. 1732), lib. viii. p. 48.
[8] Fuller's *Worthies— Yorkshire.*




Lupton's Tower

Savile's first act as Provost of Eton was to institute legal proceedings, on behalf of the College, against his predecessor, for the recovery of the sum of 100*l.* and a silver bowl valued at 30*l.* Bishop Day himself died very soon after his promotion, but his executor refunded the money in instalments spread over four years.[1] Savile next turned his attention to the College Library. An inventory of the year 1595 shows that, by that date at any rate, the room built as a library in the reign of Henry the Eighth had been divided by a screen and converted into a hall for the Provost, who also had the exclusive use of the "dining chamber over the gate," now known as the Election Chamber. While much had been done to promote the personal comfort of successive Provosts and their respective families, the Library had been neglected. Such books as had not been alienated by the 'reformers' were apparently stored in a room on the ground floor in the eastern part of the range of buildings separating the School Yard from the Stable Yard.[2] At Savile's instigation, a labourer was employed to clear the Library of the hay lying in it, a carpenter was despatched to Oxford "to view the library there," lately founded by Sir Thomas Bodley; and new presses were ordered.[3] Before the alterations were quite finished, Savile had persuaded the Fellows of the desirability of enlarging the collection, and accordingly the College accounts record large payments year after year for the purchase of books and for binding. The London dealers were eager to secure such excellent customers, and tempted them to further outlay by allowing them a discount of twenty per cent.[4] Among other things in the Library, there was a copy of the portrait of King Henry the Sixth.[5]

A few months after the election of Savile to the Provostship of Eton, one of the boys amused himself by carving the follow-

[1] Audit Books, 1596—1600. The counsel employed by the College was Savile's brother, afterwards a judge.

[2] Audit Books, 1598—1599, 1611—1612, 1678—1679. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 454.)

[3] *Ibid.* 1596—1597. The man is styled simply "John Joyner."

[4] Audit Books, *passim.* There are lists of the books then purchased.

[5] "For an ell of greene taffitie to drawe before the founder's picture in the librarie, 12*s.* 6*d.*" Audit Book, 1606—1607.

ing inscription on the wainscot near the north-eastern angle of the Hall :—

"*Queen Elizabetha ad nos gave October x, 2 loves in a mes*, 1596."

A tradition that, thenceforward until a recent period, the boys sitting in this particular part of the Hall received a double allowance of bread at dinner, seems inherently improbable. The Court was at that time at Nonsuch, but the Queen came to Eton in person in August or September 1601.[1]

In February of that year, Savile had the misfortune to lose her favour in consequence of his intimate connexion with the Earl of Essex. When that ill-starred nobleman was committed to trial for high treason, Savile was also arrested. Thus the first two lay Provosts of Eton, Smith and Savile, were made to suffer for the faults of their respective patrons. Savile, however, did not fare badly, for he was detained in private custody for a few weeks only.[2] Soon after his release, the Duc de Biron, the French Ambassador, came to Eton with a great retinue, and was received with the honour due to his position. John Wilson, who, "though the smallest boy in the school, had been made a Præpostor," addressed him in a Latin speech, and received a present of three angels for his pains.[3] As he was not elected a Scholar of King's College, Cambridge, until 1604, he must have been young at the time, as well as small of stature. The audit book records the receipt of "a buck at my Lorde Embassador's dyning in the College Hall."[4] Some other ambassador, possibly the envoy of the Archduke of Austria, seems to have lodged in the College about two years later.[5]

James the First came to Windsor twice in the summer of 1603, to inspect the royal residence, but he seems to have disappointed the Etonians by postponing his intended visit to the

[1] "To Mathewe Bell for 4 loads of sande 4*s*. and 2 loads of gravil 2*s*. and his horse and carte to make a waye by the shooting fild at the Quenes being here 6*d*.—6*s*. 6*d*." Audit Book, 1600—1601.

[2] 24 Feb. 1600[–1]. *Chamberlain's Letters* (Camden Society), p. 106. *Hist. MSS. Comm. Calendar of Cecil MSS.* vol. xi. pp. 54—57, 130, 132.

[3] *Rawlinson MS.* B. 266, f. 3.

[4] A.D. 1601—1602.

[5] "Making a range in the Colledge kytchen for the Embassador." Audit Book, 1602—1603.

College.[1] Savile was known to the King by reputation at least, and soon received flattering offers of preferment, but he declined everything except the honour of knighthood. Sir Thomas Edmunds wrote to Winwood on the 30th of September 1604 as follows :—

> "At the time of the King's late being at Windsor, he was drawn by Mr. Peter Young to see Eaton Colledge, and after a bankquett there made him, he knighted Mr. Savill. The gentlewoman, your friend, saith that the favour cometh now too late, and therefore now not worthy of her."[2]

Lady Savile was indeed of a querulous disposition, and used to grudge the time which her husband devoted to his literary studies. On one occasion she said :—"Sir Henry, I would I were a book too, and then you would a little more respect me" ; to which a bystander replied :—"You must then be an almanack, Madam, that he might change every year." When Savile was suffering from overwork at his edition of St. John Chrysostom, she threatened to burn the great Father, for killing her husband.[3]

Savile, too, is described as a man of jealous and austere temper. He would fain "have been thought as great a scholar as Joseph Scaliger,"[4] and he assumed a patronizing air towards professional men of letters who could not boast his gentle birth and commanding presence. He was displeased when praise was freely bestowed on other scholars. Casaubon says :—"It is his custom to kick all men who are generally considered learned, and to treat them as asses on two legs."[5] A Fellow of Merton College who survived until the reign of Charles the Second used to his dying day to "make lamentable complaints" of his former Warden, saying that "he did oppresse the Fellows grievously," and that—such was his influence at Court—"there was no dealing

[1] Nichols's *Progresses of James I.* vol. i. pp. 167, 193, 203 : "For russhes for the Schole (expecting the Kinge), 18*d*." "Item to Matthewe Bell for 6 loads of sand and for 2 loads of gravill, expecting the Kinge, 8*s*." Audit Book, 1602—1603.

[2] Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 33.

[3] Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa* (ed. 1732), lib. viii. p. 49.

[4] Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, vol. ii. p. 214.

[5] *Epistolæ* (ed. 1709), p. 461.

with him.[1] On one occasion, we read, Savile "got a great victorie of his Fellowes, and raunsommed and punished divers of them, and amongst the rest expelled Mr. Colmer, who of griefe or curst hart, died within five dayes after."[2] At Eton, he was unpopular with the Kingsmen on account of his constant promotion of aliens, and with the boys on account of his severity. He had a rooted distrust of clever youths who relied on their natural talents. "Give me the plodding student," he said; "if I would look for wits, I would go to Newgate; there be the wits."[3]

Sir Henry Savile lost his only son about 1601, and resolved thenceforth to devote his fortune, as well as his time, to the promotion of literature and science. With this object, he founded and endowed the Professorships of Geometry and Astronomy at Oxford which still bears his name, and which have respectively been held by Wren and Halley. Savile's European reputation, however, rests upon his own works. His treatise on Roman warfare was thought worthy of being translated into German long after his death;[4] while a collection of old English historians made by him in 1596 has until lately proved very useful to students in our own country. He was also engaged on the revision of the English Bible. Yet any labour bestowed on these productions was light in comparison with that of preparing the magnificent edition of the works of St. John Chrysostom, with which Savile's name must ever be associated. No systematic attempt had yet been made towards bringing together the numerous writings of this great Father of the Church, and many of them were almost unknown. Savile had himself purchased many valuable MSS. in the course of his travels, but they proved insufficient for his purpose, and he had to send agents to almost every part of Europe to make collations. James the First took so warm an interest in the matter that he instructed his

[1] Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, vol. ii. p. 214.

[2] 8 November 1598. *Chamberlain's Letters* (Camden Society), p. 27. Gaspar Colemore was expelled, and three other Fellows were suspended for insubordination, by order of the Visitor. Brodrick's *Memorials of Merton College*, pp. 272—274.

[3] Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, vol. ii. p. 214.

[4] Hallam's *Literature of Europe* (ed. 1854), vol. i. pp. 520, 528.

ambassadors abroad to procure every facility for Savile's copyists. Among the foreign scholars who rendered assistance may be noticed the names of De Thou, Casaubon, Le Duc, Gruter, Hoeschel, and Gabriel, Archbishop of Philadelphia.[1] The difficulties of the undertaking did not end with the correction of the numerous errors which had crept into the text, for there was a scarcity of Greek type, and of skilled printers, in England. Savile was accordingly obliged to procure a fount of type from abroad, which received the name of the 'silver letter,' in contra-



Chimneys facing the Slough Road.

distinction to 'diamond,' 'paragon,' and other technical names.[2] He secured the services of the King's printer, John Norton, whom Casaubon styles "by far the richest man of his profession, and a man of good abilities";[3] but he resolved to have the printing done under his own eye at Eton. A range of buildings had been erected on the western side of the Stable Yard adjoining the Slough Road between the years 1603 and 1606; and, in that portion of it which, during the later part of the nineteenth century, was the residence of five successive Head Masters, Savile caused

[1] Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature*, vol. v. pp. 103—135.

[2] *Harleian MS.* 5910.

[3] *Epistolæ*, p. 509.

the press to be set up. The other new rooms were used as granaries, as studies, and as dormitories for Chaplains, Clerks, Commensals, and Oppidans, the Commensals and the Oppidans renting theirs from the Schoolmaster or the Usher.[1]

The first productions of the Eton press were some small Greek books, the printing of which prepared Norton for the more serious work which lay before him. A collection of Iambic verses by John, Metropolitan of Euchaitis, is dated 1610, and several Orations of St. Gregory Nazianzen seems to have been published in that year. The former was edited by Matthew Bust, the latter by Richard Mountague, two promising young Kingsmen whom Savile had engaged to assist him. The edition of St. Chrysostom was three years in the press, and extended to eight volumes folio, which were issued at intervals. Casaubon speaks of the work as proceeding "at private cost but with royal spirit,"[2] and Fuller describes it as "a burden" which Savile "underwent without stooping under it, though the weight thereof would have broken the back of an ordinary person."[3] The subscribers received with the last volumes in 1613 a preface to the entire work, and eight prints from an elaborate copper-plate, for insertion in place of the uninteresting title-pages originally prefixed to the other volumes. The new title-page bore figures of the four great Fathers of the Holy Eastern Church, Savile's Arms, and those of various colleges at the two Universities, and small views of King's College and Eton College.[4]

Fuller states that one of the printers had been bribed to send over the sheets one by one to Paris, where the work was reproduced *verbatim* by Fronton le Duc, who only added a Latin translation.

> "Thus two editions of Saint Chrysostome did together run a race in the world, which should get the speed of the other in publique sale and acceptance. Sir Henry his edition started

[1] "Newe lockes for the dores in the newe buildinge where the printers worke." Audit Book, 1608—1609. In other Audit Books of this period, the new building is described as "by the Stable Yard," and mention is made of "posts at the new building in the high way," and of a "great window next the high way where the corne is taken up."

[2] *Epistolæ*, p. 430.

[3] *Worthies— Yorkshire.*

[4] Compare the copies of the work in the British Museum.

first by the advantage of some months. But the Parisian edition came up close to it, and advantaged with the Latine translation (though dearer of price) out-stript it in quickness of sale, but of late the Savilian Chrysostome hath much mended its pace."

It seems clear, however, that the Eton edition had the start by two years, and, as Le Duc was one of the scholars to whom Savile gave thanks for assistance rendered, the truth of Fuller's story is extremely doubtful.[1] Be this as it may, we know that the "worthy English knight, who set forth the *golden*-mouthed Father, in a *silver* print," impoverished himself while enriching the world of literature.[2] The work is said to have cost no less than 8000*l.*, and it brought the editor more honour than money. The Elector Palatine gave him a handsome present of plate ;[3] the United Provinces sent him a chain worth 40*l.* ;[4] and the Venetian Republic caused a medal to be engraved with his name ;[5] but the work sold very slowly. A thousand copies were originally offered to the public at 9*l.* apiece, but in 1613 they were being sold at 8*l.*[6] The price was afterwards lowered considerably, and, after Savile's death, some copies, belonging to Eton College, were disposed of at a third of the original price,[7] whilst his son-in-law, Sir John Sedley, was fain to sell others wholesale to a London stationer for 24*s.* apiece.[8]

Sir Henry Savile at one time contemplated publishing a complete collection of the works of St. Gregory Nazianzen, but he laid this scheme aside, on the appearance of Morel's edition in 1609. Richard Mountague was also to have edited for him the works of St. Basil the Great ; but no Greek books issued from the Eton press after the Chrysostom, except the *Periegesis* of

[1] Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire*, under 'Johannes.'

[2] Fuller's *Holy State* (ed. 1648), p. 186.

[3] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. lxxii. no. 74.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. lxxvi. no. 27.

[5] *Ibid.* vol. lxxii. no. 121 ; vol. lxxvii. no. 77.

[6] *Ibid.* vol. lxxii, no. 57. *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on Buccleuch MSS.*, vol. i. p. 123.

[7] "Received of Mr. Vice-Provost for ij coppies of Chrissostoms sould by him at iij$^{li}$ the coppie, vj$^{li}$." Audit Book, 1623—1624. "Of Mr. Nightingall of Winsore for a copy of Chrysostom's works, iij$^{li}$." *Ibid.* 1628—1629.

[8] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. clx. no. 58.

Dionysius, the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, and a Christmas Oration of St. Gregory Nazianzen. Of these the first was intended for use in the School, and the other two may have been printed with the same object. After Sir Henry Savile's death, his Greek type was acquired by the University of Oxford, and lent by it to the sister University.[1]

The Vice-Provost during a great part of Savile's time was Baldwin Collins, a man "of such charity that it passeth belief: giving the poor the cloaths from off his back, and his hat from off his head." He refused many offers of preferment, saying:—"I have enough, I have enough," and he used gratuitously to assist the clergy in the neighbourhood of Eton by preaching in their churches. It is also recorded to his credit that "he did freely prefer many poor but good scholars" under his charge.[2] The Fellowship vacated by his death in 1616 was given to his son Daniel, and was held between the two for no less than seventy-seven years.[3]

Another Fellow who had taken part in the election of Savile was John Chamber, the author of some works in favour of astronomy, as distinguished from astrology,[4] but better remembered as the founder of two scholarships at Merton College for Postmasters (*Portionistæ*), to be chosen from among the boys at Eton who were superannuated for admission to King's. They are worth 80*l.* a year, besides rooms and a portion of commons, and are in the gift of the Provosts of Eton and King's.

John Clavering, elected a Fellow in 1597, gave or bequeathed to the College a silver gilt tazza of Dutch design, which has for about a century served as a paten in the church of Worplesdon in Surrey.[5]

Another benefactor at this period was Adam Robyns, a Fellow, who left 100*l.* for the purchase of a silver ewer and dish, and of tapestry for the Hall. Robyns died in 1613, and little time was lost in carrying out the provisions of his will. A silver ewer and

[1] *Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report*, p. 464. *Etoniana*, pp. 17—22, 49—51.
[2] *Cole's MS.* vol. xiv. f. 125.
[3] Eton Register, vol. iii.
[4] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii. pp. 744–746.
[5] *Surrey Archæological Collections*, vol. xi. p. 80.

dish, double gilt, were sent down to Eton on approval by a certain William Terry, goldsmith, of Lombard Street, and, being definitely chosen, were sent back to London to have the Eton Arms engraved and enamelled on them, and to have cases fitted to them.[1] They are the most beautiful specimens of plate now in the possession of the College, and they occupy a prominent position on the sideboard in the Hall on the Fourth of June, on Founder's Day, and on other festive occasions. Fine plate of this period is so rare that it may be worthy of remark that Sidney



Silver Ewer and Dish bought in 1613.

Sussex College, Cambridge, possesses a dish almost identical in design, and a ewer very similar, dated three or four years earlier.[2] Some arras purchased with the balance of Robyns's bequest, from Edmund Travers, citizen and haberdasher of London, used annually to be hung above the dais at the west end of the Hall, at Election-tide, until 1858. The subjects represented on it

[1] Audit Books, 1612—1614. The entries about this plate and tapestry are too long to be inserted here *verbatim*. The hall-mark on the former is London, 1610—1611.

[2] *Old Cambridge Plate*, pp. 28, 29.

were the Flight into Egypt, and Christ among the Doctors. This tapestry was unfortunately destroyed by a fire at the College Bakehouse in 1875.[1]

The Fellow who was entrusted with the choice of the plate and tapestry was a certain William Charke, who gave a good deal of trouble in his day by a persistent opposition to everything which seemed to him to savour of Romanism. In 1572, he had scandalized the University of Cambridge by maintaining in a Latin sermon that "the offices of bishop, archbishop, metropolitan, patriarch, and pope, were introduced into the Church by Satan." When summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses, he absolutely refused to retract or qualify this very sweeping proposition, and he was therefore expelled from the University, according to the statutes.[2] An appeal to Lord Burghley had no effect at the time, but it may have been through his influence that Charke obtained a Fellowship at Eton in 1599. He cannot have modified his views, for in December 1610, we find Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, writing to Sir Henry Savile :—

> "I promised you to see Eaton beefore the end of this session of Parliament, and purposed it beefore Christmas ; but the adjournaments of our meeting are so frequent and uncertein that I can not pick out a sett time for that journey, which for your owne and your Chrysostom's sake I would very gladly speede. Yet I confesse truly unto you, I am the more loth as yet to come, because there are some thinges there complayned of to mee, which you, by your wisdome, may reforme beefore my coming. Mr. Chark his exorbitant unconformitee, both to the Church Canons and the College Statutes (to which either he is or must bee sworne) is much repined at, and I am blamed for suffring it. Advise him presently to conforme himself fully to both, or els I must not come (which I rather would) as a friend to see *you*, but as a visitor to censure *him*." [3]

The Bishop wrote again four days later, telling Savile that Charke had called on him, and excused himself by saying that he had not been summoned to conform by the Provost and Fellows.

[1] Radclyffe's *Memorials of Eton : Eton College Chronicle*, no. 234 ; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on Buccleuch MSS.* vol. ii. p. 134.

[2] Heywood & Wright's *Cambridge Transactions during the Puritan Period*, vol. i. pp. 123—133.

[3] *Lambeth MS.* vol. dclxiii. f. 13.

"Hee putts his *Perjury* upon your connivence."[1] Savile certainly had no sympathy with Puritanism, and probably took Charke to task after this warning, for the latter continued to hold his Fellowship until 1617.[2]

The Fellows elected through Savile's own influence were men of a very different stamp. He fully realized that Henry the Sixth had intended his noble foundation to be something more than a mere grammar-school, and he did his best to make the College one of the most learned societies in Europe. Curiously enough, he raised objections to Andrew Downes, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, who, in 1604, applied for the Fellowship vacant by the death of John Chamber, pleading learning and poverty, but he afterwards employed him as a literary assistant.[3] More interested in members of his own university and his own college, he secured the election of Thomas Allen, Fellow of Merton, to whom he entrusted the writing of some of the notes on the Chrysostom. This Allen, as Fellow of Eton, was tutor to Henry Hammond, who, while still a schoolboy, studied and taught Hebrew, and

> "loved to steal away
> Far from loud boyish sports, in solitude to pray."[4]

The year 1613 witnessed the election of Richard Mountague, and of the "ever-memorable" John Hales, who will be mentioned again in the next chapter.

Mountague has already been noticed in connexion with the Greek press at Eton, and indeed he is said to have revised the proof-sheets of the Chrysostom. Laud describes him as "a very good scholar, and a right honest man, a man every way able to do God, his Majesty, and the Church of England, great service." James the First, no mean judge, considered him competent to enter the lists against such formidable opponents as Cardinal Baronius and John Selden, at different times. The last years of Mountague's life were spent in what he describes as the effort "to stand in the gapp against Puritanisme and Popery, the Scilla

[1] *Lambeth MS.* f. 14.
[2] Eton Register, vol. iii.
[3] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Twelfth Report*, App. i. p. 31.
[4] Fell's *Life of Hammond; Eton Bureau*, p. 97.

and Charybdis of antient piety."[1] No sooner had he parried a thrust on the one side than he had to defend himself on the other. A sermon preached by him, as Canon of Windsor, before the King, in 1621, aroused the suspicions of the Puritan party, who accused him of supporting the Invocation of Saints. His vindication of the sermon showed that he was not to be daunted by threats, and he wrote to his friend Cosin :—

> "*Me temerarium*, that provokes enimyes on all sides, Puritans, Papists, lawyers, hell and all. '*Dulychii, Samiique, et quos tulit alta Zacynthus, turba ruunt in me.*'
>
> "So you heare ; so you say . . . . I am redy not only to be bound, but σὺν Θεῷ to dye, for the Church . . . . I shall never faile the Church of England but *usque ad aras* do my best to uphold the doctrine and discipline ther."[2]

Three years later, Mountague fell into controversy with the Romanists in consequence of his having found some of their emissaries attempting to make proselytes in his country parish. Fuller says of him, that "his great parts were attended with a tartness of writing ; very sharp the nib of his pen, and much gall mingled in his ink, against such as opposed him. However, such the equability of the sharpness of his style, he was impartial therein ; be he ancient or modern writer, papist or protestant, that stood in his way, they should all equally taste thereof."[3] In speaking of the Roman *Gag for the new Gospell*, Mountague says, "answere it I have . . . . bitterly and tartly I confesse, which I did purposely, because the asse deserved so to be rub'd."[4] It so happened, however, that his mode of conducting the controversy infuriated the Puritans even more than his Romanist antagonists, as he surrendered, without a blow, many positions which had hitherto been warmly contested. Like the earlier English Reformers, he appealed to Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Primitive Church and general Councils, but he did so with a wider knowledge of patristic theology than any of them had possessed. He refused to brand the Pope as Antichrist ; he defended the use of the sign of the Cross, of images, and of

[1] *Cosin's Correspondence* (Surtees Society), vol. i. p. 21.
[2] *Ibid.* pp 9—10.
[3] *Church History*, book xi. c. 7.
[4] *Cosin's Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 33.

auricular confession ; and he maintained high views as to the efficacy of the Sacraments. The first Parliament of Charles the First took upon itself to censure a book by him, entitled '*Appello Cæsarem*,' and bound him to find security for his appearance, in the large sum of 2000*l.* On the other hand, a committee of bishops, to whom some of his works were referred, declared that he had "not affirmed anything to be the doctrine of the Church of England, but that which, in our opinion, is the doctrine of the Church of England, or agreeable thereunto."[1] Mountague was protected from his enemies by the influence of the King, and by the dissolution of Parliament. His open repudiation of Calvinism would, at one time, have made him unacceptable at Court, but, Arminianism being in the ascendant, he was appointed Bishop of Chichester in 1628, on the death of Carleton, who had been the representative of King James at the Synod of Dort. This was four years after his resignation of the Eton Fellowship.[2]

Savile did not live long enough to secure a Fellowship for John Boys, one of his fellow-labourers on the Bible, and on the edition of St. Chrysostom. All that Boys received for his pains about the latter was a copy of the work.[3] Savile persuaded the College to grant 5*l.* to another of his assistants, "Mr. Andrewe Downes, Professor of the Greeke tounge in Cambridge,"[4] disappointed of a Fellowship, and always impecunious, and 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* "to Chrysanthus, Bishopp of Lacedæmonia in Greece." The Fellows had less sympathy with a "Spanish gent voluntarily exiling himselfe for the Gospell (as he said)," and gave him only 10*s.*[5] The revenue was then in a flourishing condition, and, in 1610, Eton College was able to make a loan of 300*l.* to Merton College. But here we must notice the beginning of the unauthorized system of dividing up the yearly surplus between the principal members of the College. In 1617, the distribution under this head amounted to more than 400*l.*

Various accounts preserved at Eton show that, in the later years of Elizabeth, the whole community used to dine in the Hall,

[1] *Harleian MS.* 7000.
[2] *Biographia Britannica; Laud's Works.*
[3] Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa* (ed. 1732), lib. viii. p. 49.
[4] Audit Book, 1611—1612.
[5] *Ibid.* 1609—1610.

as intended by the statutes. At the high table sat the Provost, the seven Fellows, the Schoolmaster, and occasional guests. The second table was reserved for the Usher, two Conducts, or chaplains, nine Clerks, or singing men, and the upper Commensals. Some of these last were under the charge of private tutors, who sat with them at meals and paid at the same rate. At the lower tables sat the Scholars, the Choristers, and the other Commensals, many of whom were being educated at Eton with a view to eventual election as Scholars. The fourteen servants of the College and the Provost's servants used to dine together in the Hall, but, apparently, not at the regular hour.

The School was in high repute in Savile's time. Casaubon, who was his guest on several occasions, secured a place on the foundation for his son Meric, in 1610.[1] At the election of 1613, there were more than a hundred candidates for admission,[2] and the Provost was importuned on all sides by anxious parents. Two years later, we meet with a payment "to Thomas Wright, joyner, for a little table to lanthen the Commensalls' table in the Hall, the number being gretter than before could sett at it."[3] There were then about twenty-eight of these independent students at the second table, and about fourteen at the third, although the charges for board had been nearly trebled in the course of sixty years. In 1613, the Commensals at the third table paid 3*s.* 6*d.* a week, and those at the second table as much as 5*s.* 6*d.*[4] Young Lord Wriothesley (afterwards Earl of Chichester) lived more luxuriously, and kept a page. Their board cost about 11*s.* a week, and the total expense of a Commensal's education in the reign of James the First appears to have been considerable. Con O'Neil, a younger son of the 'Arch Rebel,' Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, was sent to Eton in 1615 by order of the King, and maintained there at his expense for more than two years. The bills were sent in quarterly, in some cases by the Schoolmaster, although his own charges did not amount to much. Between Lady Day and Midsummer 1617, the item for "tuition"

[1] Pattison's *Isaac Casaubon*, pp. 380, 397, 419, 436; Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature*, vol. v. p. 124.

[2] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. lxxiv. no. 33.

[3] Audit Book, 1614—1615.

[4] *Ibid.* 1612—1620.

was only 1*l.* and that for "inke, quills, sweeping the schole" was 4*d.* On the other hand the boy's "attendant" received no less than 5*l.* for "wages," in addition to lodging and diet. A Latin Grammar cost 12*d.*, selections by Sturmius from the *Epistles* of Cicero, 5*d.*, a Bible, 6*s.* 8*d.* and Rider's *Dictionary* as much as 9*s.* Altogether, the cost of maintaining Con O'Neil came to close upon 100*l.* a year. He was eventually removed to the Tower of London, where he died in confinement.[1] Among the Commensals at the second table was Philip Lytton, a younger son of Sir Rowland Lytton of Knebworth. In a letter written in December 1608, Dudley Carleton says :—

> "Phil Lytton is well, and in commons in the Hall, though all his camarades be dispersed. His schoolemaster made a complaint unto me that he was too daintie mouthed and could eat no beefe, but he answeares the matter well. '*Verum est.* When I was at Mr. Alden's, I had better meat.'"[2]

From the lists of persons who received commons week by week, it appears that, at this period, most of the boys used to go away for holidays about Christmas and Whitsuntide, and that some of the Commensals used also to go away at Easter.

The Mr. Alden mentioned was Mordecai Alden, one of the Fellows, and there is other evidence that, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Provost and Fellows used to have one or two boys apiece lodging with them. The inventories at Eton mention beds for scholars in the rooms of the Fellows, and, in the wills of several Fellows entered in the College Register, there are legacies to their respective scholars or pupils. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the famous Parliamentary General, was, when a small boy, placed in the immediate charge of the Provost.[3] As his name does not figure in the list of Commensals in 1601, he and his attendants may either have bought their food from the College cook, or boarded with Lady Savile. In January 1610, Carleton reported :—

"I have delivered 5*l.* to Dr. Langlie for Phil Lytton,

[1] *Issues of the Exchequer* (ed. Devon), pp. 184, 189, 210. *Hist. MSS. Comm. Third Report*, p. 265; *Catalogue of Eton Loan Collection, 1891*, no. 282; *Etoniana*, p. 48.

[2] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. xxxviii. no. 67.

[3] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on Cecil MSS.* vol. xi. pp. 130, 132.

whereof 1*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* goeth to discharge the last quarter; the rest remaines in hand against the next payment. Some bookes he desires which I have wisht him to write for to his father, and it will give him goode encoragement yf he be allowed them. He hath stept a forme higher at this Christmas remove, and is now under the Schoolemaster's tuition, who gives him his goode word for his goode proceeding *tam doctrina quam moribus.*" [1]

Richard Langley, the Schoolmaster mentioned above, was a pluralist, and, as such, the cause of much anxiety to the Visitor of the College. In a letter complaining to Sir Henry Savile about Charke's nonconformity, Bishop Barlow says :—

"I will not, neither must I, winke at such papable Nonresidence, so wilfull and so offensive as I understand your Schoolemaster is guilty of; who having two rich benefices (as I am informed) farr distant from his Schoole, and beeing a Doctor of Divinity, continueth the teaching of children, and neglecteth his principall charge which are the soules of his people. This, I tell you, is an apostemated ulcer, and breaketh out by the mouthes of those that love not the Church, to the scandall of our profession, to your blame, and my reproofe, who heare of it oftner then I would, and in places where I would wish it were silenced." [2]

The Provost's answer to this letter is missing, but it is clear that he pleaded Langley's industry and aptitude for teaching, as a reason for retaining him at Eton. The Bishop retorted that the tenure of the office of Schoolmaster by a Doctor of Divinity was implicitly forbidden by Henry the Sixth :—

"*Faciam vos piscatores hominum*, did so farr sway with that devoute Founder's religious minde, that hee little thought any man would have been either so covetous for wealth or so stooping in conceite, as, from an *Interpreter of the Holy Ghost*, to become an expositor of profane poets." [3]

Soon after this Sir Henry Savile fell ill, but on his recovery, in July 1611, the Bishop returned to the charge, saying that it was a disgrace to a Doctor of Divinity to be "hired and removable." Since the King and the Archbishop had resolved "to call men to

[1] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. lii. no. 9.
[2] *Lambeth MS.* vol. dclxiii. f. 13.
[3] 9 December 1610. *Lambeth MS.* vol. dclxiii. f. 14.

their local and personal residence upon their benefices," Langley's irregularity could no longer be ignored :—

> "*Is not this the sparing of Agag because he was a comely person?* . . . His churches have neede of him, send him to his charge ; his vertues for example, his sufficiency for learning, can not bee too greate nor too good for God's people." [1]

As the Bishop ended his letter with a threat of a formal visitation, Sir Henry Savile lost no time in sending Dr. Langley to argue his own case. The Bishop, however, was inexorable, and after the interview, wrote to say that the cause of scandal must absolutely be removed :—

> "I do assure you, if ther be a Parlament, we shall not be able to justify his stay either with your credit or mine, besides our duty to God and the King ; if from thence he should be preferred to the best Deanry in England, I should well like it, for I affect the man as much as you ; but in this case I am not able to yeild his desire. *Id possumus quod jure possumus*, is a sound rule in law."

Dr. Langley was accordingly summoned to appear before the Provost and Fellows, and, as he still refused to resign his place, he received formal notice that his services would not be required after the following Lady Day.[2] The position of a Master under sentence of dismissal is not pleasant, as Langley must have found, for he soon declared his willingness to go at once.[3] He seems to have made a good bargain with the College, obtaining the full salary up to Lady Day,[4] although he left Eton in the preceding August or September.

The dismissal of Langley did not put an end to the correspondence between Bishop Barlow and Sir Henry Savile, as difficulties arose about the choice of a new Schoolmaster. The Bishop was anxious that the vacant post should be offered to some Kingsman, but the Provost insisted on promoting Richard Wright, the Usher, who was a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.[5] Then the Bishop wrote to say that the new Usher ought to be a bachelor and a layman :—

> "As for the Usher to be a *Presbyter*, though *unmarried*, I

[1] 16 July 1611. *Lambeth MS.* vol. dclxiii. f. 17.
[2] *Ibid.* ff. 20–22.
[3] 16 September 1611. *Ibid.* f. 23.
[4] Audit Book, 1611—1612.
[5] *Lambeth MS.* vol. dclxiii. ff. 22, 23, 26.

marveill that it should bee once thought of amongst you, for doo you not take it a grosse abasing of our sacred function, that a *Priest* should either bee or bee entituled an *hostiarius?* . . . God's glory is never better meinteined then where dead men's wills are truly executed, not crossing His will."[1]

Richard Wright was elected to a Fellowship when he had been Schoolmaster for two months only, and then the Provost appointed a Kingsman, Matthew Bust the younger, although expressly declaring that this qualification had not influenced him in any way.[2] The new Usher, William Otes, was also a Kingsman, and so when Sir Henry Savile wrote to announce these changes to Sir Dudley Carleton, he added :—"I hope I have pleased those of King's College now ; at least I have pleased myself."[3]

There can be little doubt that the study of Greek made considerable progress at Eton under Savile's auspices, and we have already noticed several small books in that language which he caused to be printed there for use in the School. To his influence may safely be ascribed the introduction of a text-book, compiled by his friend William Camden, Head Master of Westminster, which, after being superseded at that school about 1650 by Busby's Grammar, came to be known as the *Eton Greek Grammar*, and has survived to our own day.[4] We know nothing about the pastimes of the boys in the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, and it is uncertain whether they were allowed to use the tennis court which was maintained by the College.[5]

The Plague appeared at Eton in 1603,[6] and again in 1605 or 1606. On the second occasion, a messenger was sent to convey the news to the Provost, who was on his 'progress,' or visitation of distant estates belonging to the College.[7] Four years later, a

[1] 1 October 1611. *Lambeth MS.* f. 25.

[2] *Ibid.* f. 26.

[3] 24 November 1611. S. P. Dom. James I. vol. lxvii. no. 59. "Paide to Thomas Holdernes going to Cambridge with lettres in October laste aboute providing an ussher for the schole, 5*s*." Audit Book, 1610—1611.

[4] Hallam's *Literature of Europe* (ed. 1854), vol. i. pp. 330, 518.

[5] Audit Books, 1600—1603. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 419.) For notices of contemporary tennis courts at Cambridge, see Willis & Clark, vol. iii. pp. 567—575.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] "To Mr. Foster supplying the Chaplyns' places in the Church to saie devine servis one moneth in the time of the infection, 8*s*." "Item to Thomas Lewen, Mr. Provost's man, his charges riding to Mr. Provost in Progresse, to certifie him of the state of Eton, being then visited with the plague, 3*s*. 4*d*." *Ibid.* 1605—1606.

similar epidemic broke out at Windsor, and a payment "to Robert Keyne of Eton towards the charges of them that watched in Eton in the tyme of the sickness in Windsor," may have been connected with an attempt to maintain a *cordon* at the bridge.[1] Mention has already been made of the new buildings in the Stable Yard, and of the repairs in the Library, and it may be added that a new organ-loft was erected in 1613 or 1614. Some slight alterations were made in the Church on the occasion of a visit from James the First in 1611 or 1612.[2]

Sir Henry Savile appears to have been seriously ill several times during the later part of his life, and his condition was watched with interest by rival candidates for the Provostship. One of them, Dr. John Hammond, formerly Schoolmaster at Eton, predeceased him by several years; another, Sir Henry Wotton, received from the King a flat refusal to his first application; whilst a third, William Beecher, had no very obvious qualifications for the office. Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador to the United Provinces, consulting his wife's step-father, Sir Henry Savile, on the subject in 1617, received from him a letter of good advice;[3] but a more practical friend wrote to enquire how much he might offer for the place, as nothing could be done at Court without money.[4] The successful candidate proved to be Thomas Murray,[5] an impecunious Scotchman of good family, but he had to wait several years for the place. Sir Henry Savile died in February 1622, and was buried in the Church at Eton, near a wooden statue of the Founder, under the easternmost window on the south side. Although he had made ample provision for his funeral, the ceremony was performed at night, so that no unnecessary expense should be incurred.[6] Some two years later, his relict presented the College with a full-length portrait of him in black robes and a lace ruff, which was at once hung in the most appropriate place—the Library.[7] It is now a

[1] "To Thomas Harrys his charges in ryding to Oxford with lettres to signifie to Mr. Provost of the sicknes in Windsor, 4*d*." Audit Book, 1609—1610.

[2] Audit Book.

[3] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. xciii. nos. 74, 137, 152.

[4] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. xcii. no. 43.

[5] *Ibid.* no. 49.

[6] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 533; S. P. Dom.

[7] "To the joyner for deales and workemanshipp in lyneing Sir Henry Savile's picture in the Liberary given by

conspicuous object in the Provost's Lodge, and it fully confirms Aubrey's statement that Savile "was an extraordinary handsome and beautiful man; no lady had a finer complexion."[1]

James the First guarded against any independent action on the part of the Fellows by writing, more than a week before Sir Henry Savile's death, to order them to suspend the election until his pleasure should be declared.[2] It was already well known, however, that he had made his choice. John Williams, who was then Lord Keeper as well as Bishop of Lincoln, made a creditable, though feeble, attempt to divert him from his purpose. He could fairly urge that Murray was triply disqualified, as being neither an Englishman, a graduate, nor a priest. On the 23rd of February, he wrote to Buckingham :—

> "This is altogether differing from a Deanery or an Hospital, which, being livings without cure, have been and may be justly confer'd by his Majesty on laymen, with dispensation *de non promovendo*. If Sir Henry Savil's example be objected I answer . . . . that Savil never durst take true possession of the place, but was only slipt in by the bishop (who, for fear of the Earl of Essex, made bold with the conscience) *ad curam et regimen Collegii*."

The Bishop added that Murray had just called upon him, but could not be persuaded to enter holy orders. "I schooled him soundly against Puritanism, which he disavows, though somewhat faintly."[3] This letter must have arrived too late, for a royal mandate to the Fellows and a dispensation in favour of Murray are also dated the 23rd of February.[4] The Fellows lost no time in obeying the King's instructions; but Bishop Williams was very tenacious of his own rights as Visitor of the College, and on the 26th of the same month, he wrote to say that the proceedings had been informal in several particulars, and could not be recognized by him as valid. He therefore ordered the

the Lady Savile, 5*s*." Audit Book, 1623—1624. "To Sir Richard Harrison's servaunt bringinge the plate bequeathed by the Lady Savile to the Colledge, 5*s*." *Ibid.* 1631—1632. A flagon of silver-gilt bearing her name and arms has found its way, together with John Clavering's tazza mentioned above, from Eton to Worplesdon. *Surrey Archæological Collections*, vol. xi. pp. 80, 81.

[1] *Brief Lives*, vol. ii. p. 214.

[2] 10 February 1621. Register, vol. iii. f. 34.

[3] *Cabala* (ed. 1663), p. 289.

[4] Register, vol. iii. f. 34.

Fellows to meet at 8 A.M. to read over the royal dispensation, and to elect Murray to an eighth Fellowship, and then to adjourn till 3 P.M. when, "reading first the King's gracious lettres, which you are to terme lettres of recomandacions and not mandates," they might elect Murray as Provost. They were specially cautioned against using the word 'admitting,' and ordered to "blotte it or raze it owt" of the Register if it had been used at the informal election.[1] The Bishop carried his point, enforced a new election on the 28th of February,[2] and 'admitted' Murray on the 2nd of March.

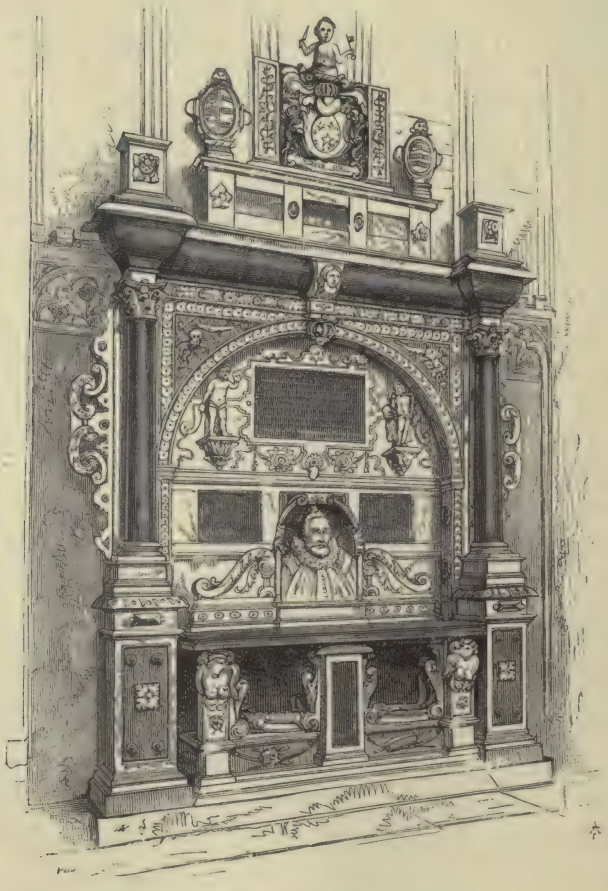
Williams was less successful in a controversy with the College a few weeks later, about a Fellowship which fell vacant. Being of opinion that the right of nomination in this instance had elapsed to him as Visitor, he promised the place to John Hacket, at that time his chaplain, and afterwards his biographer. However, when the Provost and Fellows met in the 'Chappel' for the election,[3] Hacket, being quite unknown to them, received only one vote. Another candidate was rejected on account of his youth, and finally John Smyth, of King's College, was chosen Fellow by five votes. This fairly drove the Bishop into a rage. He declared that his nominee had been slighted "in a meere faction and opposition"; he refused to admit Smyth; and he threatened that he would have the number of Fellowships made up to ten, as ordered by the Founder. He boasted, moreover, that many of the Fellows were entirely at his mercy "by reason of forfeiture of their places. For having no dispensacion they have annext ecclesiasticall livings to their places above statuteable valew, for the dispensacion given by Queene Elizabeth, beeing personall and from hirselfe, *moritur cum persona*, and since hir death hath beene of no validity." The Fellows replied that Elizabeth's dispensation had been granted by her for herself and her successors, and that its authority had never yet been questioned. They offered no objection to the proposed increase in the number of Fellowships, provided that the lands taken

[1] *Lambeth MS.* vol. dclxiv. f. 106.
[2] Register, vol. iii. f. 35.
[3] This is perhaps the earliest instance in which the collegiate Church of Eton is styled a 'Chapel.' The older and more correct designation was used in common parlance even within the last fifty years.

away by Edward the Fourth were first restored.[1] In the end the Bishop had to give away ; John Smyth retained his Fellowship until 1635 ; and Hacket never obtained a place at Eton.

Murray died from the effects of a painful operation within fourteen months of his election to the Provostship, and was buried in the Church, where his relict set up in his memory a monument, elaborately painted and gilded, opposite to the simple epitaph of his illustrious predecessor, Savile.

[1] *Lambeth MS.* vol. dclxi. ff. 179, 182 ; vol. dclxiv. f. 113.



Monument of Thomas Murray.




## 1623—1639.

Long Contest for the Provostship—Bacon and other Candidates—Sir Henry Wotton—Pillars in the Schoolroom—Thomas Weaver—The Boyles at Eton—Prosperous Times—Commensals—Contests for Fellowships—The 'ever-memorable' John Hales—Death of Sir Henry Wotton.

THE report that Thomas Murray could not recover from his illness gave rise to a memorable contest for the Provostship of Eton, which began some weeks before his death and lasted altogether sixteen months. Not one of the eight or nine candidates for the post was statutably qualified for it, but they were all men of at least knightly rank who had held office under the Crown. Foremost among them was the ex-Chancellor of England, Viscount St. Albans, better remembered by posterity under the illustrious name of Francis Bacon. Realizing fully that, after his disgrace, he could not hope to re-enter political life, he set his heart upon obtaining the place which had recently been adorned by his friend Sir Henry Savile. With this object, he sent an application to the King on the 25th of March 1623,[1] and at the same time besought the assistance of the Secretary of State, Sir Edward Conway, to whom he wrote :—

"Mr. Thomas Murray, Provost of Eton (whome I love very well), is like to dye. It were a prety cell for my fortune. The

[1] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. cxl. no. 32.

> College and Schoole I doe not dout but I shall make to flowrysh. His Majesty when I wayted on him, tooke notice of my wants, and said to me that as he was a King he would have care of me. This is a thing somebody must have, and costs his Majesty nothing."[1]

This last point is twice dwelt upon in Bacon's letter to the King, and gives a hint as to the condition of the royal coffers. Conway answered two days later, that the Provostship had already been promised to Sir William Beecher, Clerk of the Council, but that if his claims could be satisfied in any other way, Bacon's request should be granted.[2] With this answer the latter seems to have been fairly satisfied, for he wrote again on the 29th of March:—

> "I am much comforted by your last letter, whearin I fynd that his Majesty of his great goodnesse vouchesafeth to have a care of me, a man owt of sight and owt of use, but yet his (as the Scripture saieth, God knowes those that are his). . . . . Thear will hardly fall (specially in the spent howreglasse of such a life as mine) anything so fitt for me, being a retreat to a place of study, so near London, and whear (if I sell my house at Gorhambury, as I purpose to doe to putt myself into some convenient plently) I may be accommodate of a dwelling for the summer tyme."[3]

In both these letters, Bacon took care to assure Conway that his candidature would receive the support of the Marquess of Buckingham, and the allusions to this arrogant favourite are significant, for in all matters of patronage his influence was supreme. Buckingham was then absent with the Prince of Wales on his ill-starred expedition to Spain, but he received the intelligence of Murray's death from the Lord Keeper Williams, who wrote:—

> "The place [is] stayed by the Fellows and myself, untill your lordship's pleasure be known. Whomsoever your lordship shall name I shall like of, even should it be Sir William Beecher, though the Provostship never descended so low. The King named unto me yesterday morning Sir Albertus Morton, Sir Dudley Carleton, and Sir Robert Ayton, our late Queen's

[1] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. cxl. no. 33.

[2] *Ibid.* no. 44.

[3] *Ibid.* no. 59. See also vol. cxlii. no. 40.

secretary ; but in my opinion, though he named him last, his Majesty inclined to this Ayton most. It will rest wholly with your lordship to name the man. It is somewhat necessary to be a good scholar, but more that he be a good husband and a careful manager, and a stayed man, which no man can be that is so much indebted as my Lord St. Albans." [1]

Among the candidates who came forward during Murray's lifetime was Sir Robert Naunton, who had lately retired from the office of Secretary of State, with a pension of 1000*l.* a year. No sooner was the Provostship actually vacant than he "laide in hard for it, offering to quit all pensions, promises, and pretentions whatsoever." The King, however, explicitly refused to exercise any of his own rights of patronage until the return of his favourite from Spain, and at the same time renewed the promise of advancement that had been made to Sir William Beecher.[2] There was therefore no foundation for the rumour current at the time that the Provostship was likely to be given to Sir Ralph Freeman, Master of Requests, although he had the advantage of being related to Buckingham.[3]

So manifestly inferior was Sir William Beecher to most of his rivals in this contest that cynics suggested that the promise which he had received had been based upon the maxim "first come, first served," so that the King might avoid the importunities of other candidates.[4] It was, however, believed that, if he obtained the place vacant by the death of Thomas Murray, he would be obliged "to marrie the widow or provide for her and her chickens." In his case, this was considered "a hard condition," [5] but a Scottish candidate, Sir Robert Aytoun, rested his claims largely upon his sympathy with his countrywoman, Mrs. Murray. Within a fortnight of her husband's death, he wrote concerning the Provostship :—

"I am as desirous of it for the good of Mrs. Murray's children that I have made ane offer to the Kyng to surrender my pension of fyve hundred poundes in exchange of it. I have writen to Spaine to make friends ther."

[1] 11 April 1623. Ackerman's *History of Eton*, p. 50.
[2] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. cxliii. no. 22.
[3] *Ibid.* no. 63.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. cxlii. no. 38.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. cxliii. no. 22.

In his opinion, no man that lived "in such a qualitie" as Murray "ever died so poor," the only provision for his seven children being a charge upon the Customs, not payable for another six months.[1] The King was, however, soon induced to promise a pension of 500*l.* out of the Exchequer to Mrs. Murray and her elder son,[2] and so this champion of the widow and the orphan was no longer able to plead their poverty as a reason for his own advancement. A month later, we find an allusion to the verses of "Sir Robert Eaton" in which "he wooes the King for Eaton,"[3] and it would seem that his name was pronounced exactly like that of the College which he aspired to rule.[4]

"*Ætonum si Ætona ambit, si Ætonus et illam,*
*Quis male disjungat quos bene jungit amor?*
*Nominibus si fata latent, affinia amantum*
*Nomina, quis nutum Numinis esse neget?*
*Maxime Rex fatis accede, beabis amantes,*
*Ætono Ætonæ si paranymphus eris.*"[5]

In the meanwhile, a far more distinguished person, Sir Dudley Carleton, was pushing his own claims with energy, if with small prospect of success. Although his wife, a daughter of Lady Savile, wrote to him encouragingly from England, she had to tell him that nothing could be decided until the return of the Marquess of Buckingham;[6] and the Countess of Bedford described the situation very neatly, saying that "those that are nearest the well-head know not with what bucket to draw for themselves or their friends."[7] The Earl of Arundel, another friend, told him plainly that the King was already "otherwise engaged," doubtless to Sir William Beecher.[8]

As Buckingham tarried in Spain, the Vice-Provost received authority from the King, in August, to transact College business

[1] Aytoun's *Poems* (ed. Rogers), p. 20.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 22; S. P. Dom. James I. vol. cxliii. no. 60.
[3] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. cxlv. no. 11.
[4] S. P. Holland, 1 March 1624.
[5] Aytoun's *Poems*, p. 120. These lines have somehow become incorporated in a poem on the death of the Duke of Buckingham, written in 1628.
[6] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. cxliii. no. 89.
[7] *Ibid.* no. 63.
[8] *Ibid.* no. 90.

and to seal leases, while the profits arising from the vacancy were enjoyed by the relict of the late Provost.[1]

A little later, Bacon sent in one more application to Sir Edward Conway, asking for the place, if Beecher could be satisfied otherwise, and protesting that he was able to "doe as much good to the College as another, be it square cap or rownd,"[2] meaning a divine or a lawyer.

When at last Buckingham returned to England in October 1623, he was fairly "distracted" by the arguments and intrigues of the rival candidates for the Provostship, "every man for himself."[3] To Bacon he expressed his regret that he could not do him any service in the matter, having engaged himself to Sir William Beecher before starting for Spain.[4] To Carleton he similarly sent word that he was "deeply engaged" to Beecher for "the first good thing that should fall," and, although he attempted to negotiate between them, his nominee refused all suggestions of a compromise, having received "so many and pregnant assurances" not only from Buckingham, but also from the King himself.[5]

In December, it was confidently stated that Beecher had been nominated Provost of Eton, and that letters in his favour had actually passed the Great Seal on a particular day; but the report proved false, as likewise a corrected version of it, according to which the royal warrant had got as far as the Privy Seal, or at any rate the Signet.[6]

Soon after this, matters were complicated by the return from Venice of Sir Henry Wotton, who had long entertained hopes of becoming Provost of Eton.[7] On the 31st of January 1624, John Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton:—

> "Sir Henry Wotton hath ben sicke, poore man, since his comming home, and I heare is now retiring to some corner in the countrie, to finish a worke he is setting out of the mathe

[1] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. clx. nos. 51, 52.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. clii. no. 12.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. cliii. no. 99; vol. cliv. no. 19.
[4] Bacon's *Works* (ed. 1824), vol. v. p. 579.
[5] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. cliii nos. 32, 99; vol. cliv. no. 2.
[6] *Ibid.* vol. clv. no. 21; vol. clviii no. 5.
[7] *Ibid.* vol. xciii. no. 74; vol. cli no. 85; vol. cliv. no. 95.

matiks, or perhaps building of castles in the air. Yt was saide last weeke that he shuld certainly be Prevost of Eton, by relinquishing his reversion of the Mastership of the Rolles to Sir Rafe Freeman, who, in lieu thereof, was to resigne his Mastership of Requests in possession to Sir William Beecher, and so all parties to be pleased." [1]

Wotton certainly took an early opportunity of sending to Buckingham some pictures which had been bought abroad by his order, and he continued to press his claims. Having been superseded in his office at Venice, he described himself as "utterly destitute of all possibility to subsist at home," like a sleeping seal left by the ebbing tide on a dry shore.[2] Still the uncertainty continued. At the beginning of March, Sir William Beecher began to admit that he himself was "beside the cushion for Eton College," and persistent rumour said that Sir Robert Aytoun would succeed Thomas Murray as Provost and provide for his family by marrying the widow.[3] In course of time, however, people began to realize that the prize would fall either to Wotton or to Beecher; and everything seemed simple when it was found that the latter was willing to accept 2000*l.* in lieu of the Provostship, and that the reversion of the Mastership of the Rolls, for which Wotton had not the necessary knowledge of English law, could be sold for at least 5000*l.*[4] Nevertheless, it was said at the end of June that Wotton could get nothing at home but fair promises.[5] At last, on the 20th of July, a royal letter was issued in his favour, setting forth "his many abilities, faithful services, and travailes . . . . in negociating with foraine Princes and States," and "his learninge and integritie," and this was accompanied by a dispensation from the requirements of the Eton statutes.[6]

Sir Henry Wotton was accordingly elected Provost of Eton on the 24th of July 1624, and formally admitted two days

[1] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. clviii. no. 72.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. clxi. no. 49; Smith's *Sir Henry Wotton*, vol. ii. p. 284.

[3] S. P. Holland, 1 March 1624; S. P. Dom. James I. vol clx. no. 58.

[4] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. clxii. no. 13; S. P. Holland, 11 April 1624.

[5] S. P. Dom. James I, vol. clxviii. no 47.

[6] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 72; S. P. Dom. Sign-Manuals, vol. xvi. no. 42.

later,[1] but he went down so ill provided with money that "the Fellows were fain to furnish his bare walls."[2] Before long, he managed to procure 500*l.* out of the arrears owing to him by the State, and so he settled down quietly in the College, which was, "to his mind, as a quiet harbour to a seafaring man after a tempestuous voyage; where by the bounty of the pious Founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more money than enough; where he was free from corroding cares, and seated on such a rock as the waves of want could not possibly shake."[3]

In spite of this, Wotton never succeeded in freeing himself from the debts with which he was burdened. On one occasion, he declared himself unable to go up to London for want of cash, and on another he suffered the indignity of arrest in St. Martin's Lane.[4] Some of his debts had, doubtless, been contracted abroad in the public service, and up to the time of his death he had claims on the Exchequer,[5] but for others he must be held personally responsible. Walton styles him an "undervaluer of money" in a well-known passage in the *Compleat Angler*, which may be coupled with another in the *Lives*, where he is described as "being always so careless of money, as though our Saviour's words 'Care not for the morrow,' were to be literally understood." The emoluments of the Provostship certainly did not satisfy Wotton's wants, and he speaks of it as "never before subsisting in the memory of man without some addition." In 1629, we find him asking the King to grant him the "next good Deanery," and, some years later, he applied for the Mastership of the Savoy, as likely to afford him a convenient residence in London.[6] Isaac Walton's biography of Wotton is so deservedly popular, that it would be superfluous to attempt more than the briefest account of his career previous to his appointment as Provost. Etonians have special grounds for lamenting that the

[1] Register, vol. iii.

[2] S. P. Dom. James I. vol. clxxi. no. 25. The Audit Book, 1624—1625, records a payment "to Mr. Provost by consent at the end of the Auditt 1624, towards the furnyture of his lodginge, 40*l.*"

[3] Walton's *Lives*.

[4] Smith's *Sir Henry Wotton*, vol. ii. p. 351.

[5] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, pp. 563, 564. See his will.

[6] Smith's *Sir Henry Wotton*, vol. ii. pp. 317, 397.

same writer did not carry out his projected *Lives* of Sir Henry Savile and 'the ever-memorable' John Hales.[1]

Henry Wotton was descended from a gentle Kentish family, several members of which had served their country with distinction in various capacities. He was educated at Winchester and at New College, Oxford, whence he subsequently removed to Queen's. After leaving the University, he travelled for nine years, studying the laws and languages of the countries through which he passed. Returning to England, he was appointed secretary to the Earl of Essex ; but on the fall of that nobleman he thought it prudent to quit England, and so remained abroad for a considerable time, chiefly at Florence. He rose into high favour with the Grand Duke Ferdinand, and was selected by him to forewarn James the Sixth of Scotland of a dangerous plot against his life. Assuming the dress and name of an Italian, and taking a circuitous route in order to avoid England, Wotton reached Stirling in safety, and delivered his message to the King in person. This good service was not forgotten by James, who, soon after his accession to the English throne, recalled Wotton from the continent, embraced him cordially, and dubbed him a knight. Wotton's discretion and experience seemed to mark him out for a diplomatic career. He was accordingly entrusted with a succession of missions, to Venice, to Savoy, and to the Emperor Ferdinand. He does not appear to have held his own profession in high esteem, and he very nearly fell into disgrace for writing the following definition in an album :—

> "*Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causa.*"

Walton translates this, correctly enough, "an Ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country," but, although the English verb 'to lie' often means 'to reside,' there is no corresponding *double entendre* in the Latin.[2] When a would-be diplomatist applied to Wotton for advice, he told him to "speak the truth" on all occasions, "for," said he, "you

[1] *Life of Walton* prefixed to the *Compleat Angler*.

[2] Walton ; S. P. Dom. James I. vol. lxxi. no. 28 ; *Calendar of S. P. Dom. 1611—1618*, p. 157.

shall never be believed ; and by this means your truth will secure yourself, if you shall ever be called to any account ; and 'twill put your adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a losse in all their disquisitions and undertakings."

> "Sir Henry Wotton was the most widely cultivated Englishman of his time. A ripe classical scholar, an elegant Latinist, trained in Greek by his studies with Casaubon, he was an admirable linguist in modern languages as well. He corresponded with Bacon about natural philosophy, and was the friend of most of the learned men of that epoch, both at home and on the Continent ; the first English collector of Italian pictures, he brought from Italy, where he lived many years, the varied culture of antiquity and the Renaissance which was then only to be derived from Italian sources. . . the best letter-writer of his time—the first Englishman whose correspondence deserves to be read for its literary quality, apart from its historical interest." [1]

About ten months after his election to the Provostship of Eton, Sir Henry Wotton was returned to Parliament as member for Sandwich, but, in 1627, he decided on taking deacon's orders, his chief reason for doing so being a laudable desire to comply with the statutes of the College. Nevertheless it seems strange that he, with a conscience so tender on this point, should have been content to remain merely "in the porch of God's house," instead of entering priest's orders, as clearly enjoined by Henry the Sixth. In announcing his ordination to King Charles, he stated that he would thereby be enabled to hold "canonically" the place which he had held before "dispensatively," and "exercise an archidiaconal authority annexed thereunto, though of small extent and no benefit, yet sometimes of pious and necessary use." He also expressed a hope that by his example young Etonians of gentle and knightly origin would be encouraged to join the ranks of the clergy, not being ashamed, "after the sight of courtly weeds, to put on a surplice." [2]

Isaac Walton has given us many interesting details of his friend's mode of life at Eton. After attending the daily service,

[1] Smith's *Sir Henry Wotton*, vol. i. p. iii.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 304 ; *Court and Times of Charles I.* vol. i. p. 214.

Wotton used to devote several hours of the forenoon to the study of divinity, to meditation, and to private prayer. "But when he was once sate to dinner, then nothing but chearful thoughts possessed his mind; and those still increased by constant company at his table of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure," and "where his meat was choice and his discourse better." Some portions of every day were given to philosophy or to literature. Wotton projected



Oak Tree in the Shooting Fields.

several important works, but he did not bring any of them to completion. A *Life of Martin Luther* was laid aside, at the request of Charles the First, for a *History of England;* but for this history, only a few sketches of characters were ever drawn out, and although he had composed a pamphlet entitled *The Elements of Architecture* some years previously, his reputation as a prose-writer rests upon his letters. His poems, few in number, include the lines on the Queen of Bohemia beginning—

"You meaner beauties of the night,"

and a description of Spring beginning—

"And now all Nature seem'd in love,"

which occurs in Walton's *Angler*. Fishing was, in fact, one of the chief points of sympathy between Wotton and Walton. According to a questionable tradition, the two friends spent many summer hours together at Black Potts, just beyond the Lower Shooting Fields, still a frequent resort of fishermen. Wotton used to say that angling was "an employment for his idle time, which was then not idly spent; for angling was, after tedious study, a rest to his mind, a cheerer of his spirits, a diverter of sadness, a calmer of unquiet thoughts, a moderator of passions, a procurer of contentedness," and that it "begat habits of peace and patience in those that professed and practised it."[1] So keen was he for this sport, that he used to say that "he would rather live five May months than forty Decembers."

It must not be supposed from this account that Wotton neglected the interests of Eton.

> "He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a genius that prompted them to learning; for whose encouragement he was, besides many other things of necessity and beauty, at the charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators, persuading them not to forget rhetorick, because Almighty God hath left mankind affections to be wrought upon.[2] And he would often say 'that none despised eloquence, but such dull souls as were not capable of it.' He would also often make choice of some observations out of these historians and poets; and would never leave the school without dropping some choyce Greek or Latine apothegme or sentence, such as were worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar.
>
> "He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the school, and took into his own domestic care, and to attend him at his meals; out of whose discourse and behaviour he gathered observations for the better completing of his intended work of education."

[1] Walton's *Compleat Angler*.

[2] "To the waterman bringing from London to the Colledge sixe pictures in frames for the Schoole and Library, given by Mr. Provost, 3*s*. 6*d*." Audit Book, 1639—1640.

The double row of wooden pillars in the Lower School was erected or strengthened at this time, probably more for the purpose of supporting the floor of the Long Chamber than for any other reason.[1] As Sir Henry Wotton had acquired a taste for Italian architecture in the course of his travels, he took care these pillars and other woodwork at Eton should not be executed in a style which he stigmatized as 'Gothic.'



Interior of Lower School.

Another memorial of Wotton's residence at Eton is an enormous picture of Venice by Fialetti which bears the following inscription :—"*Henricus Wottonius, post tres apud Venetos legationes ordinarias, in Etonensis Collegii beato sinu senescens, ejusque, cum suavissima inter se sociosque concordia, annos jam 12 præfectus, hanc miram urbis quasi natantis effigiem in aliquam sui memoriam juxta socialem mensam affixit. 1636.*"

It must originally have hung opposite to the bay window of

[1] The Audit Book of 1514—1515 records a payment "*pro postibus in scola*," but the amount was only 1*l.*

the College Hall, the space immediately behind the high table being covered with tapestry. Since the date of Pepys's visit in 1666, it has been removed to the Election Hall.

The following note, written at the beginning of a Hebrew book in the Eton Library,[1] records the munificence of a less distinguished member of the College :—

"*Anno Domini 1625.*

Thomas Wever, Fellow of Eton, erected and built in the Collegiate Church ther, one great frame of tymber under the great arch in the west end of the said Church, carved with the armes of King Henerie the Sixt of famous memorie, Fownder of the two Colledges the one in Eton and the other in Cambridg, with the armes of Queene Elizabeth (a second Fownder and preserver of Colledges by enacting the Statute of Provision[2]) the armes of the two Universities, and the armes of the Colledge of Eton and the King's Colledge in Cambridge, and diverse other armes. He gave a Communion Cupp guilded, worth xx markes, and sett up a Communion Table. He sett up seats for the Oppidans, and the great pew under the pulpitt for the use of the Fellowes, Scholmaster, and their families. He gave fowre strong formes to stand in the Iles of the Church for the Townemen to sitt on. He gave two desks graven with the Colledge armes for the Fellowes to read Prayers. He adorned the deskes for the Clerks. He translated the Vestrie, built the Portall. He repayred the seat in Dr. Lupton's Chappell and sett up a presse ther to laye up the Songe-books. He repaired the seates and pewes on the north and south sides of the Church : besides diverse other things. The Colledge alowed him towards the work six loades of rough tymber. *Anno Domini 1625. Laus Deo.*"

The College also paid "for guiltinge the cross upon the new worke in the Church."[3] Nothing now remains of all this, except possibly the seats in the nave, or 'ante-chapel,' which look as if they might have been executed about this period. Thomas Weaver took a great interest in woodwork, and he was, a little later, the donor of the large coats of arms carved in elm-wood

[1] Bomberg's *Pentateuch*, Shelf D. c. 9.

[2] See page 176 above.

[3] Audit Book, 1623—1624.

which form the backs of the stalls under the canopies in the Chapel of King's College, Cambridge.[1] There may have been some truth in two of the accusations made against him at Archbishop Laud's visitation of Eton in 1634, by the Chaplains and Clerks, that he had made a sawpit in the Churchyard, and that he had once shortened morning prayer on a holy day so as to have more time "to pull down a tree." The other charges against him were, that he was irregular in his attendance at Church on week-days, and he often omitted the prayer for the King.[2] However, his munificence to the Church, and his subsequent deprivation, seem to show that he could not have been either a Puritan or a Republican.

The seats of the Provost and Vice-Provost in the Church were probably more pompous than beautiful, as they had windows made of oak, but painted over.[3] Separate seats for "the prepostors of the church," are also mentioned.[4] Some altar-rails were set up about this period in conformity to the wishes of Laud and other bishops.[5] One of the bells was called 'the Saint's bell,' having possibly been the *Sanctus* bell of older days.[6] The earliest of the bells now remaining intact, the 'service bell' in the turret at the south-western angle, was cast in 1637.[7] A stone staircase on the south was substituted for an old wooden one in 1625, but several payments recorded under the Church expenses at this period for "destroying the starres" must refer to starlings rather than stairs, as "powder and shot" would hardly have been employed in connexion with the latter.[8] Another troublesome intruder who broke several windows in the vestry and in Lupton's Chapel, was reported to be a dog, but the extent of the damage was so great that we may reasonably

[1] Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 521, 585—587, 593.

[2] *Historical MSS. Commission, Fourth Report*, pp. 147, 148.

[3] Audit Book, 1624—1625. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 446.)

[4] *Ibid.* 1625—1626.

[5] "New paintynge the pale about the communyon table." *Ibid.* 1631—1632. These rails were removed to Burnham Church, after the alterations at Eton in 1700. *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. iv. p. 265.

[6] "For iiij$^{or}$ pound and a q$^{terne}$ of rope for the Saynts bell at 12*d.* the pound," &c. Audit Book, 1634—1635.

[7] Cock's *Bells of Buckinghamshire*, pp. 380, 381.

[8] Audit Book, 1624—1625.

suspect some mischievous biped to have been the real offender.[1] Charges for oaken bars for the windows occur every year at this period.

The planting of trees in the Playing Fields, apparently begun in 1583,[2] was continued at intervals in the seventeenth century.[3] To the north of the Playing Fields lay the Upper and Lower Shooting Fields, known to modern Etonians as 'Upper Club' and 'Lower Club.' A "new bridge into the shooting fildes" is mentioned in 1564,[4] and it occurs again in 1631 under the name of 'Sheep Bridge,' which it still bears.[5] "Benches in the playinge fildes" were set up in 1584,[6] and in 1626 a small payment was made in connexion with "the upper seate in the playing feildes,"[7] which may have been the predecessor of 'Sixth Form Bench' on the bank of the river. The College waterman stationed near that point wears a costume scarcely altered since the time when Sir Henry Wotton used to fish in the Thames.[8]

Sir Henry Wotton is described as "not only a fine gentleman himself, but very well skilled in the art of making others so," and the School was in his time "very much thronged with young nobility." The Earl of Northampton had no less than four sons at Eton in 1635, all of whom afterwards distinguished themselves in the Royalist cause. The eldest was styled Lord Compton by courtesy, and the others were entered as "Compton *a*," "Compton *i*," and Compton *mi*" respectively.[9]

In September 1635, the "great" Earl of Cork sent his two sons, Francis Boyle aged twelve, and Robert Boyle aged eight, from Ireland to Eton, with a certain Robert Carew, whose duty

[1] "To the glasier repayring the windowes in the Church and Luptons Chapple and the vestrie, much broken by a dogg left by error there, 4*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.*" *Ibid.* 1632—1633.

[2] Audit Books 1583—1584, 1588—1589. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 464.)

[3] "35 young elms set in the playing leaze, 3*l.* 10*s.*" Audit Book, 1625—1626.

[4] Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 463.

[5] "Casting upp gravell upon the Sheepe Bridge." Audit Book, 1630—1631.

[6] *Ibid.* 1583—1584. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 464.)

[7] *Ibid.* 1625—1626.

[8] "To Matthew Say, waterman, to provide him a coate of blew azure, 18*s.* More allowed to him for a plate of silver for his cognisance with the Colledge Armes, 12*s.*" Audit Book, 1625—1626.

[9] Audit Books, *passim.* Mr. W. Sterry suggests that the *a* and the *i*

was "partly to instruct and partly to attend" them. Various letters with regard to their schooldays have fortunately been preserved. On reaching their destination, the young Boyles were welcomed by the Provost and the Schoolmaster alike, the former allowing them to occupy one of his rooms until they could be regularly established elsewhere. Eventually they hired an empty chamber from the Schoolmaster at a yearly rent of 5*l.* and the necessary furniture for three persons was sent from London by water.

As Commensals, the Boyles usually dined at the second table in the Hall, with the young Comptons, Lord Mordaunt, and others "promiscuously, no observing of place or quality." In the evening they supped in their own chamber, the "commons" supplied by the College being sent thither. The charge was 5*s.* 6*d.* a week apiece, raised in 1637 to 6*s.* 2*d.* On the fasting days, that is to say on Fridays and Saturdays, when the College allowed no flesh, Carew had to buy the cook's meat, which he describes as "mighty dear." In Lent, they boarded at a house in the town belonging to the Usher, at a cost of 7*s.* 6*d.* apiece by the week, no meat being dressed in the College at that season.

Notwithstanding the difference of age between the two brothers, they were alike placed in the Third Form. They rose every morning at half-past five, even in winter, so as to attend prayers in School. Their writing lessons lasted from nine to ten and from five to six, the hour of supper having seemingly been postponed since the middle of the sixteenth century.

It is interesting to note that the education of the Boyles was not confined to the subjects of the school *curriculum*. The Provost chose "a very sufficient man to teach them to play on the viol and to sing." Carew moreover gave them some lessons in French in their chamber. There were at that time two Frenchmen at Eton, "men of good life and conversation," the one waiting upon Lord Dover's son and the other upon the young Comptons.

are merely a writer's contractions for 'major' and 'minor,' as these designations, still in use, occur as early as 1563. He notes that in 1571 '*maximus*' is written as '*ax.*' This appears decisive.

Since Malim's time, the holidays had been extended to a month, beginning a fortnight before Whit-Sunday and ending a fortnight after. In December there was "sport" in the Hall every night, for which the "recents," or freshmen, had to provide candles. Thus, in 1635, the Boyles supplied "half a pound every night, and in play-nights a whole pound."

The Boyles stayed at Eton a little more than three years, and the cost of their maintenance, including tuition and clothes, came to over 900*l.*[1] A few years later, the younger of them wrote some account of the manner in which the Schoolmaster, John Harrison, had treated him :—

> "He would often dispense from his attendance at school at the accustomed hours, to instruct him privately and familiarly in his chamber. He would often, as it were, cloy him with fruit, and sweetmeats, and those little dainties that age is greedy of, that, by preventing the want, he might lessen both the value and desire of them. He would sometimes give him unasked playdays, and oft bestow upon him such balls and tops and other implements of idleness as he had taken away from others that had unduly used them."

Harrison used to instruct his favoured pupil in "an affable, kind, and gentle way"; but William Norris, his successor, who was probably less partial to him, is styled a "rigid fellow."[2] John Evelyn was "so terrified at the report of the severe discipline" at Eton that he dissuaded his father from puttting him there in 1632, exhibiting a perverseness which in later years he deplored a thousand times.[3]

The Provost and Fellows had occasion to be watchful over the morals of the Commensals, when a regiment of soldiers was quartered at Eton about this time, in violation of the privileges granted to the College by Henry the Sixth. A remonstrance was at once forwarded to the Duke of Buckingham, then Lord Lieutenant of the county, pointing out the inconvenience caused to "the youth repairing to the Schole, and lodging in the towne, with whom such companie doo not well comport,"[4] and there is

[1] *The Lismore Papers* (ed. Grosart), 2nd series, vol. iii.

[2] *Boyle's Works* (ed. 1744), vol. i. pp. 7–9.

[3] *Evelyn's Diary*, 1632.

[4] S. P. Dom. Charles I. vol. cclxxiv. no. 12.

every reason to believe that the soldiers were soon removed. The College was not always so tenacious of its rights, for on several occasions it submitted to the exaction of ship-money,[1] although it had been specially exempted by charter from contributing towards the defence of the realm.[2] The Provost and Fellows may have looked upon their contributions as gifts to the King.

No visit of Charles the First to the College has been recorded, but his consort went there in 1628 or 1629.[3] In November 1631, an entertainment was given to the first Earl of Holland and other noblemen.[4]

Throughout the later part of the reign of James the First, and the earlier part of his son's reign, Scholarships at Eton were in the greatest demand. Year after year the Provost was assailed with importunate letters from all sides. Of course, he could not satisfy everybody, and he used to find that each election lost him several friends.[5] It would have been useless for him to plead that the statutes forbade him to give way to the importunities of kings, princes, or other persons of high social position. In a very characteristic letter of the year 1629, Sir Henry Wotton says :—

> "We have newly concluded our anniversary business, which hath been the most distracted election that, I verily believe, had ever before been seen, since this nurse first gave milk, through no less than four recomendatory and one mandatory letter from the King himself; besides intercessions and messengers from divers great personages for boys both in and out, enough to make us think ourselves shortly Electors of the Empire if it hold on."

[1] "To his Majestie, for shipp monie, 40*s.*" Audit Book, 1636—1637. "For ship monie for the Colledge lands at Burnham"; "To his Majestie, for ship monie, 3*l.*" *Ibid.* 1637—1638.

[2] Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*, pp. 408, 409.

[3] "To the drawer of the Christopher, for certain bottles wherein he brought wyne to the College at the tyme of the Queen's cominge, which bottles afterwards could not be found, iij*s.* vj*d.*" Audit Book, 1628—1629.

[4] "For two gallons and one pinte of Renische wyne brought from London, upon expectation of my Lord of Holand's coming, viij*s.* v*d.*" "Laide out upon the comeinge of thearle of Holland and other nobles to the Colledge, Novemb^r^ xxij^o^, viz. in sack ij*s.* vj*d.* in clarett wyne iiij*s.* for vj tortches v*s.* in sum, xj*s.* vj*d.*" *Ibid.* 1631—1632.

[5] *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (ed. 1672), p. 557.

Some nine years later, he mentions "a marvellous concourse and much distraction in our votes through letters from Court."

While mere Scholarships were thus eagerly sought, there was no lack of candidates for the richer Fellowships.

The parishioners of Windsor, unsuccessful in a petition to James the First in favour of their vicar, presented a somewhat similar one to Charles the First, requesting him to increase the value of the living by annexing to it some ecclesiastical benefice. The King took the matter into consideration, and finally decided that a Fellowship at Eton should for ever be reserved for the Vicar of Windsor for the time being. The royal commands to this effect were conveyed to the Provost and Fellows in a letter from Archbishop Laud and the Lord Keeper Coventry, dated 3 November 1634. A vacancy occurring in the next year, John Cleaver of Windsor, was duly elected, to the great satisfaction of his flock, who caused the church bells to be rung in honour of the event.[2]

The news of this arrangement was not well received at King's College. Aliens had indeed frequently obtained Fellowships at Eton without opposition, but this new order seemed to threaten an entire subversion of the privileges of the sister foundation. It was obviously difficult, if not impossible, to procure an absolute revocation of the obnoxious decree, and the Provost and Fellows of King's adopted a more judicious course in addressing a petition to the Archbishop, demanding that every future Vicar of Windsor should be elected from among their own body, and thus be qualified to hold a Fellowship at Eton.[3] Inasmuch as Laud had lately begun a visitation of his province,[4] the time was opportune for the presentation of certain "Articles of Complaint" on the part of the Kingsmen. Their principal

[1] Smith's *Sir Henry Wotton*, vol. ii. pp. 326, 389.

[2] Tighe & Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. ii. p. 83, 108—110, quoting *Ashmolean MS.* 1126, ff. 86*b*, 113*b*, and Churchwardens' Accounts. Smith's *Sir Henry Wotton*, vol. ii. pp. 366, 367.

[3] *Sloane MS.* 4841, ff. 227—228.

[4] "Charges to Mr. Provost's cooque ridinge to London to prepaire certaine necessaries for the visitation. 4*s*." Audit Book, 1633—1634. Eleven gallons of claret and twenty quarts of sack were drunk. The Visitation Articles for Eton College and the answers thereto are printed in the *Fourth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*.

grievance was the reduction in the number of the Eton Fellowships from ten, as originally ordered, to seven, as then existing. They maintained that the College revenues had not sunk so low as to justify any reduction whatever in numbers, but that even if some such reduction were necessary, it should be made among the Clerks, Choristers, and Scholars, rather than among the Fellows, for they looked upon Eton as something more than a school. Another complaint was directed against the frequent practice of bestowing Fellowships on Oxford men and other aliens. These matters affected the Kingsmen closely, but they attempted to strengthen their case by introducing other complaints of a more disinterested character, and accordingly espoused the cause of the Scholars, who, they contended with some force, were "deprived of breakfasts, clothing, bedding, and all other necessaries, which the statute amply allows them, and forced to be content with a bare scanty diet and a coarse short gown," whilst the College revenues were "shared amongst a few."[1]

The Archbishop heard both parties at some length with regard to the principal Articles of Complaint, and pronounced his decision in 1636.[2] While admitting the claims of the Kingsmen to be technically correct, and censuring the Eton authorities in several respects, he declared that he could not overlook the "contemporanean exposition, and the practice" of nearly two centuries, which went "quite cross to the statute." Considering too that Edward the Fourth had deprived the College of some of the endowments assigned to it by the Founder, and that the actual number of Fellowships had not since exceeded seven, Laud decided that that number need not be increased, but that five of these places should for ever be absolutely reserved for members of the sister foundation.[3] It is worthy of remark that Laud, who might have been expected to insist upon the literal observance

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4841, ff. 253—262.

[2] "Given to Sir Henry Martyn's porter, when we went to advise with him, 12*d.* For the hire of three coaches to Lambeth, upon our second hearinge before his Grace, 23*s.* For the hire of a coach to attend Mr. Provost at my Lord Keeper's, 8*s.* To the porter at Lambeth, at our second appearance, 12*d.*" &c. Audit Book, 1634—1635. "Given by advice of Mr. Provost to one that brought to the College the resolution of my Lord of Canterbury, 40*s.*" *Ibid.* 1637—1638.

[3] *Laud's Works*, vol. v. p. 497.

of ancient ordinances, thus adopted the liberal policy of throwing open two of the Fellowships, in direct violation of the statutes. The arrangement made by him was not, however, destined to take effect for some time, in consequence of "the confusion of all good order in the time of the Great Rebellion, and the importunity of pretenders to preferment at the King's return."[1] A later stage of this controversy will be mentioned in a future chapter.

Queen Elizabeth's letter of dispensation, by which the Fellows were allowed to hold other ecclesiastical preferment, was confirmed by a licence granted in 1629 to Daniel Collins, to hold two livings not exceeding the value of 40 marks a year, in addition to a prebend at Windsor.[2] Prebends at Windsor were also granted to David Stokes, and, under somewhat remarkable circumstances, to John Hales, the only Fellow of Eton at that period who demands special notice.[3]

John Hales has already been mentioned as the friend and coadjutor of Sir Henry Savile, but it was in the reign of Charles the First that he attained distinction as a member of a brilliant circle of statesmen and authors, who bestowed on him the title 'ever memorable.' He owed the epithet less to the extent of his literary works, which occupy three very small volumes, than to the charm of his conversation and manner. "When the King and Court resided at Windsor, he was much frequented by noblemen and courtiers, who delighted much in his company, not for his severe and retired walks of learning, but for his polite discourses, stories, and poetry." Hales is mentioned by name in the *Session of Poets* by Sir John Suckling, with whom, as well as with Ben Jonson, Davenant, and Lord Falkland, he was intimate.

> "Mr. Hales of Eton affirmed that he would show all the poets of antiquity outdone by Shakespeare, in all the topics and common-places made use of in poetry. The enemies of Shakespeare would by no means yield him so much excellence, so that it came to a resolution of a trial of skill upon that

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4841, f. 236, quoting MS. by Archbishop Sancroft.

[2] Rymer's *Fœdera* (ed. Sanderson), vol. xix. pp. 66, 67.

[3] S. P. Dom. Charles I. vol. ccccxxiii. no. 100.

subject. The place agreed on for the dispute was Mr. Hales's chamber at Eton. A great many books were sent down by the enemies of this poet, and on the appointed day my Lord Falkland, Sir John Suckling, and all the persons of quality that had wit and learning and interested themselves in the quarrel met there, and, upon a thorough disquisition of the point, the judges chosen by agreement out of this learned and ingenious assembly unanimously gave the preference to Shakespeare." [1]

Clarendon says that Hales would "once in a year resort to London, only to enjoy" his friends' "chearful conversation." [2] One of these visits to London and its theatre was perhaps suggested by the rhyming invitation addressed to Hales by Suckling:—

"Whether these lines do find you out
Putting or clearing of a doubt;
(Whether Predestination,
Or reconciling Three in One,
Or the unriddling how men die
And live at once eternally,
Now take you up,) know 'tis decreed
You straight bestride the College steed,
Leave Socinus and the schoolmen,
(Which Jack Bond swears do but fool men)
And come to town; 'tis fit you shew
Yourself abroad, that men may know
(Whate'er some learned men have guest)
That Oracles are not yet ceased;
There you shall find the wit and wine
Flowing alike, and both divine;
Dishes, with names not known in books,
And less amongst the College cooks,
With sauce so poignant that you need
Not stay till hunger bids you feed."

These were but interludes in a life of deep study. "His industry did strive, if it were possible, to equal the largeness of his capacity, whereby he became as great a master of polite, various, and universal learning as ever yet conversed with books." [3]

[1] *Dryden's Works* (ed. Saintsbury), vol. xv. p. 344.

[2] *Lord Clarendon's Life*, vol. i. p. 79.

[3] Bishop Pearson's Preface to the *Golden Remains*.

"He was one of the least men in the kingdom, and one of the greatest scholars in Europe."[1] Sir Henry Wotton used to call him "*bibliotheca ambulans*."[2]

Hales was deeply versed in the writings of the early Fathers, from which he made frequent quotations, although he utterly disclaimed their authority in matters of controversy. In his younger days he had been a Calvinist, but the arguments of the Arminian party at the Synod of Dort induced him, as he quaintly expressed it, to "bid John Calvin good-night." Together with the teaching of Episcopius on the five disputed points of Predestination, &c. he imbibed his objections to all dogmatic teaching. Hales himself maintained that universality was no test of the truth of any doctrine, for "universality is but a quainter and trimmer name to signify the multitude";[3] that liturgies should be purged of "whatever is scandalous to any party," and consist only of "such things as those in which all Christians do agree";[4] that the power of the keys could be exercised by anybody, by a muleteer as well as by a parish priest;[5] that "the spiritual eating of Christ is common to all places as well as the Lord's Table."[6] He assisted his friend Chillingworth in the composition of the celebrated work, *The Religion of Protestants: a Safe way to Salvation*.[7] Both were considered apostles of the Latitudinarian school, and both were suspected of Socinianism. Hales was aware that the general diffusion of his opinions might have an unsettling effect on the faith of others, "and therefore he was very reserved in communicating what he thought himself on those points in which he differed from what was received."[8] His works were first collected by a divine of more orthodox views, John Pearson, afterwards Bishop of Chester, who had been a boy at Eton when Hales was a Fellow. A tract on *Schism* was privately circulated in manuscript during the author's life, and nearly brought him into trouble, a copy of it

[1] *Lord Clarendon's Life*, vol. i. p. 62.
[2] Smith's *Sir Henry Wotton*, vol. ii. p. 395.
[3] *Hales's Works* (ed. 1775), vol. iii. p. 164.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 126, 127.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 102.
[6] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 62.
[7] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. pp. 410—414.
[8] *Lord Clarendon's Life*, vol. i. p. 60.

falling into the hands of Laud, who demanded an explanation. Hales thereupon wrote to the Archbishop in defence of his proposition that the Church has no authority in matters of faith, but it is doubtful whether the letter was ever despatched:[1] it would only have been an aggravation of the offence. A stormy interview, however, took place at Lambeth between Laud and Hales, after which the latter acknowledged to Heylin that he "had been ferreted from one hole to another, till there was none left to afford him any further shelter; that he was now resolved to be orthodox, and to declare himself a true son of the Church of England, both for doctrine and discipline."[2] After this, Laud appointed Hales one of his chaplains, and procured for him a Canonry at Windsor, "unexpected, undesired."[3] The latter accepted the post with reluctance, after much solicitation, "because he really believed he had enough before."[4]

To what extent Hales recanted is, and will probably remain, uncertain.[5] His last writing was a defence of the doctrine of the Trinity. In some at least of his views he had a sympathiser in the Provost, who "was a great enemy of wrangling disputes in religion."[6]

"Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus author,
Disputandi pruritus fit Ecclesiarum scabies.
Nomen alias quære."

Such was the simple inscription which Sir Henry Wotton composed for his own tombstone. He died on the 5th of December 1639, and was buried at Eton near his predecessor.[7]

[1] Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary*.

[2] Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicanus*, p. 362. Cf. *Notes and Queries*, 12th series, vol. iv. p. 106.

[3] Smith's *Sir Henry Wotton*, vol. ii. p. 408.

[4] *Lord Clarendon's Life*.

[5] Desmaizeaux is at pains to discredit Heylin's narrative, but he does not account for the Archbishop afterwards favouring a clergyman who absolutely contradicted one or more of the Thirty-nine Articles, or for Hales's adherence to the dogmatical liturgy of the Church of England after its proscription.

[6] Walton's *Lives*.

[7] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 358. Samuel Pepys, writing in February 1666, observes that "unfortunately the word *author* was wrong writ, and now so basely altered that it disgraces the stone." The epitaph, which appears to have been re-cut in 1804, now reads *auctor*. It is to be seen in the pavement of the nave, or 'ante-chapel,' far from its original position.

By his will, he distributed most of his pictures and foreign curiosities among several royal and political personages, in the avowed hope that these powerful legatees would aid in obtaining for his creditors payment out of the arrears of his salary still owing to him at the Exchequer. To the Library of Eton College he bequeathed all his manuscripts not otherwise disposed of, and to each of the Fellows, with whom he states that he had lived "in all loving affection," a mourning ring inscribed—'*Amor unit omnia.*'



Door leading from the Cloister to the Playing Fields.




## 1639—1660.

Richard Steward—Political Troubles—Deprivation of the Provost—Appointment of Francis Rous—Rules for the Scholars—Ejectment of the Royalist Fellows—The 'Engagement'—John Hales—Death and Benefactions of 'Lord' Rous—John Oxenbridge—Nicholas Lockyer.

CHARLES the First experienced no difficulty in selecting a Provost of Eton. Immediately after the death of Sir Henry Wotton, he wrote to the Fellows in favour of Richard Steward, of All Souls' College, Clerk of the King's Closet, and his nominee was duly elected on the 28th of December 1639.[1] The new Provost was a warm adherent of the orthodox Anglican party, as far removed in doctrine from Racow, as from Rome or Geneva. Clarendon describes him as "a very honest and learned gentleman, and most conversant in that learning which vindicated the dignity and authority of the Church, upon which his heart was most entirely set; not without some prejudice to those who thought there was any other object to be more carefully pursued."[2] Charles the First had the highest opinion of his piety and judgement, and recommended him to the Prince of Wales as a safe guide in matters of

[1] S. P. Dom. Charles I. vol. ccccxxxvi. no. 25; Eton Register, vol. iii. ff. 47, 48.

[2] *Lord Clarendon's Life*, vol. i. p. 288.

religion.[1] At the date of his election to the Provostship, Steward was Dean of Chichester, and he was afterwards nominated successively to the Deaneries of St. Paul's and Westminster, but he was never installed in either of these two churches.[2] In 1640, he was chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House of the memorable Convocation which attempted to prove its independence, by enacting a code of canons after the dissolution of Parliament.[3] The time for this assertion of ecclesiastical authority was ill chosen, as the Scots were already in arms against the King, and the Puritan party in England was daily growing in strength and influence.

One or more of the children of Charles the First came to visit Eton College in 1640;[4] but two years later their residence at Windsor was seized by the Parliamentary troops.[5] On the outbreak of the civil war, Provost Steward attached himself to the King's person, taking with him the College seal.[6] In his absence, no statutory elections were held; but nine Scholars were admitted to King's College between 1642 and 1644.[7] The election of 1643 was expressly postponed by a royal mandate from Oxford.[8] Another effect of the political troubles, was the gradual extinction of the Commensals. Many of these scholars, being the sons of Cavaliers, laid aside their books, and took up arms. After the reign of Charles the First, the class ceased to exist, and the school has been ever since divided into Collegers and Oppidans.

Meanwhile the Parliamentary party did not lose sight of Eton and its endowments. An ordinance of the House of Commons for confiscating the estates of all archbishops, bishops, deans, and deans and chapters, had an ominous sound; but the Colleges of Westminster, Eton, and Winchester, and Christ Church,

[1] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* (ed. 1826), vol. vi. pp. 37, 572.

[2] Le Neve's *Fasti*.

[3] Lathbury's *History of Convocation*, p. 244.

[4] "Paid out by Mr. Provost for 20 gallons and 3 quarts of high cuntrie wyne at the Princes entertainment at the College, *2l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*" Audit Book, 1639—1640.

[5] Tighe & Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. ii. p. 169.

[6] Register, vol. iii. f. 51.

[7] *Registrum Regale*.

[8] 6 July 1643. Register, vol. iii. f. 51. (Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 73.)

Oxford, were especially exempted from its operation, in October 1642.[1] In the following February, the statutes and canons which ordered graduates and scholars to wear surplices in church were declared to be "against law, and the liberty of the subject."[2] Eleven months later, Colonel Venn, whose iconoclastic fury had already been displayed at St. George's Chapel, was ordered to remove all "scandalous monuments and pictures . . . . in the several churches of Windsor and Eton."[3] In the same month, a sequestration of the income of the Provost was granted to Sir H. Cholmeley, "to receive upon account, without prejudice to the Scholars and Fellows."[4] This sequestration, however, was soon removed, in order that the dignity as well as the revenues of the Provostship might be enjoyed by a member of the dominant party. An ordinance passed by the Lords at Westminster on the 10th of February 1644 declares that—

> "Whereas Richard Steward, Doctor of the Law, and Provost of Eaton Colledge, hath neglected the government of the said College, and joined himself to those that have levied war against the Parliament. . . . For the better supply of that place of Eaton College, and for the good government thereof by a person of learning and piety, the Lords and Commons in Parliament do order and ordain that the said Dr. Steward from henceforth shall be removed and wholly discharged from being any longer Provost of Eaton College; and they do wholly remove and discharge him thereof to all intents and purposes; and they do hereby constitute and ordain Francis Rous of Brixham within the county of Devon, esquire, to be Provost of the said College of Eaton, . . . for and during the term of his natural life."[5]

Steward's name appears no more after this in connexion with Eton. He was the principal commissioner on behalf of the English Church at the Uxbridge Conference in 1645;[6] and he became one of the most trusted advisers of Charles the Second during the period of his exile. Had he lived to see the

[1] *Commons' Journals*, vol. ii. p. 827.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 972.
[3] Tighe & Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. ii. pp. 181, 182; *Commons' Journals*, vol. iii. p. 348.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 326.
[5] *Lords' Journals*, vol. vi. p. 419; *Commons' Journals*, vol. iii. p. 381.
[6] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* (ed. 1826), vol. v. pp. 45, 54.

Restoration, he would doubtless have been offered a bishopric, but he died soon after the battle of Worcester, at St. Germains, where he was twice visited on his death-bed by his King.[1] By his own desire, nothing was recorded of him on his tombstone except that "while living he prayed without ceasing for the peace of the Church."[2]

If the claims of episcopacy had an able advocate in Provost Steward, they had as zealous an opponent in his successor, Francis Rous, who sat as a layman in the Westminster Assembly of Divines.[3] He was a Cornish gentleman of good family and education, and a member of the successive parliaments summoned during the reign of Charles the First, in each of which he distinguished himself by his invectives against the Established Church, as well as against Arminianism. A few months after his appointment to the Provostship of Eton, he seemed to be in danger of losing it, through the operation of the so-called 'Self-denying Ordinance,' but he had sufficient influence in the House of Commons to cause an exception to be made in his own favour.[4] Being thus confirmed in his place, he brought forward an ordinance exempting the property of Eton College from taxation, and authorizing an election of Scholars to be held "in manner as hath heretofore been accustomed."[5] Although this ordinance was not passed until late in August 1645, an election was held that year, and ten Scholars were sent up to King's.[6] At the election of the next year, one of the candidates for a Scholarship at Eton passed a satisfactory examination in Hebrew, "which was thought beyond precedent." This young prodigy, John Janeway, was then about thirteen years of age.[7]

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. iii. p. 297. See several letters and papers by Steward in *Cosin's Correspondence* (Surtees Society), vol. i.

[2] "*Nihil aliud hic inscribi voluit epitaphium quam quod vivens assidue oravit pro pace ecclesiæ. Idem nunc facit in cœlis ad quos hinc abiit.*" Kennett's *Register*, p. 261.

[3] Neal's *Lives of the Puritans* (ed. 1795), vol. iii. p. 50.

[4] *Commons' Journals*, vol. iv. p. 161.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 255—257; *Lords' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 556.

[6] *Registrum Regale.* The Audit Book for 1649—1650 records payments "for a long brush, broomes, and tobacco pipes for King's Colledge men in Election Weeke, 1*s.* 1*d.*," and "for tobacco and pipes for the Provost of King's College his company, 2*s.* 8*d.*"

[7] Janeway's *Invisibles, Realities.*

Janeway had scarcely left Eton when the Provost issued the following "Rules for the Schollers," dated 7 August 1646:—

"That they rise in the Long Chamber at five of the clocke in the morning, and, after a psalme sung and prayers used, sweepe the Chamber, as they were formerly wont to doe.[1]

"That after supper they goe from the Hall to the Schoole, unles they be dismissed with leave and [be] then kept together till eight of the clocke, at which tyme they are to repaire to the Long Chamber, and, after a psalme sung and prayers used, those that ly there not to stirre out, and those that ly in any other chambers immediately to repaire to them and not stirre out.

"That those who canne write take notes of sermons, and those under the Master render them to him, and those under the Usher to him, the morning notes after dinner, the evening [notes] on Monday morning.

"That they meete in the School on the Lord's day att seaven of the clocke in the morning for prayer and catechizing to be performed by the Schoolemaster.

"That when they have leave to play, the prepositors keepe them together in their bounds, except their tutors send for them to their chambers.

"That none ly out of the Colledge, except they have leave from the Provost, or, in his absence, the Vice-Provost and Schoolemaster.

"These rules I require to be observed.

F. Rous, Provost."[2]

Until about this time there had been no afternoon sermon, and the new Provost gave 50*l.* a year out of his own salary for the maintenance of a preacher.[3]

Matters went on quietly enough at Eton for some time, although of course the *Directory* must have been substituted for the *Book of Common Prayer*. One of the oldest of the Fellows, Thomas Weaver, is said to have been in the habit of assembling the members of the disbanded choirs of Windsor and Eton in his rooms for an hour every morning, to perform

[1] See above, p. 140.

[2] B. M. *Add. MS.* 11692 f. 37.

[3] Facsimile of statement by F. Rous, dated 25 August 1646, in the School Library.

some of the sacred music, vocal and instrumental, to which they had been accustomed. The story goes that when Colonel Venn, then Governor of Windsor Castle, "once asked him why he could not be as well satisfied with the Psalms as they were sung in the Church as with this Popish music, the good old gentleman warily replied that he humbly conceived that God was as well pleased with being served in tune as out of tune."[1]

In April 1644, the House of Commons ordered the Committee of Plundered Ministers "to consider of fit and able men to fill up the places of such Fellows of Eton College as have deserted their places, and have adhered to the forces raised against the Parliament,"[2] but no steps were taken in the matter, and the ordinance was subsequently revoked, the Provost and Fellows receiving authority to conduct elections in the regular manner.[3] The lawful Fellows were gradually ejected, and Puritans were substituted for them. First among these latter was Joseph Symonds, who had abandoned a benefice in London, and fled the country in the days of Laud's power, but who, in 1647, was styled "an approved orthodox divine."[4]

A further step towards the destruction of the old collegiate system was taken at this time, by allowing commons to the Fellows in money instead of in kind.[5] Thenceforth any of them who happened to be in residence took their meals in their private rooms instead of in the College Hall. They continued to receive their beer from the brew-house, which seems to have enjoyed a good reputation in the seventeenth century, for when the unfortunate King was confined as a prisoner in his own castle of Windsor, he was supplied with beer from Eton.[6]

The fate which had so nearly overtaken the College under Edward the Fourth, Henry the Eighth, and Edward the

[1] MS. note in an old interleaved copy of Harwood's *Alumni Etonenses* lately in the possession of the Rev. G. J. Dupuis, Vice-Provost.

[2] *Commons' Journal*, vol. iii. p. 456.

[3] *Lords' Journals*, vol. viii. p. 132.

[4] *Laud's Works* (ed. 1847), vol. v. p. 363; *Commons' Journals*, vol. v. p. 325.

[5] Audit Book, 1646—1647.

[6] 45*s.* was received "for 4 hogsheads of ordinary beere sent to Court when his Majesty was at Windsor." *Ibid.*

Sixth seemed imminent once more in 1649, when an ordinance was framed for the sale of the estates of various religious corporations. An exemption, however, was obtained, and the College was not molested.[1] A few months later, the House of Commons resolved that the Masters, Fellows, Schoolmasters, and even the Scholars, in the Colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster should be compelled to subscribe the 'Engagement' that they would be "true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as it is now established, without a King or House of Lords."[2] Two justices of the peace went to Eton for the purpose of receiving signatures to this document, and were entertained with wine and biscuit in the Vice-Provost's chamber at the expense of the College.[3] The new Fellows, of course, subscribed readily enough, but the 'ever-memorable' John Hales absolutely refused to do so. He was a Royalist by conviction as well as by force of sympathy. When the Puritans first came to Eton, he had concealed himself for nine weeks, lest they should obtain possession of certain documents and keys entrusted to him by the College. His hiding-place was so near at hand that he used to say that those who were searching for him might have smelt him if he had eaten garlic. This was forgiven at the time; but his refusal to subscribe the 'Engagement' cost him his Fellowship. Richard Penwarne, who was appointed to succeed him, felt some scruples about ousting such a man, and made him an offer of dividing the income of the place with him, an offer which Hales absolutely declined, saying, logically enough, that if he was entitled to any part, he was entitled to the whole.

Hales first went to live with a Mrs. Salter, near Colnbrook, as tutor to her son, and he used there to perform the services of the Church of England for the benefit of the household, including

[1] "In charges to the Vice-Provost and Mr. Bateman riding to London in May last, to procure from the Parliament the sense of the House about a clause concerning Eton School in the ordinance for the sale of Deans and Prebends lands, 57*l.* 4*s.*" "Item for an Act of Parliament for the Colledge Indemnity in the sale of Deans and Prebends lands, 4*l.* 10*s.*" Audit Book, 1646–1647. See also *Commons' Journals*, vol. vi. p. 219.

[2] *Commons' Journals*, vol. vi. p. 307.

[3] Audit Book, 1649—1650.

Dr. King, the ejected Bishop of Chichester. Thence he returned to Eton, not indeed to his old rooms, but to a lodging next to the *Christopher* Inn, on the south side, kept by one of his former servants.[1] There John Aubrey paid him a visit :—

> "I saw him, a prettie little man, sanguine,[2] of a cheerfull countenance, very gentile and courteous. I was received by him with much humanity ; he was in a kind of violet-coloured cloath gowne with buttons and loopes (he wore not a black gowne), and was reading Thomas à Kempis. It was within a yeare before he deceased. He loved Canarie ; but moderately, to refresh his spirits. . . . . Mr. Hales was the common godfather there, and 'twas pretty to see, as he walked to Windsor, how his god-children asked him blessing."[3]

In the days of his prosperity, Hales used to declare that he had fifty pounds a year more than he cared to spend ; but the loss of his Fellowship at Eton and his Canonry at Windsor reduced him to poverty. He was thus compelled to sell the principal portion of his library, which Clarendon describes as equal to any private collection in England in value, as well as in extent. For books which had cost him not less than 2500*l.*, he is said to have received only 700*l.* from a dealer. He generously gave a portion of the proceeds to other deprived clergymen and scholars,[4] while retaining money sufficient for his own maintenance. The accounts of his extreme poverty in some of the old biographies are evidently exaggerated. A will, signed on the very day of his death, proves that Hales still possessed some money as well as books. In this he gives instructions as to his funeral, which was

> "To be done in plain and simple manner, without any sermon, or ringing the bell, or calling the people together ; without any unseasonable commensation or compotation, or other solemnity on such occasions usual. And I strictly command my executrix, that neither of her own head, nor at the importunity or authority of any other, neither upon any other pretence whatsoever, to take upon her to dispense

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 12th series, vol. iv. p. 106.
[2] *i.e.* ruddy.
[3] *Brief Lives*, vol. i. p. 280.
[4] *Ibid. Biographia Britannica.*

with this part of my will; for as in my life I have done the Church no service, so will I not that in my death the Church doe me any honor."[1]

Hales died on the 16th of May 1656, aged seventy-two, and was buried according to his express desire in the Churchyard of Eton, instead of in the Church. The monument to his memory was erected by Peter Curwen, a former pupil.



The Chapel from the South-West.

It is by no means clear whether the retirement of Nicholas Grey, the Schoolmaster, in 1648, was due to political causes. He was a teacher of some experience, having been Master of the Charterhouse and afterwards of Merchant Taylors. It is furthermore uncertain whether he took charge of the school at Eton under Steward or under Rous, there being a gap of five years in the series of audit books. In 1647, Grey published for the use of the scholars at Eton an edition of a Catechism by Grotius entitled '*Baptizatorum Puerorum Institutio*,' with a translation into Greek verse by Christopher Wase, of King's

[1] Eton Register, vol. iii. f. 70 (printed in Hales's *Works* and in Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary*).

College, and an English version by Francis Goldsmith.[1] He continued to draw his salary until Michaelmas 1648. A definite statement that George Goad, a Kingsman, was Master at Eton for six months, prior to his election as a Fellow in October of that year, may perhaps be taken to mean that he acted as a substitute for Grey. Anyhow, Thomas Horne, Master of Tonbridge School, came to Eton as Master about Michaelmas 1648, and Grey took his place at Tonbridge.[2]

Thomas Horne, the new Master, was the author of several school-books, and the father of two good scholars, one of whom became Master of Harrow, and the other Vice-Provost of Eton.[3] Dying in August 1654, he was succeeded by John Boncle or Bunkley, who, after one year's service, was promoted to a Fellowship, by order of Oliver Cromwell. After him came Thomas Singleton. Amid all these changes, Thomas Mountague, a friend of John Hales, and the overseer of his will, was allowed to retain his post as Usher until the Restoration, when he was promoted to the office of Schoolmaster.

In 1653, Provost Rous received an accession of dignity, which, though short-lived, has obtained for his name a place in English history. When, in that year, Cromwell entrusted the government of the nation to a body of his own nominees, the 'Bare-bones Parliament,' the Provost of Eton, as one of the most respectable members, was appointed Speaker,[4] and he continued to occupy the chair until the members of the Independent majority surrendered to Cromwell the authority which they had received from him.[5] The Protector afterwards rewarded the steady subservience of Rous, by a writ of summons to the Upper House,[6] for he "could not well do less than make that gentleman a Lord who had made him a Prince." By the Royalist party Rous was perhaps more despised than feared. Clarendon describes him as enjoying a reputation for "some knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues, but of a very mean under-

[1] Inasmuch as Grey was an Oxonian, his literary connexion with Wase suggests that he had undertaken the Mastership at Eton before the election of the latter to King's in 1645.

[2] Allen's MS. Catalogue; *Cole's MS.* vol. xv. f. 86.

[3] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. p. 366.

[4] Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 560.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 570.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 666.

standing."[1] By others he was styled "the illiterate old Jew of Eton," in allusion to his desire to see the Mosaic system established in England.[2] Among his printed works is a metrical translation of the Psalms, which was printed by order of the House of Commons, and is still used in the Scottish Kirk.

Provost Rous seems to have used the Election Hall for prayer-meetings,[3] but of course there was service in the Church for the boys and the parishioners. Dr. Worthington, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, preached there frequently at this period.[4] A small book was published in 1657, entitled—*A Christian Calendar for children or youth, or an Essay of laying down and in, the principles of sound doctrine, by way of Catechism in 52 weeks, calculated for the Scholars of Eton Colledge (with their neighbours) by the present Catechist there.*

It can scarcely be doubted that the appointment of so unimpeachable a Puritan as Francis Rous to the Provostship of Eton encouraged parents of strict views to send their sons to Eton. Among the few notices of the school at this period, there is a curious letter from Peter Sterry, one of Oliver Cromwell's chaplains, to his son of the same name, in which spiritual exhortations alternate with practical orders about temporal matters :—

> "Learne now to hold fast the præcepts and rules of Scripture, of your father, of your governours and elders. Know that they will be your life, your safety, your peace and honour. Keepe your bed and bedfellow, keepe the Colledge and goe not into the towne. Keepe with yourselfe and be with no company, especially in private places. Never be in company of any womankinde. Be very free to your master. Speake often with him, acquaint him with all your temptations, and dangers and troubles ; be perfectly advised and governed by him. Go to your master for whatever you want, pens, incke or paper, or any other thing for yourself or brother ; he

[1] *History of the Rebellion* (ed. 1826), vol. vii. p. 15.

[2] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. p. 466—449.

[3] Seats were provided "for those that meet there to attend upon the repeticion of the Lord's day." Audit Book, 1649—1650.

[4] *Diary of John Worthington* (Chetham Society), vol. i. pp. 30, 48, 50, 84—86, 115, 189.

will supply you. Write to mee on Munday next without faile, and give mee an exact account how everything stands with you, in your spirits, in all respects, your debts, your company, and brother." [1]

It was during the Puritan *régime* that the Collegiate Church came to be generally, though not invariably, called the 'Chapel'; and the Chaplains finally obtained the uncouth and somewhat ignominious designation of 'Conducts.' [2] The beautiful brass lectern of the fifteenth century, which had escaped the destructive zeal of the early Reformers, was removed from the Church in



The Lectern.

1650, as a relic of Popery.[3] Happily it has been preserved uninjured, though only taken into use again within recent years. In the following year, the Arms of the Commonwealth were put up in the Church.[4] The College authorities

[1] Sterry's *Annals of Eton College*, pp. 132, 133.

[2] The Conducts are so called not because they conduct the service in church, but because, according to the statutes, they are "*conductitii et removitivi*," *i.e.* hired and removeable. "Prestes conductes," are mentioned in an English petition of the time of Henry VII. (Heywood & Wright's *Statutes*, p. 383). The name occurs again in the next reign in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, although there misapplied.

[3] "For removing the brazen desk from the Chappell, 6*d*." Audit Book, 1649—1650.

[4] Audit Book, 1650—1651.

took every opportunity of displaying their antipathy to the Royalist party, even in the distribution of alms. Wayfarers in distress seldom received more than 1*s.* from them; but "the poore widdow of a good minister formerly persecuted by Bishop Wren" got 2*s.* 6*d.*,[1] and "a poor gentlewoman undone by the Cavaliers" got as much as 1*l.*[2] The College voluntarily paid for the armour of two horsemen "for the use of the State."[3] Days of thanksgiving for the battle of Worcester and other triumphs were observed in the Hall. It is curious to observe that on these and other special occasions the College provided tobacco for its guests.[4]

The College was so thoroughly leavened with Puritanism that it had little to fear from the commissioners appointed by Cromwell in September 1654, to visit Eton as well as Cambridge, and to suggest alterations in the statutes.[5] Rous was a member of the commission, but he did not court enquiry, and little or nothing was done. His own claim to be styled Provost was certainly questionable; yet he ever showed as warm an interest in the College as if he had been one of its legitimate members. Thus he is remembered as the founder of three exhibitions at Pembroke College, Oxford, for Eton Scholars who had failed to obtain places at King's College, but, which, in the absence of any such candidates, might be given to undergraduates of less than two years' standing who had been educated at Eton.

It has been often stated that the fine old trees in the Playing Fields were planted by Rous; but there does not appear to be any direct evidence to identify those now in existence with those

[1] Audit Book, 1649—1650.

[2] *Ibid.* 1652—1653.

[3] *Ibid.* 1650—1651.

[4] "To Mr. Cox for several bottles of wine for the College use on a Thanksgiving day and for pipes and tobacco sent for at several tymes for the use of the College." *Ibid.* 1650—1651. "To the entertaynment of 8 strangers to dinner in the College Haul on the 24 of October 1651, being a thanksgiving day for the victory at Worcester, being over and above what every Fellow paid, 16*s.*" "Tobacco pipes used in the Auditt Weeke." *Ibid.* 1651—1652. "Strangers entertayned in the College Haul on the Thanksgiving Day, 3*s.* 6*d.*" *Ibid.* 1652—1653. See also page 235, note 6.

[5] Heywood & Wright's *Cambridge University Transactions*, vol. i. pp. xvii—xxi.

planted during his tenure of the Provostship, rather than with any of the numerous other trees which, as the audit-books prove, were planted there at different times in the course of the seventeenth century.

Francis Rous died at Acton, on the 7th of January 1659, four months later than his friend and patron, Oliver Cromwell.[1] Bulstrode Whitelock, the historian, has fallen into a very singular error respecting this date. He writes :—

> "The Provost of Eton College, Mr. Rouse, being dead, I had some thoughts, and was advised by some friends, to endeavour to have the place of Provost, a thing of good value, quiet and honourable, and fit for a scholar, and I was not wholly incapable of it ; I therefore made applications to his Highness concerning it, but found him engaged, or at least seeming to be so, for another ; my service was past, and therefore no necessity of a recompense, but this was reserved as bait for some others to be employed by his Highness."[2]

The date of this entry is 25 October 1657, that is to say, more than fourteen months before the death of Rous, who unquestionably survived the Protector. This anachronism seems extraordinary in reference to a matter so nearly concerning the writer, and can only be explained by supposing that he wrote the word "dead" where he ought to have written "likely to die." Anyhow, the *Memorials* cannot have been revised very carefully, for Rous is brought to life again in the very next page as one of the new Peers.

This Provost had left particular instructions that he should be buried at Eton—"a place which hath my deare affections and prayers, that it may be a flourishing nursery of pietie and learning to the end of the world."[3] His body was accordingly removed from Acton and interred in Lupton's Chapel. The Church Register records the burial of "The Honourable Francis, Lord Rouse, Provost of this College," on the 25th of January. Although the Royalists tore down his banners soon after the Restoration, his portrait still hangs in the dining-room of the Provost's Lodge, where he is

[1] *Biographia Britannica.*
[2] Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 665.
[3] Will at Somerset House, *Pell*, f. 51.

represented in his robes as Speaker of the House of Commons, with the mace on a cushion before him.

The funeral sermon on Provost Rous was preached by John Oxenbridge, one of the Fellows, who had once been a tutor at Magdalen Hall, Oxford :[1]

> "But being found guilty of a strange and superstitious way of dealing with his scholars, by persuading and causing some of them to subscribe, as votaries, to several articles framed by himself, as he pretended, for their better government, as if the statutes of the place wherein he lived, and the authority of the then present government were not sufficient, he was distutor'd in the month of May 1634. Afterwards he left the Hall, and showing himself very schismatical abroad, was forced to leave the nation ; whereupon he, with his beloved wife called Jane Butler, went to the islands of Bermudas, where he exercised his ministry. At length the long parliament making mad work in England in 1641, etc. he (as other schismatics did) returned, preached very enthusiastically in several places in his travels to and fro, while his dear wife preached in the house among her gossips and others."[2]

On the death of the Puritan Vice-Provost, Joseph Symonds, in 1652, John Oxenbridge obtained a Fellowship at Eton. Here he had the misfortune to lose his wife ; but, notwithstanding the expressions of his intense grief recorded on her epitaph, he married again about six months later.[3] Anthony Wood, not free from prejudice, says that he was "composed of a strange hodg-podg of opinions, not easily to be described," and "of a roving and rambling head." On the other hand, Andrew Marvell, who lived in his house at Eton, when in charge of Cromwell's ward, William Dutton, in 1653, compares his host's doctrine and example to a book and a map, "demonstrating to the eye which way we ought to travell."[4]

John Oxenbridge was one of the Fellows who took part in the election of a new Provost, before the old Provost was even

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. p. 468.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 1027.
[3] *Sloane MS.* 4843, ff. 359—361.
[4] *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xii. p. 210.

buried. In the absence of any strong central Government, they did not wait for a *mandamus*, and proceeded with indecent haste to elect one of their own number, Nicholas Lockyer, an Independent minister, formerly chaplain to Oliver Cromwell.[1] The Latin letter in which they acquainted "the most serene and most mighty Prince," the Protector Richard, of their choice, is curious as containing an explicit statement that they considered him invested with the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln, and consequently their lawful Visitor. In other respects they were careful to observe the old forms as well as they could, and they did not attempt to omit the words *Beatæ Mariæ* from the designation of the College.[2] They also elected a certain Thomas Goodwin to be Fellow in Lockyer's place. However, it mattered little what they did, for a period of anarchy had commenced, only to be terminated by the restoration of the Stuarts.

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. pp. 162—165.

[2] 14 January 1659. Register, vol. iii. f. 58.



Silver Salt.
Given to Eton College by Nicholas Hobart, A.D. 1656.




## 1660—1681.

The Restoration—Nicholas Monck—New Fellows—Regulations as to Discipline—John Meredith—Robert Boyle and Edmund Waller—Richard Allestree—Financial Reform—The Upper School—Nathaniel Ingelo—Contests for Fellowships—School List of 1678.

WHEN the dissensions between the Rump Parliament and the Council of Officers had rendered George Monck the arbiter of his country's destiny, two clergymen, one the General's brother, the other his chaplain, displayed great zeal on behalf of Prince Charles, for which they were subsequently rewarded with important posts at Eton. The former, Nicholas Monck, was Rector of Kilkhampton, a valuable living in Cornwall, to which he had been presented by his kinsman, Sir John Grenville, on the express understanding that he should do everything in his power to further the Royalist cause.[1] When, therefore, Grenville wished to commence negotiations with General Monck, who was in command of the army in Scotland, he selected Nicholas Monck to sound him as to his intentions. The accounts of the interview between the brothers differ in some respects, but agree in representing the General as too cautious to commit himself in any way, while the drift of public opinion appeared so very uncertain. Although un-

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. p. 815.

successful in the principal object of his mission, Nicholas Monck secured a valuable ally in the person of John Price, his brother's chaplain and intimate friend.[1]

A few months later, when affairs had taken a decided turn in favour of the Stuarts, and Monck was established at Westminster with his army, John Price was selected by the new House of Commons to preach before them at St. Margaret's, on the 10th of May 1660—the "Day of Thanksgiving to the Lord for raising up his Excellency the Lord General, and other eminent persons, who have been instrumental in the delivery of this nation from thraldom and misery."[2] Before the appointed day had arrived, Charles the Second had been proclaimed King, and the preacher was free to manifest his sympathies without reserve. Naturally enough, he extolled his patron, and he proceeded to censure the Puritans, especially for their wanton destruction of painted glass :—"A sad presage it was that those errors that could never have got in at our Church doors, should creep in at its broken windows." Price afterwards published a pamphlet entitled *The Mystery and Method of His Majesty's happy Restoration.*

The new King was no sooner established at Whitehall than petitions began to pour in from every side. Cavaliers, who had adhered faithfully to the Stuarts all through the civil war and the Commonwealth, now expected to receive ample rewards for their sufferings ; while men who had conformed reluctantly during those difficult times, were most anxious to be allowed to retain their posts. A conspicuous Puritan like Nicholas Lockyer could hardly hope for any favour from the new government, and he quietly resigned the Provostship of Eton, retiring on a private fortune which sufficed to support him in comfort for the rest of his days. His persistent disregard of the Act of Uniformity, however, got him into trouble, and at one time he was suspected of taking part in a treasonable conspiracy.[3]

Several candidates applied for the Provostship, among whom

[1] *Biographia Britannica ;* Mozley's *Prince Arthur and Cardinal Morton* (1878).

[2] *Parliamentary History,* vol. iv. p. 13.

[3] *Dict. of National Biography.*

were an officer in the army, and a disappointed Irish lawyer, both of whom evidently thought more about its emoluments than its duties.[1] Other claims would certainly have been sent in, if the King had not cut the matter short by appointing Nicholas Monck to the vacant post, on the recommendation of Sir John Grenville.[2] Instead of following one of the old forms, by recommending, or ordering, the Fellows to elect his nominee, Charles the Second made an absolute grant of the Provostship, by letters patent, as if it had been an office in the gift of the Crown.[3] Monck accordingly took possession of his new dignity without any sort of election ; but the Fellows, unwilling to allow these arbitrary proceedings to be quoted as a precedent, withheld any allusion to them from the College Register.

The majority of the seven Puritan Fellows followed Lockyer's example, three only of the number making any effort to avert the fate of expulsion which seemed to await them. One of these, John Boncle, drew up a plausible petition recounting his former services to the children of Charles the First, and his exertions as Master at the Charterhouse and at Eton.[4] This petition, however, was disregarded by the King's advisers, and Boncle had to content himself with the Mastership of the Mercers' School in London.[5] The other two met with better success. Five arbitrators, to whom George Goad's case was referred, pronounced his election valid, perhaps on the score of its having taken place a few months before the execution of Charles the First.[6] It is difficult to account for Nathaniel Ingelo's good fortune, except by ascribing it to the influence of some person powerful at Court. Anyhow, he obtained a royal *mandamus* describing him as having been "very useful and serviceable" to the College, and he was accordingly elected, or rather re-elected, Fellow on the 12th of July 1660.[7]

Of the Fellows who had been ejected by the Puritans, two

[1] S. P. Dom. Charles II. vol. i. no. 155 ; vol iii. no. 59.

[2] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. p. 815.

[3] 7 July 1660. Patent Roll, 12 Charles II. part 3, no. 139.

[4] S. P. Dom. Charles II. vol. ix. no. 126.

[5] Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 174.

[6] S. P. Dom. Charles II. vol. x. nos. 12—14.

[7] Eton Register, vol. iii.

only, David Stokes and John Meredith, survived to resume their former places at Eton, and to take part in the election of the new members nominated by the King. General Monck had secured one of the vacant places for his chaplain, John Price, who, as an Etonian and Kingsman, was duly qualified ; while the others were bestowed on Isaac Barrow, and Nicholas Grey, the former Schoolmaster.[1]

The new Provost and Fellows lost no time in manifesting their antipathy to the late *régime*. They tore down the pretentious banners of 'Lord' Rous from the walls of the Collegiate Church ;[2] and they defaced Andrew Marvell's laudatory epitaph on the first wife of John Oxenbridge.[3] A similar policy led to the dismissal of Thomas Singleton from the position of Schoolmaster, notwithstanding his protests and entreaties. He was succeeded by Thomas Mountague, who, though inclined to the Royalist cause, had presided over the Lower School for many years under Rous and Lockyer.[4] The *Book of Common Prayer* was, of course, restored to its former use in the services of the Church ;[5] and on the 13th of December 1660, it was formally resolved at a College meeting :—

> "That the houre of prayer be 10 of the clock in the morning and 4 of the clock in the afternoone, that communion be at the three great festivalls, and Sunday at Michaelmas, and that Fellows, Conducts, Clerks and Schollers be in surplices Sunday after Candlemas day."[6]

The school plays, which had naturally found little favour with the Puritans, now met with every encouragement. The College authorities not only gave money to the scholars who took part in the comedy, but on at least one occasion hired a band of musicians to enliven the performance.[7] But although thus favourably

[1] Register, vol. iii. f. 65. The *mandamus* for Barrow is directed to Monck, although dated three days before his appointment to the Provostship.

[2] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iii. p. 468.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 1028.

[4] S. P. Dom. Charles II. vol. vii. no. 109.

[5] Audit Book.

[6] Minute Book, 13 Dec. 1660.

[7] "Given to the musicians at the play by consent, 1*l.*" Audit Book, 1659—1660. "To Robert Woodward for a cord lent at the Comedy and lost, 1*s*" *Ibid.* 1660—1661. "Given to the scholars by consent

inclined to innocent amusements, the new Provost and Fellows did not lose sight of the real interests of the School, and, in the course of the first year after the Restoration, they issued several regulations for the enforcement of stricter discipline than had prevailed of late. Thus it was ordered :—

"That the Schoolemaster shall grant but one afternoone in a week for leave to play, and that only when there is no holyday in the week." [1]

"That within a month after our Ladye's day next all the King's Schollers and Choristers shall ly in the Long Chamber, and that the Scholemaster and Usher shall lodge in their chambers at the ends of the Long Chamber, to prevent disorders which may otherwise happen in the said chamber." [2]

"That the statutes be read according to statute.

"That the Schollers and servants be sworne to the statutes so far as it concerns them.

"That the Schoolemaster and Usher be put in mind to repaire to the Schoole, the Schoolemaster at 7 in the morning and one in the afternoon, and the Usher soon after six and twelve.

"That the Schoolemaster or Usher in writing times shall take care that the schollers do not wander about, but be held to a task, and therof to call for a daily accompt.

"That speciall care be taken to prevent the disorders of the Election week." [3]

With respect to their own emoluments and rights, the authorities resolved :—

"That the Provost's allowance, besides his wood, capons, twenty dozen of candles and twenty loads of hay, shall be five hundred pounds per annum : and that the allowance of each Fellow shall be one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, to be payd quarterly by the Bursars." [4]

"That what livings fall shall not be disposed till they be offerd and refusd by the Fellows in seniority, and if they all refuse, then every Fellow to have the refusall in seniority for his friend whom he will commend." [5]

for acting their comedies last yeare, *il.*" *Ibid.* 1663—1664.

[1] Minute Book, 19 December 1660.

[2] *Ibid.* 18 March 1661.

[3] *Ibid.* 21 June 1661.

[4] *Ibid.* 18 March 1661.

[5] *Ibid.* 13 December 1660.

The high table, which had stood idle for some time, was again brought into use. It was

> "Agreed that there shall be a diet in the College Hall at dinner only, to begin at Lady-day next, the expense for a yeare to be 160*l.*; the Quiristers to serve and have their allowance of bread and beer at dinner and their commons at supper; that the 160*l.* be payd by the Fellowes and Schoolmaster out of their dues at 20*l.* per annum each; and that any Fellow present and Schoolmaster present shall have a loafe of bread and a pott of beere, and that every Fellow which brings in his friends shall pay for his bread and beer, except it be a tenant."[1]

The ordinances of the Church were strictly observed at this table as well as at the lower tables. With regard to the latter it was ordered :—

> "That the Schollers shall have threpence a mess dinner, and supper through the whole Lent as allso all fasting daies through the yeare."[2]

In connexion with these fasts we may notice the order :—

> "That there be a boat with a tilt and a trunke to keepe fish for the Colledge use."[3]

A few months after the Restoration, it was found necessary to fill up the numerous vacancies on the episcopal bench, and Dr. Monck was appointed Bishop of Hereford. Rumour said that he was to be succeeded at Eton by Edmund Calamy, the eminent Puritan divine, but the arrangement actually made was that he should not resign the Provostship until he had occupied his see for two years.[4] He did not live long enough to reap much advantage from his *commendam*, as he fell ill, and died at his lodgings in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, on the 17th of December 1661, in the first year of his episcopate. He was buried in the neighbouring Abbey, his brother George, Duke of Albemarle, attending as chief mourner.[5]

[1] Minute Book, 13 December 1660.
[2] *Ibid.* 8 February 1661.
[3] *Ibid.* 20 May 1661.
[4] *Historical MSS. Commission, Fifth Report*, p. 145; S. P. Dom. Charles II. vol. xxxix. no. 67.
[5] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv. p. 816.

The reversion of the Provostship had, several months previously, been granted to Dr. Thomas Browne, Canon of Windsor, and late chaplain to the Princess of Orange,[1] and he now lost no time in procuring a confirmation of the King's letter in his favour. A new *mandamus* was accordingly issued two days after Bishop Monck's death, and actually before the funeral, ordering the immediate election of Browne, although he had not been a member of either of the Colleges founded by Henry the Sixth.[2] It did not find the Fellows in a very submissive mood. Without going so far as to bring forward a candidate possessing the statutory qualifications, they postponed the election, and wrote to the King openly accusing his nominee of heresy and schism. Their petition was sent unsigned, doubtless for fear of a prosecution for libel, but the King referred the matter to the Bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Gloucester, to the great annoyance of Browne, who would have preferred a civil trial.[3] Two months later, the King, acknowledging that he had "received fuller information," revoked his former letters, and desired the Fellows to elect one of their own body, Dr. John Meredith, "who, by his eminent work and constant affection to us and our service, hath very well deserved this character of our royal favour." This order met with ready obedience,[4] a proof that the Fellows were not attempting to secure the free right of election accorded to them by the Founder.

Meredith was at this time Warden of All Souls College, Oxford, and he continued to preside over both institutions until his death. His brief tenure of the Provostship is remarkable only for further attempts to enforce discipline. It was

> "Ordred by Mr. Provost and the Fellowes that the Schollars shall not goe out of their bounds day or night without leave of the Provost or Vice-Provost, upon payne of admonition and being registred for the first fault, and for the second fault to be admonished and registred the second time

[1] S. P. Dom. Charles II. vol. xxxix. no. 67.
[2] *Ibid.* Entry Book 6, f. 14
[3] S. P. Dom. Charles II. vol. ccccxlvi. no. 45.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. li. no. 25; Eton Register, vol. iii. f. 64.

and severely punished : and for the third fault to be expelled from the College.

"Ordred then that all the publique dores of the Schoole and Longe Chamber shalbe secured by new locks, and that the keys of all those dores be taken evry night imediatly after prayers, and that those Schollers whoe shall goe out of the Schoole or College any evening without leave of the Provost or Vice-Provost shalbe admonished and registred for the first fault, and severly punished and registred for the second fault, and for the third expelled.

"It was ordred alsoe that if any Schollar doe presume to ly out of the College one night without leave of the Provost or Vice-Provost he shalbe whipt and registred for the first fault, and for the second he shalbe expelled.

"It was ordred then also that Clark, Stone, Curwin, and Whittaker, whoe lately accompanied Garaway and Langston at the *Christopher* and Thomas Woodward's, shall have a forme of repentance drawne for them, which they shall read in the Schoole before the Vice-Provost and Fellowes in English, and that their fault of being out of their bounds shalbe registred *pro prima vice*."

A little later, that is to say on the 2nd of April 1666, there is a

"Memorandum that Curwin and Baker were admonished and whipt and registred for goeing out of their bounds to the Datchett ale-houses and beeting the fishermen in their way home, to the great scandale of the College ; Curwin for the second time, and Baker for the first." [1]

Curwin must have been old enough to know better, if he is identical with the Scholar of that name who was elected to King's in that same year. Such offences as his would meet with similar punishment now; but the rules respecting smoking have changed since that time. Tobacco was then considered an excellent preservative against the plague, which committed dreadful ravages in the reign of Charles the Second ; and the Eton boys were ordered to smoke in school daily. Tom Rogers told Hearne "that he was never whipped so much in his life as he was one morning for not smoaking." [2]

[1] Election Register, vol. i. Austen Leigh's *List of Eton Collegers*, pp. vii, viii.

[2] *Hearne's Collections*, vol. vii. p. 208.

It has been seen in preceding chapters that few of the Provosts of Eton admitted since the accession of Elizabeth had been statutably qualified for that office, that several of them had been laymen, and that several had been married. Various persons had moreover been elected to Fellowships who had not had any previous connexion with either of the Colleges founded by Henry the Sixth. The plain requirements of the statutes having been thus disregarded, it is not surprising to find that some of the Fellows arrogated to themselves the right of marrying. Baldwin Collins and Matthew Bust, both elected in 1572, married very shortly after obtaining this permanent provision. In the following century, at least three of the Puritan Fellows, Goad, Ingelo, and Oxenbridge, had wives. It is uncertain whether such ladies lived in the Cloisters or in private houses in Eton. Anyhow, the Restoration of the Stuarts, even in the person of Charles the Second, checked the practice for a time. On Christmas Eve 1662, the King wrote to the Provost and Fellows in the following terms :—

> "Takeing notice of the many inconveniencyes that follow to societyes of study and learning from the libertie taken by their Masters and Fellowes to marry, and desireing by what good meanes wee may to prevent abuses of that consequence, wee have thought good hereby to signifie our pleasure to you that you take perticular care for the future to decline electing any marryed person to be Provost or Fellow of that our Colledge, and that such of you as at present are unmaryed be hereby warned not to marye, which if you shall neglect to observe, wee shall expect in six monthes after that you quitt the whole interest and title in that society, according to the true sence of the statutes of that our Colledge, which intend the members to remaine in an unmarryed state, whereof wee did heretofore take notice to the present Provost at the time of his ellection into that place."[1]

William of Wykeham had explicitly debarred married men from holding Fellowships at his College at Oxford, and Henry the Sixth had done likewise with regard to King's College, Cambridge. No such prohibition had been considered necessary at Winchester or Eton, inasmuch as the Fellows of both

[1] S. P. Dom. Entry Book 12, f. 4.

these Colleges were required to be priests. Such of them therefore as had disregarded the obvious intentions of their respective Founders could at best plead that the marriage of priests, more or less tolerated under Elizabeth, had been legalized by her successor.[1] The Head Master and the Usher of Eton stood on a different footing. Although specifically forbidden to be married men, they were hired and removable by the Provost and Fellows, whose plain duty it was to enforce the observance of the statutes.

It would be interesting to know what answer, if any, was returned to the letter of Charles the Second given above. Whatever its temporary effect may have been, it was certainly disregarded within a few years, for there is an epitaph recording the death, in 1685, of Jane the wife of Thomas Mountague, who had been elected Fellow in 1671.[2] He had married her in or before 1655, when he was Usher.[3]

John Meredith died in July 1665, and was buried in the Chapel of All Souls' College, where an epitaph describes him as a man of courteous though old-fashioned manners.[4] The King at once offered the Provostship to Robert Boyle, an offer which reflected honour on both. Boyle, having been educated at Eton, was already familiar with the customs and traditions of the School, and he possessed private means which would have prevented him from looking upon the Provostship as a mere source of income. But he was aware that the statutes required the Provost to be a priest, and the idea of a dispensation was repugnant to his mind. He might, it is true, have overcome the difficulty, by following the example of Sir Henry Wotton in taking holy orders, and this course was urged upon him by his friends, who knew him to be the author of several religious treatises, and a man of virtuous life. Boyle, however, felt that his works commanded more attention as coming from a layman than they would otherwise have done, and he was anxious to prove to the world, by his example, that the study of theology

[1] Hallam's *Constitutional History* (ed. 1867), vol. i. pp. 173, 174; Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 343—362.

[2] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 1088.

[3] *Etoniana*, p. 168.

[4] "*Blandis moribus quanquam et antiquis.*"

was not exclusively the province of the clergy. Thus the very qualifications which in the eyes of others made him so well fitted to become a clergyman deterred him from seeking ordination. As these scruples were enhanced by a reluctance to undertake any official duties which would interfere with the study of philosophy, he gave a positive refusal to the King's unexpected offer.

Boyle's conduct at this juncture appears all the more creditable when contrasted with that of Edmund Waller, who owes his place among eminent Etonians to his talents rather than to his virtues. This poet, whose venal odes had successively resounded the praises of Charles the First, of Cromwell, and of Charles the Second, was now in high favour with this last monarch, and easily obtained from him a promise of the Provostship of his old school. The necessary documents were prepared, and Waller was congratulating himself on his success, when an unforeseen obstacle arose, Clarendon, who was then Lord Chancellor, absolutely refusing to affix the Great Seal, on the score that the office could not lawfully be filled by a layman. Waller was bitterly disappointed, and he afterwards gratified his revenge by joining in the prosecution of Clarendon with great virulence.[1]

The Provostship was next offered to Dr. Richard Allestree, who accepted it, and was duly elected on the 8th of August 1665.[2] In this instance, Clarendon did not insist upon absolute obedience to the statutes, for the new Provost did not possess all the qualifications which they require, never having been connected with either of the Colleges founded by Henry the Sixth. The Chancellor was doubtless glad to be able to bestow this reward on one who had rendered loyal service to Charles the First and Charles the Second.

Allestree was a student at Christ Church at the outbreak of the civil war, and he twice contrived to outwit a band of Parliamentarians by means of a private key.

> "Some of the rebels, having attempted to break into the treasury of Christ Church, and after a day's labour having forced a passage into it, met with nothing but a groat and a halter, at the bottom of a large iron chest. Enraged at their

[1] *Biographia Britannica*, p. 4111.
[2] S. P. Dom. Charles II. vol. cxxvii. no. 48; Eton Register.

disappointment, they went to the Deanery, where having plundered as much as they thought fit, they put it all together in a chamber, and retired to their quarters, intending the next day to return and dispose of their prize. But when they came, they found themselves again disappointed, and everything removed out of the chamber."

After this, Allestree fought at Edgehill, and served in the King's army during the siege of Oxford, "frequently holding his musket in one hand and book in the other, and making the watchings of a soldier the lucubrations of a student." When the Parliamentary visitors came to Christ Church, they ejected him from his place, "because," as one of them said, "he was an eminent man." After the battle of Worcester, Allestree became the bearer of various communications between the Royalists in England and the exiled Court, but, being detected, he was committed to prison, from which he was not released until the restoration of the Stuarts seemed certain. He was thereupon appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.[1] The Provostship of Eton was the highest dignity to which he ever attained, although his epitaph states that he might have been a bishop if he had so chosen.[2]

Allestree proved to be one of the best Provosts that Eton has ever had. Although he did not attain a reputation in literature

[1] *Biographia Britannica;* Fell's *Life of Allestree.* An Eton tradition says that Allestree had been forgotten at Court, and that he only owed this preferment to a ridiculous incident. A party of Cavaliers are said to have been discussing the personal appearance of the Earl of Lauderdale, when the merry monarch defied any of them to produce an uglier man in the course of half-an-hour. Lord Rochester accepted the challenge, and went out into the streets to try his luck. After carefully scrutinizing all the passers-by, he accosted a shabbily dressed clergyman of singularly unfortunate looks. This was Richard Allestree, whom he inveigled into the King's presence, where their entrance was greeted with peals of laughter. When these had subsided, the King acknowledged that he had lost his bet, and, turning to the bewildered clergyman, explained the joke, and apologized for its rudeness. Allestree made good use of the occasion by obtaining a promise of promotion, which was not forgotten when the Provostship of Eton fell vacant.

This story is related at greater length in Jesse's *Favourite Haunts*, pp. 140—145; but it does not appear in any of the old biographies of Allestree, and the dates of his successive preferments prove that his services were never overlooked.

[2] "*Episcopales infulas eadem industria evitavit, qua alii ambiunt; cui rectius visum, Ecclesiam defendere, instruere, ornare, quam regere.*"

or politics equal to that of several of his predecessors, he was second to none of them in administrative ability. On assuming the government of the College, he found its finances in a very critical condition. The Puritan Fellows had introduced a custom of charging all extraordinary expenses to capital, and dividing the surplus income of each year among themselves. The debt thus contracted was drawing interest so heavy that in the year 1665 the College was said, perhaps somewhat hyperbolically, to be on the verge of insolvency. The new Provost resolved to remove any possibility of such a catastrophe, by giving up some of his own dues, and persuading the Fellows to do likewise. His biographer boasts that, by this means, "within a few years the College paid off a thousand pound debt, and expended above two thousand pounds in repairs."[1]

Allestree gave a further proof of his generosity when he undertook a considerable addition to the College buildings at his own expense.[2] The views of Eton which appear on Sir Henry Savile's monument,[3] and on the title-page of his edition of St. Chrysostom, show that the School Yard was in his time enclosed by buildings on three sides only. It was, in fact, separated from the highroad on the west merely by a low wall having an entrance in the centre opposite to the Provost's Lodge.[4] Allestree was the first to complete the quadrangle by connecting the 'ante-chapel' with the tower at the western end of the Long Chamber. The building which he erected consisted of a long schoolroom on the upper floor, with smaller rooms and a colonnade below it. Such additional accommodation had become necessary, as the old schoolroom was quite inadequate to contain the ever-increasing number of Oppidans. The new building was badly constructed, and, as

[1] Fell's *Life of Allestree.*

[2] *Ibid.* and Epitaph at Eton.

[3] See the plate in Tighe & Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. i. p. 327.

[4] The School Yard was anciently accounted part of the Churchyard. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 463.) In 1491, John Towning directed that his corpse should be buried in the cemetery of the Collegiate Church of Eton, before the north door of the said church. In 1503, John Rawson expressed his wish to be buried "without the northe dore of our Lady Chyrche in the chyrcheyerd, as ny to the dore as may be." Register, vol. i. ff. 122, 130.



GENERAL VIEW OF ETON COLLEGE.

*Taken about* A.D. 1688.

will be seen, it had to be pulled down within a few years of its erection ; the present Upper School occupies its site, and greatly resembles it in design. An important difference between the two is, however, to be found in the eastern side, where substantial piers carrying arches have been substituted for Allestree's detached columns and continuous lintel. The earlier building had a higher-pitched roof than the present building, and a central pediment, but no balustrade crowning the walls.[1]

Bishop Fell writes in warm terms of Provost Allestree's social influence at Eton, saying that while he lived there it "was but as one family, his lodging being every Fellow's chamber, and they as much at home with him as in their own apartment." The duties of the chair of Divinity, however, compelled Allestree to reside chiefly at Oxford, so that he used to spend only about two months of the year at Eton, at the times of the election and the audit respectively.[2] During his absence, the College affairs were generally administered by Nathaniel Ingelo, or by Zachary Cradock. The former of these seems to have retained his old Puritanical views, and to have made himself extremely unpopular. Soon after his re-election to a Fellowship in 1660, an attempt had been made to eject him from it by Captain Francis Robinson, of the Life Guards, who, in a deposition before Sir Edward Nicholas, raked up charges extending as far back as 1644. The accusations against Ingelo were, first, that he was at one time in the habit of disturbing the Church service at Wymondham by "most insolent stamping with his feet, and knocking against the seeling,"[3] and by scoffing at the *Book of Common Prayer* as containing "conjuration."

> "2, Hee said the Bishops were a company of rogues and Popish prists, and that they ought all to be hanged if they ware rightly served.
>
> "3, He, the said Angelow, said that his Majistie of blessed memory was a Papist in his harte."

He was said to have applied far more offensive names to Queen

[1] Allestree's Upper School is represented in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (ed. 1673), p. 195, and in Loggan's engraved view of Eton, of which a reduced copy is here given from Willis & Clark, vol. i.

[2] *Sloane MS.* 4839, f. 79.

[3] *i.e.* panelling.

Henrietta Maria, and also to have stigmatized her children as bastards.[1]

Some years later, the scholars of Eton were bold enough to apply to the Bishop of Lincoln for protection against Ingelo, who, as Vice-Provost, used to interfere with them continually. They complained of the

> "Tyranny and inhuman proceedings which he lately manifested in expelling a poore Cavalier's sonne, Mr. Hill the watchmaker's sonne, who was one of the upper schollars in our schoole, and one that had had a place at Oxford ere this, and been made for ever, had he not been expelled the Colledge, so infortunately to all his friends and especially to his parents' trouble, who being burnt out of their houses by the Fire had been almost undone by it. His fault was not soe greate as to despaire of pardon. It was only that with some friends he went to Oxford without asking leave, for which fault Dr. Ingelo, although the Provost had pardoned him, and he promised Dr. Mew that he should not be turned out, did contrary to his promise forbid him to come near the College, and bid the College servants lay hold on him and punish him publiquely, if he came within the College bounds, and by this he hath utterly undone him. And soe he would have undone another Cavalier's sonne, Esq. Harrison's sonne, for nothing as is now known.
>
> "Wee all wish to be eased of the yoake that we undergo by the means of this Ingelo; for which we most humbly beseech your Lordship to looke upon us, condemned to undergo an unspeakable tyranny except wee have a reprieve from your hands."[2]

William Otes, one of the Conducts, carried complaints against Ingelo to a still higher authority, the Archbishop of Canterbury. He openly charged the Vice-Provost with persecuting him on account of his zeal for the Church of England, as well as for his adherence to the Duke of York's party. This quarrel commenced in 1682, and it was only terminated by the death of Ingelo three years later.[3]

The keen competition for Fellowships, already noticed at

[1] S. P. Dom. Charles II. vol. x. no. 119.

[2] *Tanner MS.* 158, f. 17.

[3] *Sloane MS.* 4841, ff. 293—303.

the period of the Restoration, continued almost throughout the reign of Charles the Second. Sir John Grenville was not satisfied with having procured the Provostship for his kinsman Nicholas Monck, and applied to the King for a Fellowship for his own brother. The vacancy caused by the death of Grey having just been filled up,[1] it was arranged that Dennis Grenville should have the next. But, although the letter in his favour was confirmed sixteen months later, the Fellowship which Meredith resigned on his promotion to the Provostship was granted by the forgetful King to Dr. Heaver of Windsor.[2] The Grenvilles were naturally indignant at such treatment, and the King had to write to the Provost and Fellows, explaining that the late appointment had been made in consequence of Laud's decree of 1634, which annexed a Fellowship at Eton to the Vicarage of Windsor, and once more bidding them reserve the next place for Grenville, whose family had rendered such eminent services to the Royalist cause.[3] It was thought desirable to encourage men of good family to take holy orders, by bestowing on them suitable ecclesiastical benefices.[4]

Isaac Barrow was explicitly permitted to hold his Fellowship together with the see of Sodor and Man,[5] so that no vacancy occurred until the death of David Stokes in 1669. Dennis Grenville had, some years before this, exchanged his reversion at Eton for a prebend in the north of England with a certain Timothy Thriscrosse,[6] but the latter had considerable difficulty in maintaining his rights. Notwithstanding the definite *mandamus* in favour of Thriscrosse, Lord Arlington managed to procure a promise of the next Fellowship for his own chaplain, Henry Bold of Christ Church, and he lost no time in obtaining confirmation of it when the vacancy actually occurred.[7] Thriscrosse too had influence at Court, and in turn succeeded in persuading the King to revoke this latest order.

[1] Eton Register.

[2] *Ibid.* S. P. Dom. Entry-Book 6, f. 23.

[3] *Sloane MS.* 4840, ff. 226, 227.

[4] S. P. Dom. Charles II. vol. lx. no. 50.

[5] *Ibid.* Entry-Book 6, f. 48; Eton Register, vol. iv. f. 10.

[6] S. P. Dom. Charles II. vol. lx. nos. 49, 50; Entry-Book 12, f. 18.

[7] S. P. Dom. Entry-Book 19, ff. 29, 104; Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, vol. ii. p. 278.

It availed him little, however, for the letter in his favour did not reach Eton until after the Provost and Fellows had elected Bold.[1] He was more fortunate in the following year.

The inconvenience and scandal caused by such contradictory orders from Whitehall were doubtless the reasons which induced Allestree,[2] himself an Oxonian, to beg for a confirmation of Laud's decree, by which five of the Eton Fellowships were to be reserved for members of King's College, Cambridge.[3] This was granted in 1670, but the order was violated on the first two occasions, when Zachary Cradock of Queen's College, Cambridge, and Henry Godolphin of All Souls' College, Oxford, both afterwards Provosts, were respectively elected Fellows.[4] The Kingsmen could hardly witness in silence so glaring an invasion of their privileges, and they accordingly drew up a remonstrance and petition, urging that the order so recently confirmed should for the future be firmly enforced. Their cause was warmly espoused by Archbishop Sancroft, and he procured the King's signature to a stronger confirmation of the neglected decree, bidding the electors of Eton disregard any past or future mandatory letters contrary to the same.[5] A petition from the inhabitants of Windsor in favour of their Vicar met with an unfavourable reception at the hands of the Archbishop.[6]

The high table in Hall, re-established in 1665, was maintained for a considerable time. The following entry occurs in the minute-book, under the date of the 4th of January 1676:—

> "It is agreed that the allowance for the Fellows' Commons shall not exceed in the whole year sixteen pounds of beef or mutton for every day and four shillings for the second dish. And that the beef or mutton shall not be changed for other meat but upon fasting days, and then the value of it to be layd out in providing something els . . . and that no meat be sent from the table."

Among the visitors to the College at this period was Samuel Pepys, whose remarks on the *Bacchus* verses have already been

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4840, f. 227.
[2] S. P. Dom. Entry-Book 35b. f. 1.
[3] Fell's *Life of Allestree.*
[4] S. P. Dom. Entry-Book 25, f. 180; S. P. Dom. Charles II. vol. cclxxix. f. 83. Eton Register, vol. iv.
[5] *Sloane MS.* 4842, ff. 240—242, 281.
[6] *Ibid.* 4841, f. 328.

quoted.[1] He also noticed the time-honoured custom "of boys cutting their names in the shuts of the window, when they go to Cambridge, by which many a one hath lived to see himself a Provost and Fellow, that had his name in the window yet standing."[2] When Pepys went to see Winchester College he cared for little except his dinner,[3] and the same spirit is observable in his warm praise of the beer at Eton.[4] He was not the only person who appreciated its excellence, for Charles the Second and Prince Rupert seem to have used it regularly when staying at Windsor.[5]

A few casual notes by Anthony Wood afford some information about the *curriculum* at Eton in the reign of Charles the Second. As in Malim's time, a century earlier, the Head Master used to come into school at seven o'clock in the morning, when his first business was to look over exercises of the different forms, commending the good, and "shaming" or punishing the bad. Breakfast was at nine, and there were prayers at ten. After an early dinner, presumably at eleven, the boys "were obliged to goe to exercise in the fields, at skittles, &c. till one o'clock." The Master did not rejoin them before two. In summer there was *bever* between three and four, and there was always another break in the lessons at five, evidently for supper.

The list of authors studied under Mountague shows, of course, a great advance on that of Malim's time, notably with regard to Greek. It comprises Demosthenes, Homer, Xenophon, Cicero, Terence, Juvenal, and Persius. The *Andria* was not only learned by heart but acted. Some of the boys read a book called *Janua Linguarum* "in their private studyes." Some had an English translation of the *Life of Alexander* by Quintus Curtius,

[1] Page 147.

[2] Although the earliest date which has been noticed is 1577, the series of names begins with those of the Scholars elected from Eton to King's in 1564. After 1645, the names were cut on the pillars, the space on the shutters having been filled. The series is continued from 1696 to 1724 on the wainscot above the door, and from the latter date to 1844 in the adjoining 'Lower School Passage.'

[3] *Diary*, 1 August 1683.

[4] *Ibid.* 26 February 1666.

[5] "Received of the King's Butler for 8 hogsheads of beer, 9*s.* the hogshead, 3*l.* 12*s.*" Audit Book, 1669—1670. *Ibid.* 1674—1675. "Prince Rupert one hogshead of beer, 12*s.*" *Ibid.* 1674—1675. "5 hogsheads of beer for the King." *Ibid.* 1676—1677.

from which they were expected to reconstruct the Latin text. Translations were made from verse into prose, from prose into verse, and from Latin into Greek.[1]

The earliest School-list extant belongs to the year 1678, and gives the surnames of two hundred and seven boys, nine of whom, however, are not assigned to any particular place. No distinction is made between an Upper and a Lower School, but the Collegers are separated from the 'Oppidanes.' The Seventh Form, at the top of the School, had disappeared since the date of Malim's *Consuetudinarium*, and the First Form was quite empty, unless it included the 'Bibler's Seat,' which had one occupant. Eight boys only are mentioned as constituting the Sixth Form, and inasmuch as four of these were elected to King's in 1678, two in the following year, and the remaining two in 1680, it seems clear that they were Collegers. On the other hand it should be observed that the List shows a full complement of seventy Collegers without them. In the Fifth Form there were twenty-five Collegers and twenty-five Oppidans. Among the boys in different forms were the eldest son of an Earl and several young baronets. We may here observe that the system by which two or more boys of one family were distinguished from one another seems to go back at least as far as the reign of Elizabeth. So in 1678 we find the suffixes of *major*, *minor*, and *minimus*.[2] According to modern usage at Eton, the arrival of a fourth brother converts the former *major* into *maximus*, the *minor* into *major*, and the *minimus* into *minor*. Sometimes relations, not necessarily brothers, have been reckoned as forming one family, and a late Speaker of the House of Commons remembers that, when he went to Eton, he was put down as "Peel *undecimus*."

The list of 1678 does not give the names of any masters, but it is known otherwise that John Rosewell was the Master at that time. Under his care the School increased in reputation; and "then it was that the foundation of its present grandeur was laid," says an old writer,[3] who could never have anticipated that it would one day comprise more than a thousand boys.

[1] *Rawl. MS.* D. 191, printed by Mr. Leach (p. 198).

[2] Austen Leigh's *Eton College Lists*.

[3] *Rawl. MS.* B. 265, f. 78.




## 1681—1728.

Zachary Cradock—Charles Roderick—An Election at King's—John Newborough—The new Upper School—Hunting the Ram—Henry Godolphin—Alterations in the Church—Andrew Snape—Henry Bland—Edward Littleton—William Pitt—Cost of Education—The Library.

PROVOST ALLESTREE died in January 1681, and as the scrupulous Lord Clarendon was then no longer in power, Edmund Waller felt emboldened to make another application for the post he had so long coveted. The Fellows, however, raised objections to him, and Charles the Second was wise enough to refer the case to the Privy Council, who, after hearing it argued by lawyers for three days, declared that the Provostship involved a cure of souls, and consequently could not be held by a layman, under the Act of Uniformity.[1] The King explained to Waller that he could not break the law which he himself had made,[2] and proceeded to issue a letter in favour of Zachary Cradock, a clergyman who, although an alien, had been a Fellow of Eton for upwards of nine years.[3] The new Provost had little to recommend him in point of political connexion or social position, as one of his brothers was a Nonconformist minister and another a grocer. His whole reputation rested on his eloquence in the pulpit,

[1] *Tanner MS.* 158, ff. 3—5.
[2] *Biographia Britannica*, p. 411.
[3] Register, vol. iv. ff. 28, 37.

where he used always to preach extempore, though he was so far from being vain of this accomplishment, that he would sometimes put on his spectacles and spread out on the cushion before him a note-book containing nothing but blank leaves.[1] The King being much pleased with a sermon of his on Providence, ordered it to be printed, and the little pamphlet was ironically called the "Works of Dr. Cradock," as if it had been one of the voluminous publications then in vogue.[2]

A little more than a year after Cradock's appointment to the Provostship, John Rosewell resigned the post of Schoolmaster somewhat abruptly. Rumour said that he had caused the death of a boy by immoderate flogging, and that he had consequently fallen into a state of melancholy madness, fancying that the King's messengers were about to arrest him for treason, and refusing to stir out of doors.[3] The truth of this rumour is doubtful, for we find that he was recalled to Eton as a Fellow a few months later. He was succeeded in the management of the School by Charles Roderick, a Kingsman, who had been Usher under him for about six years, and who is said to have proved himself an excellent master.

> "He had no fault except there be
> A fault in too much modesty,
> For tho' none wrote with greater ease,
> Tho' he ne'er spoke but sure to please,
> Yet none so cautiously withdrew
> From pulpits and the public view."[4]

Although Roderick eventually became a Doctor of Divinity, Provost of King's, and Dean of Ely, he did not enter priest's orders until after his resignation of the Schoolmastership. Six of his pupils were touched for the King's Evil at Eton on the 7th of September 1686, with other parishioners, but when James the Second again went through the ceremony there, just two years later, none of the scholars required the exercise of his reputed power.[5] The circumstances which induced Charles Roderick to quit Eton occupy an important place in the history of the sister

[1] *Lansdowne MS.* 987, f. 117.
[2] *Biographia Britannica*, p. 4111.
[3] *Lansdowne MS.* 987, f. 39.
[4] *Cole's MS.* vol. xvi. ff. 20—22.
[5] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 396.

college at Cambridge, and a short account of them may not be altogether out of place here.

It appears that on the death, in 1689, of John Coplestone, Provost of King's, the Fellows determined to recover their right of free election, which had been ignored alike by the kings of the houses of Tudor and Stuart, and by the Long Parliament. The Revolution of the previous year had somewhat impaired the force of the royal prerogative, and they might have accomplished their object quietly and satisfactorily if one of their own number, named Hartcliff, had not posted off to the Court in haste, to protest that the right of nomination lay with the King. If the real motive of this "false brother," as they styled him, was to secure the place for himself, he was disappointed, for a *mandamus* was forthwith issued in favour of Stephen Upman, Fellow of Eton. The Kingsmen, however, asserted their own claims boldly, and refused to elect their royal master's nominee, at the same time taking care to remind the Whig Government that Upman had been a supporter of James the Second, and had preached at Eton in favour of the illegal Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. This last shaft hit the mark ; the *mandamus* was revoked, and a new one was issued in favour of Sir Isaac Newton, the University's own representative in Parliament. The Fellows, however, were not to be propitiated in this manner, and they formally protested against Newton as an alien. The Government again gave way, and a third *mandamus* was sent down to Cambridge, requiring the Fellows to elect the traitor Hartcliff, who certainly had the proper qualifications. "But of this the College being aware, every officer took care to be out of the way, every Fellow's door was shut, and no one at home, so that when the messenger came, finding no one to deliver the *mandamus* to, he laid it on the hall table, from whence, at night by an unknown hand, it was thrown over the wall." The day of election came on before the Government had time to take any further steps in the matter, and the Head Master of Eton obtained all the votes except three, of which Hartcliff's was one. In thus choosing Charles Roderick, the Fellows were more headstrong than consistent ; for he was in reality unqualified,

being neither a priest nor a Doctor or Bachelor of Divinity, as required by the statutes.

> "But this was soon rectified, for the University, at the intercession of the College, immediately gave him a Doctor's degree, for which he was to perform his exercises in the following term; and the Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Sprat, gave him private ordination at Westminster, assisted by Dr. Annsley, Dean of Exeter, and prebendary of Westminster. . . . . And then, to defend themselves in case of a lawsuit, with which they were threatened, the society passed a vote that there should be no dividend till the lawsuit was at an end, and if that should not be sufficient, next to convert all the College plate into money for the same use, and lastly, if more were still wanting, to strike off the second dish for a time. At the same time they applied to all the men of quality then living that had been bred at King's College, craving their aid to enable them to carry on the lawsuit; in which they met with good success, Lord Dartmouth alone, the College's Lord High Steward, subscribing a thousand pounds towards supporting the lawsuit. However, they thought it most prudent to prevent a lawsuit if they could, and therefore used their utmost endeavours to pacify the Court, and reconcile them, if possible, to their election. By the interest of their friends they prevailed so far as to obtain a hearing, which was appointed to be at Hampton Court."

The College sent up three of its members to argue the case against the law-officers of the Crown, who of course relied mainly upon the long-established practice of the King's predecessors. The discussion was waxing warm, when there was a sudden hush and a whisper that the Queen was coming through the gallery. One of the Kingsmen, named Layton, being rather deaf and very blind, did not perceive this, and at the critical moment struck the table with his fist and cried out in a loud voice:—"Mr. Attorney-General, if we must bear the grievances of former reigns, then is the King in vain come in." Queen Mary was naturally startled at such plainness of speech. The interview was brought to a close amid threats on one side, and words of defiance on the other, but the King eventually

signified his approval of Roderick.[1] From that time forth the Kingsmen have elected their own Provost, and in most instances they have made choice of an Eton master.

One of the deputations to William the Third in favour of the presumptuous Kingsmen was attended by John Newborough, the Usher of Eton School, who can hardly have been disinterested in the matter, as Roderick's removal brought about his own promotion to the office of Head Master. A glowing eulogy of Newborough forms the specimen page of Richard Rawlinson's projected *History of Eton*. We there read :—

> "He was of a graceful person and comely aspect; had a presence fit to awe the numerous tribe over which he presided; grave was he in his behaviour, and irreproachable in his life; very pathetical were his reproofs, and dispassionate his corrections; and when any hopes of amendment appeared, he declined severe remedies. He always chose, in the places to which as master he had a right of collation, those youths whose industry, modesty, and good behaviour rendered them remarkable, and that so far from being moved by their parents' and friends' application made to him, that even without their knowledge he frequently conferred his place on them. Careful was he, to the greatest exactness and rigidness imaginable, of the morals of the youths committed to his charge; nor in the common school exercises was a light airy wit so much aimed at as good sound sense, and grave reflections. . . . . Exceeding happy was he in his expression; his words flowing from him just though swift, and always inimitably expressive. The jejune and insipid explications of the common rank of commentators he held in the highest contempt, while he himself, with a delightful *copia verborum*, struck out something very uncommon, something surprising. Terence's *vis comica* received new graces from his mouth, and Roscius then triumphed indeed when Newborough explained. Was Livy to be read? Who ever fathomed, or rather found, his depths like him whose soul was equally noble, equally sublime with his author? . . . Generous and hospitable was he, and knew as gracefully how to dispose of his money as how to receive it. To the poorer lads on the foundation he was known to be very noble in supplying them with the proper books and other necessaries, and that in good quantity;

[1] *Cole's MS.* vol. xvi. ff. 19—20, 37—39.

being rightly apprised that the quickest natural parts and the most promising genius might be cramped by *res angusta domi*."[1]

A small book entitled '*Epigrammatum Delectus*,' printed for the fourth time in 1689, is explicitly stated to have been *In usum Scholæ Etonensis*. Martial predominates in it, but the compiler was not exclusive in his views, and found room for several productions of more modern Latinists, such as Sannazaro, Strozzi, Strada, Beza, Grotius, John Owen, Buchanan, and others. Another portion of the book consists of choice quotations from classical poets, and it ends with a collection of short Greek sentences accompanied by Latin translations. Very different from this must have been the books which Newborough used to give "to all young gentlemen who took their leave of him handsomely"—the earliest notice of the objectionable system of 'leaving money.' Newborough's enthusiastic discourses on the glories of ancient Greece and Rome gave rise to a suspicion that he wished to inculcate Republican principles; but it so turned out that two of his pupils, St. John and Wyndham, became no less distinguished among the Tories, than two others, Walpole and Townshend, among the Whigs. He had a clear perception of talent in young men, and on being told of St. John's early success in the House of Commons, he said:—"I am impatient to hear that Robert Walpole has spoken, for I am convinced that he will be a good orator."[2] So flourishing was the condition of the School under Newborough that his epitaph describes him as "*Etonensis scholæ, terrarum orbis per ipsum maximæ, magistri.*" The composer was unconsciously echoing the ideas of a young Etonian of 1693, Richard Barrett, who wrote to his father:—"I hope to be a good scholar, for this is the best schoole in England," and again:—"This is a brave schoole, and the best teaching in the world."[4]

Newborough was a contributor to the fund raised in 1689 for rebuilding the Upper School, on the western side of the great

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4843, ff. 263, 264.

[2] Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole* (ed. 1798), vol. i. p. 4.

[3] Epitaph at Hitcham, Bucks. A better scholar would probably have written "*Etonensis scholæ, in orbe terrarum per ipsum factæ maximæ, magistri.*"

[4] *Etoniana*, pp. 162, 163

quadrangle at Eton.[1] The necessity for this rebuilding arose from the faulty construction of Allestree's work, which fell out of the perpendicular, and became actually dangerous within a few years after his death. A legacy of 300*l.* from Dr. Rosewell "for the use and benefit of Eton College School" came in most opportunely, and more than 500*l.* was contributed by the College and its principal members. An appeal for assistance was then issued to old Etonians and the general public, explaining the proposed alterations :—

> "It is thought necessary by the College, upon the best advice they could get, to take that building down to the floor of the school if not to the foundation, and to erect another with walls of greater thickness and strength, and to carry up those walls thirty-three or thirty-four foot high, and then lay on a flat roof to be covered with lead, as all the rest of the College is, and to make a writing school with other convenient rooms below for the use of the Schoolmasters. That so the old school may be fitted up and added to the Long Chamber, which will make room enough for the whole number of Scholars and Choristers to be lodged conveniently.
>
> "There is a building within twelve or fourteen yards of the Long Chamber which may be turned into an infirmary, with accommodation enough for ten or twelve at a time, which is more than any can remember to have been sick in the College at once."[2]

A list of the contributors has been preserved, and in it may be noticed the names of the Archbishop of York, the Lord Chief Justice Holt, Lord Godolphin, and John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, the intimate friend of Provost Allestree.[3] The expenses of erecting the Upper School came to a little less than 2300*l.*, the windows and other portions of the older building being evidently used over again. All the payments passed through the hands of John Hawtrey, one of the Fellows, who was deeply interested in the scheme.[4] Etonians need scarcely be informed that the other alterations proposed were not carried out.

[1] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 61.

[2] MS. by Provost Cradock in the Library at Eton.

[3] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. pp. 61, 62.

[4] Audit Book, 1692—1693.



STAIRCASE TO THE CHAPEL AND UPPER SCHOOL.

The new Upper School seems to have been finished in 1694, when doors were hung in the gateway under the school and stairs, leading alike to the Schoolroom and to the 'Ante-chapel,' were erected at a cost of over 90*l.*[1] A curious dispute, however, arose as to the desirability of engaging a porter to attend to the new entrance. Provost Cradock entertained a very decided opinion on the subject, and thought it "not only unsafe but very dishonourable for the College to be without that officer." It was still usual for the gates of the School Yard, the Stable Yard, and the Cloister, to stand open all through the night.

> "In Mr. Rosewell's time, the schollers had frequently bottles of wine drawn up to their windows in baskets (though they are lockt in), and that is not to be prevented as long as their chamber lies open on both sides. In Dr. Roderick's time, they got a false key to their own door, and went four or five abroad at midnight, for which severall were expelled: that could not have hapned if the gates had been kept by a porter."[2]

Mischievous experiments on the locks of the Schoolroom and of the Long Chamber had always been a fruitful source of annoyance to the ruling powers;[3] but sports which would now be considered reprehensible were tolerated, and even encouraged, at Eton, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For instance, the College butcher had to provide a ram annually at Electiontide, to be hunted and killed by the scholars.[4] We first hear of this barbarous pastime in 1687, when a "ram-club" appears in the bill of "extras" for a boy named Patrick.[5] Edward Wood wrote thus to his father on the 21st of July of that year:—

> "This is to acquaent you that the electione, being near att hand, which is our usuall vacation from business and, with your leave, a time appointed for home enjoyments, and prosuming upon an old custome that you will be pleased to grant this, I further request you to send the horses for us,

[1] *Ibid.* 1694—1695. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 446.)

[2] Letter from Provost Cradock to the Bishop of Ely, 27 March 1694. *Lambeth MS.* 953, f. 18.

[3] Audit Rolls and Books, *passim.*

[4] *Sloane MS.* 4839, f. 89.

[5] Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 62, quoting *Tanner MS.* 20, f. 62.

that they may be here to-morrow about noon, which will make our journey far more pleasant, and at the least give us the satisfaction of seeing the ram die here, as is according to custome." [1]

From this it appears that while the election for scholarships at Eton and King's was being held, such Oppidans as lived within reasonable distance of Eton were able to go away for a few days. The normal holidays were still about Christmas and Whitsuntide only. There is clear evidence on this subject in some letters from Richard Barrett to his father. In the middle of November 1697, he wrote :—

"On Monday come four weeks, we break up for a month. I desire therefore you would send me an answer by next Sunday whether I shal come up to you this Christmass, because Mrs. Detton takes places for all the boys then, and I cannot get a place, for the coaches will be taken up for four or five days."

Receiving no answer, he wrote again more urgently on the 28th :—

"It makes me very melancholy to think that our breaking up is so very nigh, and I have no letter as yet to come home, for it wants now not above a fortnight before all the boys go home. I beg therefore that I may not be the only boy that is left, for it will be very lonesome for me to stay here, and besides, if you let go this opportunity, you cannot have such another till next Whitsontide." [2]

Four of Newborough's pupils, Lord Churchill, the only son of the Earl of Marlborough, the two sons of Sir Benjamin Bathurst, and a certain Peter Boscawen, were for a time called away from their studies in 1696, in order to become the playfellows of the Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne. On their arrival at the Castle, the young Duke proposed a mock battle, and they all fought in St. George's Hall with small weapons, until the sheath of Peter Bathurst's sword slipped off, and the Duke

[1] Chattock & Wood's *Sketches of Eton*, p. 58. Browne Willis was of opinion that the ram-hunt at Eton was derived from an ancient custom of the manor of East Wrotham in Norfolk, which belonged to the College. Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (ed. 1813), vol. i. p. 345 ; Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, vol i. p. 466.

[2] *Etoniana*, p. 164.

received a slight wound from the naked steel.[1] Prince George of Denmark and the Princess coming to Eton about the end of August 1697, obtained three holidays for the boys.[2]

The successful resistance of the Kingsmen to the undue exercise of the royal prerogative did not inspire the Fellows of Eton with a like spirit of independence, and on the death of Provost Cradock in 1695, they submitted without a struggle to a *mandamus* from Court.[3] It is possible that they might have acted differently if the person recommended to them had been any one less acceptable than their own Vice-Provost, Henry Godolphin, brother of the Minister. In him the College found a kind ruler and a generous benefactor. He set up the bronze statue of Henry the Sixth, by Francis Bird, in the centre of the School Yard at his own expense, and in 1700 he contributed 1000*l.* towards a fund for alterations in the Church.[4] That the sculptor whom he employed was not strong in orthography is clear from the following acknowledgement:—

"Octo. the 6, 1719.

"Recived than of the Revd. Dr. Godlphin Provess of Eaton the sume of one hondred pondes on a coumte of a brase fieger to be sate up at Eaton £100.

"Recived p. Francis Bird."[5]

The College, having expended 1800*l.* in covering the Church with a new roof described as "strong and very handsome," issued a public appeal in November 1699, for pecuniary assistance towards "beautifying and enlarging the choir of it, that so all the children of the schole" might "appear under one view." In response to this, King's College, Cambridge, contributed upwards of fifty guineas, and subscriptions were received from Bishop Patrick, Lords Godolphin and Thomond, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir Bourchier Wray, Dr. Roderick, and others.[6] Altogether 3200*l.* were collected and with that sum the interior of the Church

[1] Strickland's *Queens of England* (ed. 1854), vol. viii. pp. 51, 52.
[2] *Etoniana*, p. 163.
[3] 23 October 1695. Register, vol. iv. f. 76.
[4] *Sloane MS.* 4843, ff. 102, 103.
[5] *Etoniana*, p. 64.
[6] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 59.

was entirely renewed "according to the modell designed by Mr. Banks."

The east wall was concealed from view by an elaborate altar-piece of inlaid wood surmounted by funereal urns ; stalls and high panelling were placed in front of the old mural paintings ;



Interior of the Chapel, A.D. 1816.

and a huge organ-loft, about twenty-five feet in depth, approached by a flight of five steps, was placed across the western part of the choir. The old altar-rails were sent off to Burnham Church.[1] Seven new vaults were made, and some of the seats for the parishioners were removed into the 'ante-chapel.'[2] The new wood-work, however inappropriate to its position, was good of

[1] *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, vol. iv. p. 265.

[2] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 381.

its kind, and very costly.[1] It is popularly said to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren, but there is no mention of Eton in the published list of his works,[2] and it may safely be attributed to Hopson the joiner, or Banks the surveyor.[3] There seems to have been a good deal of *esprit de corps* among old Etonians at this period, and many of them used to meet in London once a year, in order to listen to a sermon at St. Paul's, at St. Augustine's or at St. Mary-le-Bow's, and then to dine together.[4]

When John Newborough found himself compelled by ill health to resign the post of Head Master, in 1711, he was succeeded by Andrew Snape, of King's College, a preacher of high reputation.[5] Dr. Snape was Chaplain to Queen Anne, and a favourite at Court in her reign ; but he could not adapt his theological and political views to those which became prevalent on the accession of the House of Hanover. His wrath was fairly roused by a latitudinarian sermon preached by Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, in 1717, and found vent in a pamphlet which passed through seventeen editions in the course of a few months. In proclaiming himself the upholder of the authority of the Church, of the apostolical succession, and of the duty of fervency in prayer, Snape provoked a number of answers. Pamphlet followed pamphlet, and the 'Bangorian Controversy,' as it was called, became the main subject of debate "in coffee-houses among the men, and at tea-tables with the ladies."[6] Whilst the High Church party applauded him as the champion of orthodoxy, his adversaries, generally anonymous, did not scruple to resort to personalities. One writer addressed a *Letter to the Scholars of Eaton*, and another likened Snape to Orbilius, seeking to make him contemptible in verse :—

> "Pride and ill-nature seasons all his stile,
> Each paragraph o'erflows with pedant bile.

[1] Two of the fluted oak columns are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Part of the panelling is in the hall at Frampton Park near Dorchester.

[2] Wren's *Parentalia*.

[3] Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 447.

[4] There is a list of the preachers in *Rawlinson MS.* B. 268, f. 279.

[5] 11 October 1711. Register, vol. iv. f. 88.

[6] *Letter to Dr. Snape*, p. 1.

His every period crabbed and severe
Smells of the birch, and terrifies the ear."

The Snapes had been serjeant-farriers to the Kings of England for upwards of two centuries, and were somewhat proud of the fact; but the Head Master of Eton was twitted with his low origin, and described as

"Sprung from the anvil and inured to flame."[1]

Party spirit ran so high at Eton that Thomas Thackeray, an Assistant Master of latitudinarian opinions, had to throw up his place. He afterwards became Head Master of Harrow, and was singled out by Bishop Hoadley to be Archdeacon of Wilts.

Snape's pamphlets gave great offence to the Whigs, and his name, together with that of Dean Sherlock, was summarily removed from the list of chaplains to the King.[2] Nevertheless all the exertions of the Court in favour of Edward Waddington, Fellow of Eton, failed to deter the self-willed Kingsmen from electing Snape as their Provost, in February 1720. Shortly before his departure from Eton, the number of scholars reached 399, and his detractors asserted that he had added the name of a town-boy to the list, without consulting the parents, in order to make up a total of 400.[3] His farewell speech to the boys, in May, is said to have drawn tears from their eyes.[4]

Henry Bland, a Kingsman, who succeeded Snape at Eton, belonged to a different party, being a Whig in politics, and, if we may believe contemporary scandal, an Arian in creed.[5]

"The Schole was never known to be in a more flourishing and thriving condition than under his management; having all the requisites that a master of such a schole ought to be endowed with; being a man of an exceeding fine and stately presence, of a becoming gravity, allayed with a

[1] *Cole's MS.* vol. xvi. ff. 106, 117; Snape's *Anatomy of an Horse*, 1683.
[2] *Epistolary Correspondence, etc. of Bishop Atterbury*, vol. iii. p. 342.
[3] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 270.
[4] *Hearne's Collections*, vol. vii. p. 138.
[5] Preface to Willymott's *Thomas à Kempis*.

sweetness and amiableness of temper peculiar to himself, having a continual smile upon his countenance, which yet was tempered with a proper severity and dignity upon suitable occasions."[1]

As Head Master, Bland introduced a new system of 'Declamations,' according to which two boys had to sustain opposite sides in an argument. This led to a good deal of rivalry, and, in one case, to an undignified scuffle between two of the senior Collegers. Thomas Morell has recorded how he knocked William Battie's head against the wall of the Chapel, but how he was in turn paid out "with a swinging slap on the face three days afterwards" from his adversary's mother. Mrs. Battie was indeed a very zealous champion for her son, and she had once gone so far as to charge Dr. Snape himself with postponing the time of a 'remove,' or examination, while Morell 'staid out' with a toothache. Battie afterwards set up as a physician at Uxbridge, and was befriended by Provost Godolphin, who on one occasion sent his own coach and four to fetch him to the Lodge. When the doctor was preparing to write a prescription, his patient sat up in bed and said:—"You need not trouble yourself to write. I only sent for you to give you credit in the neighbourhood."[2]

Another promising pupil of Dr. Bland, Edward Littleton, went up to King's in 1716, and wrote thence to one of his old schoolfellows, explaining the change in the nature of his studies. The classics, he says, were neglected.

"Now algebra, geometry,
Arithmetic, astronomy,
Optics, chronology, and statics,
All tiresome points of mathematics;
With twenty harder names than these,
Disturb my brains, and break my peace.
All seeming inconsistencies
Are solved by *a*'s and *b*'s;
Our senses are disprov'd by prisms,
Our arguments by syllogisms.

[1] *Cole's MS.* vol. xvi. f. 131.
[2] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. pp. 600, 601.

If I should confidently write—
This ink is black, this paper white,
Or, to express myself yet fuller,
Should say that black or white's a colour,
They'd contradict it and perplex one
With motion, light, and its reflexion,
And solve th'apparent falsehood by
The curious texture of the eye.
Should I the poker want, and take it,
When't looks as hot as fire can make it,
And burn my finger and my coat,
They'd flatly tell me 'tis not hot;
The fire, say they, has in't 'tis true
The power of causing heat in you;
But no more heat's in fire that heats you
Than there is pain in stick that beats you.

* * * *

We're told how planets roll on high,
How large their orbits, and how nigh;
I hope in little time to know
Whether the moon's a cheese or no."[1]

The author of these verses returned to Eton as an Assistant Master in 1720, and became a Fellow six years later.

A narrow manuscript roll entitled a '*Bill of Eton Schole*,'[2] and dated 1718, shows the names of 350 boys. The successive forms were called 'Bible Seat,' 'First Form,' 'Lower Remove,' 'Second Form,' 'Lower Greek,' 'Third Form,' 'Fourth Form,' 'Remove,' 'Fifth Form,' and 'Sixth Form.' The lowest of these forms contained 24 boys, the highest 33. There were eight Assistant Masters—four in each part of the School. The exact date at which the Head Master and the Usher found themselves unable to manage the whole School does not appear in the registers, as the Assistant Masters have never been reckoned members of the College. John Newborough seems to have been an Assistant about 1680, before his appointment as Usher, and after this time many Kingsmen returned to their old school to take part in the work of education.[3] Two of those who did

[1] Printed in Dodsley's *Collection of Poems*, vol. vi. p. 292.

[2] Austen Leigh's *Eton College Lists*, pp. 14—18.

[3] In *Etoniana* (p. 80) there is a list of Kingsmen stated by Harwood, in his *Alumni Etonenses*, to have been Assistant Masters. All the names

so, Thomas Johnson and William Willymott, were the authors, or editors, of books which continued to be used at Eton until the nineteenth century.[1]

Regarded only as the hired coadjutors of the Head Master and the Usher, and entirely ignored by the higher authorities, the Assistant Masters, in the reign of George the First, established a sort of club for social intercourse, hired a room, and laid in a stock of good port. When, however, the wine came to an end in 1724, the little club broke up, and their Hebe, commonly known as Sarah, was dismissed.[2]

It was once customary for the sons of wealthy persons to have private tutors, and a certain Dr. Andrew Graham acted in that capacity towards the Marquess of Graham, who was one of eight noblemen mentioned in the list of 1718.[3] These private tutors, who devoted themselves entirely to one or two boys, must not be confounded with the Assistant Masters, who not only taught in school but also had numerous pupils. The condition of the School has always borne some relation to the prosperity of the upper class of society. In 1720, the year of the South Sea scheme, there were 425 names on the 'bill,' or list; in the next year, when people were smarting under their losses, the number was reduced by nearly fifty.[4] At that period, there were generally more boys in the Lower School than in the Upper School.

Two of the existing boarding-houses, now known respectively as 'Jourdelays' and 'Godolphin House,' were built, by way of speculation, by Andrew Snape, the Head Master.[5] The former was, until altered some forty-five years ago, an interesting structure.

prior to the reign of Charles the Second are, in point of fact, those of Ushers or Lower Masters.

[1] Johnson edited '*Novus Græcorum epigrammatum et poematum Delectus in usum Scholæ Etonensis*,' of which a ninth edition was published in 1724. Willymott compiled a book on '*The peculiar use . . . of certain words in the Latin tongue*' and '*English Particles exemplified in sentences designed for Latin exercises . . . for the use of Eton School.*'

Mr. Austen Leigh gives a list of the Assistant Masters from 1698 to 1792. *Eton College Lists*, pp. xxxiv—xxxvi.

[2] Hardinge's *Poems* (ed. 1818), p. 52.

[3] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 399.

[4] *Ibid.* f. 270.

[5] *Etoniana*, p. 3.

A fair idea of the average cost of education at Eton in the early part of the eighteenth century may be obtained from some MS. bills which have been preserved. The following possesses some interest as being one of the earliest notices extant of the illustrious Lord Chatham :—

"Mr. William Pitt, his Bill. 1719.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Paid at the house where Mr. William was when he fell down | | 13 | 6 |
| paid a man and horse to go with me | | 3 | 0 |
| paid for a shaze | | 5 | 0 |
| To the surgeon for attendance, bleeding, etc. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| To the other surgeon for going to visit him | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 2 pair of stockings | | 6 | 6 |
| paid for curing his chilblanes | | 5 | 0 |
| Fire money to the Master | | 1 | 6 |
| School sweeping 8*d.*, chapell 4*d.*, water[1] 3*d.* | | 1 | 3 |
| Share of fire in his chamber to Easter | | 10 | 0 |
| 6 pound of candles | | 3 | 6 |
| A pair of garters | | | 4 |
| Halfe a year's cleaning shooes to Midsummer | | 5 | 0 |
| Worstead and thread to mend his linnen and stockings | | 1 | 0 |
| Hatter's bill | | 1 | 8 |
| Barber, a quarter | | 7 | 6 |
| Taylor's bill | | 3 | 6 |
| Shoomaker's bill | | 19 | 6 |
| Bookseller's bill | 1 | 11 | 6 |
| Writing master halfe a year Aug$^{st}$ 7$^{th}$ | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| To Mr. Burchet halfe a years tuition | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| To Mr. Good halfe a years teaching | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| For halfe a years board due Aug$^{st}$ 7$^{th}$, 1719 | 12 | 10 | 0 |
| | 29 | 0 | 3" |

Another bill for William Pitt, sent in exactly four years later, amounted to a few shillings less, many of the charges being alike. In 1723, the payment of 2*l.* 2*s.* "for halfe a year's teaching" was made to Dr. Bland, the Head Master, instead of to Francis Goode, the Usher, the boy having by that date been promoted into the Upper School. William Pitt was considered a promising

[1] In a later bill, this item appears as "cleaning the water."

scholar, as appears from the second part of the following letter addressed to his father, Robert Pitt, by the tutor William Burchett :—

"Eton, Feb. 4th, 1722.

"Sir,

"I am very much concerned that my letter should give you a fresh uneasiness, after so severe a fit of the gout. Believe me, Sir, my design was not to throw off my pupil [1] (as you understood by my letter), but to advise what appeared to me most for his advantage. He has unhappily lost a great deal of time by his own negligence, but I think his natural abilities are so good that he may recover it at the University, if he takes a good turn, which I imagine he will do upon his conversing more with men, and I am satisfied he is sufficiently furnished with Latin to enter upon those studies. Before I answered your letter, I thought it proper to talk with Dr. Bland, who has been very ill of a fever ever since I had the honour of yours, and this is the first day of his coming abroad, otherwise I had certainly wrote to you before. The Dr. presents his most humble service, and is of the same opinion with me, that your son is capable of undertaking the studies of the University, because most of the books that he will read are wrote in Latin, and it is the Greek tongue which he has found him deficient in.

"Your younger son has made a great progress since his coming hither, indeed I never was concerned with a young gentleman of so good abilities, and at the same time of so good a disposition, and there is no question to be made but he will answer all your hopes."

A letter written by William Pitt when he was almost fifteen years of age [2] does not reflect much credit on the writing master :—

"Eton, September the 29th.

"Hon$^{ed}$ Sir,

"I write this to pay my duty to you, and to lett you know that I am well. I hope you and my mama have found a great benefit from the Bath, and it would be a very great satisfaction to me to hear how you do ; I was in hopes of an answer to my last letter, to have heard how you both did, and how I

[1] Thomas Pitt, afterwards M.P., owner of Boconnoc, and father of the first Lord Camelford.

[1] Endorsed :—"From my son William, Sept$^{r}$ 29$^{th}$ received Oct$^{r}$ 10$^{th}$, 1723."

should direct my letters to you ; for not knowing how to direct my letters, has hindered me writing to you, my time has been pretty much taken up for this three weaks, in my trying for to gett into the fiveth form, and I am now removed into it ; pray my duty to mama and service to my uncle and aunt Stuart if now att the Bath.

"I am with great respect,
"Hon[ed] Sir,
"Your most dutiful son,
"W. Pitt."[1]

It has been observed that William Pitt had three remarkable schoolfellows—Charles Pratt, George Lyttelton, and Henry Fox—each of whom became, like himself, an eminent statesman and the founder of a peerage.[2] The second of these, while still at Eton, wrote his *Soliloquy of a beauty in the country* and another short poem *On Good Humour*, in which he mentions "Pitt's genius" as early as 1727.

Another of Bland's disciples was Thomas Augustine Arne, afterwards famous as the composer of *Rule Britannia.*

"Even while he was at Eton, his love for music operated on him too powerfully for his own peace or that of his companions ; for with a miserable, cracked, common flute, he used to torment them day and night, when not obliged to attend the school."[3]

Nichols has printed one of the bills of a certain Walter Gough who boarded at Bartlet's in 1726, amounting in all to 22*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* for half a year. Several of the items correspond with those in William Pitt's bills, the only distinctive feature being an advance of 2*s.* 6*d.* to the boy on the 1st of March "for St. David," on account of his Welsh origin. The charge for "half a year's board and study" was ten guineas. For the same period, the Head Master received two guineas, and the writing-master one guinea, no separate charge being made for tuition by an Assistant Master. In a bill for a son of Edward Wood of Littleton, rendered by Margaret Bush in 1724, the charge for half a year's "boord (*sic*) and study" is ten guineas, so that one may fairly

[1] The MSS. quoted above occur in a small 4to volume of Lord Chatham's Letters, preserved at Dropmore.

[2] Creasy's *Eminent Etonians*, p. 276.

[3] Burney's *History of Music.*

put down the cost of living in the house of a 'domine' or 'dame' at this period at 21*l.* a year.

A charge for coach-hire on the 18th of May in Gough's bill tends to show that the holidays began a little before Whitsuntide, as in the previous century. So again, Dr. Bland mentions "the present holidays" in a letter written on the 25th of May 1728.[1]

During part of his career at Eton, Walter Gough was the pupil of Edward Littleton, but the latter was elected to a Fellowship in 1726, and consequently obliged to give up his tutorial duties.[2] Two of the previous seven vacancies among the Fellows had been caused by the elevation of William Fleetwood, and Stephen Weston, respectively, to bishoprics.

The name of Weston still survives at Eton in the designation of the triangular space which used to be called the 'Stable Yard,' where he occupied a house bounded on one side by the Playing Fields and on another by the Slough Road. A biographer says of him :—

> "Having been for a great part of his life engaged in the business of a schoolmaster, and at the head of a parcel of boys, he was too apt to consider himself in the same position at the head of his clergy, who were much dissatisfied with him upon that account, as also upon his rough and unhewn manner of behaviour."[3]

He had been Usher from 1693 to 1707.

Another Etonian bishop, Edward Waddington, was allowed to hold his Fellowship *in commendam*, very much to his own advantage if not to that of his diocese. He eventually bequeathed his valuable library to Eton College.[4]

Richard Hill, who was elected Fellow in 1714, had, while in deacon's orders, been successively envoy to Brussels, Paymaster of the Forces in Flanders, envoy to Bavaria, Ambassador at the Hague, a Lord of the Treasury and a Commissioner of the Admiralty. On resigning his civil appointments, he had been ordained priest, but so lightly did he esteem his sacred profession,

[1] *Etoniana*, p. 48.
[2] Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. iii. p. 239.
[3] *Cole's MS.* vol. xvi. f. 76.
[4] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 103.

that he omitted all mention of it from the epitaph which he composed for his own tombstone.[1] As he was neither a Kingsman nor an Etonian, he was not statutably qualified. His appointment was perhaps political.

John Hawtrey, another Fellow, gave to the College the advowson of Burnham Church; and the advowsons of the churches of Worplesdon, Farnham Royal, and Clewer were acquired about the same time from the Duke of Somerset, in exchange for that of Petworth Church, which was situated near one of his residences.[2]

A claim of the Provost and Fellows to 15*l.* a year in compensation for the three tuns of Gascon wine granted by Henry the Sixth, and of 4*l.* 4*s.* a year for an impost duty granted by Elizabeth, was admitted by the Treasury in 1702; but their claim for arrears since 1674 and 1672 was surrendered in consideration of a renewal from the Crown of the lease of the *Christopher* Inn, which was important to them on account of its situation, close to the College.[3]

Out of the ordinary revenue they were able to make several structural alterations in the College which can hardly be regarded as improvements. In 1691, they paid upwards of 130*l.* "for making the staires into the Hall, for paving the Hall, and for other worke," which probably included the mutilation of the original archway over the stairs leading from the Cloister to the Hall.[4] The Hall itself was repaired "according to Mr. Rowland's model" in 1720, when the brickwork on the outside of it was apparently substituted for stone. At the end of the same year, it was resolved to build a new Library, octagonal in form and surmounted by a dome, in the Brew-house Yard to the east of the Church. This scheme was, however, abandoned in 1725, in favour of a design by Rowland, according to which the southern walk of the Cloister and the Gallery above it were

[1] *Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard Hill*, Preface. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[2] Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. iii. p. 99.

[3] S. P. Dom. Elizabeth, vol. xlviii. no. 45; Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 51; *Treasury Papers*, vol. lxxviii. no. 57.

This hostelry was in existence as early as the year 1523, when a certain Nicholas Williams is mentioned as lodging "*ad signum Christoferi*." Audit Book, 1522—1523.

[4] Audit Book, 1690—1691. (Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 453.)

to be demolished and a Library erected on the site, resting upon massive piers and round arches. The Gallery thus condemned had, since 1676, served as the storehouse of the books belonging to the College. In December 1719, it had been resolved "to take the chains off the books in the Library, except the Founder's manuscripts." [1] Rowland's design was carried out within four years of its adoption, at a cost of about 4000*l.*, part of which was raised by subscription. While the work was in progress, the books were deposited in a room hired for the purpose.[2] The collection had not materially increased since the palmy days of Savile and Wotton, but the new shelves were scarcely finished before books, and donations of money for the purchase of books, began to pour in. John, Lord Berkeley of Stratton, Nicholas Mann, Master of the Charterhouse, John Reynolds, Henry Godolphin the Provost, and Lord Palmerston were among the more notable benefactors.

Three sides of the mediæval cloister had been already somewhat disfigured in 1725 by the erection of dwarf walls from pier to pier, surmounted by iron railings preventing access to the greensward which they surround.[3] The area of this greensward was considerably reduced by the building of the Library, which is wider than the structure which it replaced. In 1706 or 1707, the School Yard, previously laid out in grass plots intersected by paths, was drained and paved with stone.[4] It was about this period that the Head Master and the Lower Master ceased to occupy their respective rooms, at the western and eastern ends of the Long Chamber, and migrated into private houses. At any rate we find that George and Cooke, successively Head Masters from 1728 to 1745, occupied the central house in Weston's Yard, and from 1718 to 1745 two successive Ushers, Goode and Sumner, lodged next door.[5] For administrative purposes the Head Master retained his second Chamber, on the ground floor at the western end of the Lower School, while the Usher continued to use 'Lower Master's Chamber,' a room, under the eastern part

[1] Minute Book.
[2] Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp 452, 454, 455.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 459.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 463.
[5] *Etoniana*, p. 14. The Head Master's rent was 21*l.* a year. Minute Book, 18 October 1743.

of Long Chamber, that had been fitted up for him in 1679, some three years after the removal from it of Sir Henry Savile's book-cases and the whole library of the College.[1]

Dr. Bland's appointment to the Deanery of Durham caused him to resign the office of Head Master in the spring of 1728, but he retained his house at Eton a few months longer. He owed his promotion to his friendship with Walpole and his steady adherence to the Whig party, on whose behalf he used to write pamphlets and articles. Pope scoffs at

> "gratis-given Bland,
> Sent with a pass, and vagrant through the land."[2]

In October 1728, Bland rendered good service to the Government by receiving as his guest, either at Eton or at Windsor, the Duke of Ripperda, one of the most extraordinary adventurers who has ever fled to England for refuge.[3]

Some of the "old plate" belonging to the College, "viz. spoons, tumblers, &c." was unfortunately "exchanged for new," in 1727.[4]

[1] Willis & Clark, vol. i. p. 454.
[2] *The Dunciad*, i. l. 232, 233.
[3] Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole* (ed. 1798), vol. i. p. 318; vol. ii. pp. 615, 616.
[4] Minute Book.



College Plate, hall-marked 1698—1701.




## 1728—1760.

William George—Jacob Bryant—Horace Walpole—Gray's *Ode*—Visits of the Duke of Cumberland—Francis Goode—A Contested Election at King's—William Cooke—School List of 1745—John Burton—Visit of George II.

WILLIAM GEORGE, who succeeded Henry Bland in the office of Head Master in 1728,[1] and married his daughter, was a scholar of the approved Etonian type, especially skilled in the composition of Latin verses;[2] but he is said to have been wanting in common sense and practical ability. One of his pupils, Charles Pratt, afterwards Lord Chancellor, describes him as naturally good-natured, yet ridiculous from his pedantic manners.

> "He undertook the care of that School without parts, of the kind I mean that was necessary to govern it. This brought him under difficulties from which he had not either sense or spirit enough to extricate himself. These plagues and vexations wrought upon his temper, and made him sour. His absurdity, the gift of Nature, still remained; and by

[1] 29 May 1728. Eton Register, vol. iv. f. 116.

[2] Some iambics written by George, when Provost of King's, upon the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, were known as the 'Cardinal's verses,' because Pope Benedict XIV. laid a cardinal's hat upon a copy of them, as a symbol of the honour which he would have conferred upon their author if he had been a Roman Catholic. Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v. p. 339; vol. ix. pp. 575, 581.

working upon a mind crossed by ill-success, made him not only foolish, but proud, ill-mannerly, and brutal."[1]

In the second summer of his administration at Eton, there was an unprecedented rebellion among the scholars, "the whole government of the school" being in a "state of anarchy." His own conduct in dealing with the outbreak is said to have been "so weak as to invite another."[2] On the other hand, we read that his severity earned for him the nickname of 'Dionysius the Tyrant':—

> "He at whose name (what they deny to God)
> Beaus, soldiers, senators, with rev'rence nod,
> And why? why still they fear the lashes of his rod."[3]

Dr. George was not too courteous to ladies. When a would-be blue-stocking repeated a few Latin verses to him over a card-table as a specimen of her attainments, he remarked brusquely:—"Madam, if you were in the lowest form of the Upper School, I should lay you upon our block for that recitation, which contains in three lines two false quantities, and the same number of concords equally false."[4] Frederick, Prince of Wales, is said to have peeped through a chink in the doors of the Upper School one morning, and to have been greatly amused at the bombastic style in which the Head Master was explaining Homer.[5]

If judged by statistics, George's administration cannot be accounted successful. When he took office, the total number of boys in the School was about 378; within three years it had sunk to 212, and it did not in his time recover beyond 265.

A list of the boys educated at Eton under George would include the names of several of the most distinguished English statesmen and writers of the eighteenth century, but the records of their school-days are scanty. Jacob Bryant, the mythologist,

[1] Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. i. p. 564.

[2] *Letter-books of John, Earl of Bristol*, vol. iii. pp. 49, 50.

[3] Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 620.

[4] Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. iii. p. 807.

[5] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. p. 433. The details of the story there given can hardly be correct, for Ayscough was not appointed tutor to the young princes until about two years after George had resigned his post at Eton.

did indeed in after years surprise George the Third with an account of his performances, which has found a place in Miss Burney's Diary :—

"'You were an Etonian, Mr. Bryant,' said the King, 'but, pray, for what were you most famous at school?' We all expected, from the celebrity of his scholarship, to hear him answer his Latin exercises; but no such thing! 'Cudgelling, Sir; I was most famous for that.' While a general laugh followed this speech, he very gravely proceeded to particularise his feats: though unless you could see the diminutive figure, the weak, thin, feeble, little frame whence issued his proclamation of his powers, you can but very inadequately judge of the comic effect of his big talk. 'Your Majesty, Sir, knows General Conway? I broke his head for him, Sir.' The shout which ensued did not at all interfere with the steadiness of his further detail. 'And there's another man, Sir, a great stout fellow, Sir, as ever you saw—Dr. Gibbon of the Temple—I broke his head, too, Sir; I don't know if he remembers it.'"[1]

Bryant's physical powers were better employed on another occasion in rescuing Edward Barnard, afterwards Provost, from a watery grave in the Thames.[2]

In genuine love of Eton few have ever surpassed Horace Walpole. He used often to revert with pleasure to his "quadruple alliance" with Ashton, Gray, and West, and on the occasion of a visit to his old haunts, he wrote the following letter, full of Eton slang, to his friend George Montagu :—

"Christopher Inn, Eton.

"The Christopher—Lord! how great I used to think anybody just landed at the Christopher! But here are no boys for me to send for—here I am, like Noah, just returned into his old world again, with all sorts of queer feels about me. By the way, the clock strikes the old cracked sound. I recollect so much, and remember so little, and want to play about, and am so afraid of my playfellows, and am ready to shirk Ashton, and can't help making fun of myself, and envy a dame over the way, that has just locked in her boarders, and is going to sit down in a little hot parlour to a very bad supper, so comfortably; and I could be so jolly a dog if I did

[1] Madame D'Arblay's *Diary*, vol. i. 325.

[2] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 669; vol. viii. p. 534.

not fat, which, by the way, is the first time the word was ever applicable to me. In short, I should be out of all bounds if I was to tell you half I feel, how young again I am in one minute, and how old the next. But do come and feel with me, when you will—to-morrow—adieu! If I don't compose myself a little more before Sunday morning, when Ashton is to preach, I shall certainly be in a bill for laughing at Church; but how to help it, to see him in the pulpit, when the last time



The Christopher Inn, A.D. 1828.[1]

I saw him here was standing up funking over against a Conduct to be catechised." [2]

From the lively Walpole, we must turn to his friend and schoolfellow, Thomas Gray, whose vein of melancholy is nowhere more perceptible than in his celebrated *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College*.[3]

"Ye distant Spires, ye antique Towers,
That crown the watry Glade,

[1] From a drawing by J. Buckler lately in the possession of Dr. Goodford.

[2] *Letters of Horace Walpole* (ed. Cunningham), vol. i. p. 15; Tovey's *Gray and his Friends*, p. 3.

[3] As some justification for printing any part of a poem so well known, I have copied the spelling and the punctuation of the original folio edition of 1747. There is a translation of this Ode in the *Musæ Etonenses* for 1772.

Where grateful Science still adores
Her *Henry's* holy Shade ;
And ye that from the stately Brow
Of WINDSOR's Heights th' Expanse below
Of Grove, of Lawn, of Mead survey,
Whose Turf, whose Shade, whose Flowers among
Wanders the hoary *Thames* along
His Silver-winding Way.

" Ah happy Hills,[1] ah pleasing Shade,
Ah Fields belov'd in vain,
Where once my careless Childhood stray'd,
A stranger yet to Pain !
I feel the Gales that from ye blow,
A momentary Bliss bestow,
As waving fresh their gladsome Wing,
My weary Soul they seem to sooth,
And, redolent of Joy and Youth,
To breathe a second Spring.

" Say, Father *Thames*, for thou hast seen
Full many a sprightly Race
Disporting on thy Margent green
The Paths of Pleasure trace,
Who foremost now delight to cleave
With pliant Arm thy glassy Wave ?
The captive Linnet which enthrall ?
What idle Progeny succeed
To chase the rolling Circle's Speed,
Or urge the flying Ball ?

" While some on earnest Business bent
Their murm'ring Labours ply,
'Gainst graver Hours, that bring Constraint
To sweeten Liberty :
Some bold Adventurers disdain
The Limits of their little Reign,
And unknown Regions dare descry :
Still as they run they look behind,
They hear a Voice in every Wind,
And snatch a fearful Joy.

[1] Moultrie's emendation—substituting "Rills" for "Hills," is very tempting, as more applicable to the flat country round Eton.

"Gay Hope is theirs by Fancy fed,
Less pleasing when possest;
The Tear forgot as soon as shed,
The Sunshine of the Breast:
Theirs buxom Health of rosy Hue,
Wild Wit, Invention ever-new,
And lively Chear of Vigour born;
The thoughtless Day, the easy Night,
The Spirits pure, the Slumbers light,
That fly th' Approach of Morn."

Several of the expressions have been severely criticized, and many Etonians will endorse Lord Carlisle's remark that "rollicking carelessness" would describe the feelings of a boy out of bounds better than "fearful joy."

Gray's enumeration of Eton pastimes does not profess to be complete. Horace Walpole mentions games of cricket and expeditions against bargemen as popular in his school-days,[1] and the ram-hunt used to be maintained with spirit at Electiontide year after year. The young Duke of Cumberland came to take part in this sport, on the 1st of August 1730.

> The Captain of the School presented him with a ram-club, with which H.R.H. struck the first stroke. H.R.H. was in at the death of the ram, and his club was bloodyed according to custom. There was afterwards a speech made by the Captain of the School,[2] at which the Duke was present. He then proceeded to see the Hall, the Library, School, and the Long Chamber, and it was generally observed that H.R.H. returned to Windsor very well pleased.[3]

It was on one of these occasions that an active ram crossed the Thames, and ran through the market-place at Windsor with the young hunters in full cry after it. Such severe exercise in summer being deemed dangerous to the health of the boys, the unfortunate rams were thenceforth hamstrung, and, after the regular speech, deliberately beaten to death in Weston's Yard.

[1] *Letters of Horace Walpole*, 6 May 1736.

[2] William Cooke, afterwards Head Master and Fellow of Eton, and Provost of King's. The speech is printed in his *Musæ Juveniles*. There is an allusion to this visit in the *Musæ Etonenses*, vol. ii. p. 115:—

"*Arietis ad mortem venisti claviger.*"

[3] *Rawlinson MS.* B. 266, f. 153.

The custom became so utterly barbarous after this alteration, that it was finally abolished in 1747 ; but as late as 1760 a ram was served up in pasties at the high table in Hall, at the great dinner on Election Monday.[1]

The Duke of Cumberland's tutor, Stephen Poyntz, a Kingsman, obtained a reversionary grant of the Provostship during the lifetime of Godolphin ; but when the place actually became vacant in 1732, he lost it through not being in holy orders.[2] Sir Robert Walpole bestowed it on his old schoolfellow and supporter, Henry Bland, formerly Head Master, whom he had already appointed Dean of Durham.[3] This Prime Minister's constant patronage of Kingsmen and Etonians was a cause of annoyance to many persons who had not been so fortunate as to know him in his earlier years.[4] One of his visits to Eton is thus recorded by a Fellow, who was probably a Tory in politics :—

"Mem. August 7, 1735, being the Thursday in Election week, William Duke of Cumberland, attended by his governour Mr. Pointz and his sub-governour Mr. Windham, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Walpole, and Edward Walpole Esq^r., Lord Chancellor Talbot and his son William Talbot Esq^r., the Duke of St. Albans, Lord Charles Cavendish, Lord Ila,[5] and Lord Tankerville, all bred at Eton, Duke of Devonshire, Lord Harvy, Lord Harcourt, Mr. Winnington and others, came to Eton to hear the publick exercises. For what purpos the Provost's Hall was fitted up with a Hautpas at the upper end and a chair of state upon it, at the lower end a place was raised and railed in large enough for three boys to speak abreast. The great company satt in chairs semicircularly placed of each side the Hall, the rest stood behind. The Duke and company were first entertained at breakfast in the Election Chamber, there being three tables, the one of fruit, another of sweetmeats and cakes, the other of venison pasty, etc. Tea, coffee and chocolate were brought as called for. I believe there was four score people partook of this breakfast. The exercises began with Declamations on this subject—*Spectant me mille loquentem*. Then followed long copies of verses on the King

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4839, f. 89.
[2] *Rawlinson MS.* B. 265, f. 20.
[3] Carlisle's *History of the Bland Family*.
[4] *Cole's MS.* vol. xvi. f. 133.
[5] Afterwards Duke of Argyll.

and Queen and Duke and Chancellor, but mostly on Sir Robert, and lastly extempore verses on the same subjects but from different Themes. 'Tis to be wished that these performances may be lost and forgott, that posterity may not see how abandoned this place was to flattery when Dr. B—— was Provost and when Sir Robert was first Minister. However the boys performed so well, that afterwards at dinner there was a collection made of about 140 guineas for the fourteen boys that spoke, besides 100*l.* given to the College. The present shewed the design of the Duke to be a compliment to the College, but the Provost took all possible care that we should have no share in the compliment, though we had in the disposing of the present. For he received the Duke, unattended by his Fellows, nor did he present them. They walked about as strangers within their own walls." [1]

It was probably on this occasion that the Duke of Cumberland provided the College with the green rugs which used to be annually displayed on the beds of the Scholars during the Election week, until the subdivision of the Long Chamber some sixty years ago. The obsequious verses are preserved in the British Museum,[2] as is also a volume of Latin poems addressed to Queen Caroline by the Eton scholars, in 1732, on the subject of her Hermitage in Richmond Park.[3] The boys were not allowed to be idle in Dr. George's time, if we may judge by the following letter written to the Duke of Newcastle by one of the private tutors named Hume, in July 1733:—

"I am to make my Lord Lincoln's excuses for not writing, which considering all things a'n't bad ones. He has twice as much book (*sic*) and desire to play as ever he had in his life, and cant find a moments leisure. From construing and pearcing (*sic*) Greek he is gon to make verses, and from verses to prose, and from prose to Greek again; what time for letters? and what a change from Claremont? Nevertheless the number of boys in the same case with himself makes the pill go down, tho' 'tis a bitter one. He has been examined by the Doctor and is placed in the 4th Form last remove, till further trial, tho' I am of opinion 'tis better to keep them there than to hurry

[1] MS. in the Library at Eton.

[2] *Royal MS.* $\frac{315}{271.e}$

[3] *Royal MS.* $\frac{313}{273.e}$

him through the school too fast. He is perfectly well in health." [1]

A memorandum made about this period gives information about the emoluments of the Schoolmaster and the Usher :—

"The Master of Eaton School has one allocation of 50*l.* per annum and another of 12*l.* in all 62*l.* per annum. Besides this, he has commons of all kinds, bread, beer, and easements of all sorts, without paying a single farthing. This cannot easily be computed at less than 10*s.* per week. Besides his own lodgings which he inhabits, he has spare room enough, which he lets to the boys for studies, and which brings him is usually 8*l.* per annum. The Master receives a guinea entrance of all the boys both in the Upper and Lower School ; but as for annual gratuities he receives only from those who are under him in the Upper School. When any money is given the known sum is four guineas per annum, and hardly ever varies by being more or less.

"N.B. No money is ever demanded, and it is supposed that one time with another about one third of the boys pay nothing."

"The Usher of Eaton School has only an allocation of 19*l.* per annum. He has no right to any commons at all, but is generally, I think always, invited to the Fellows' table, and pays nothing. He has lodgings for himself and as much more as he lets to the boys for studies for about 6*l.* per annum. The Usher receives a guinea entrance from those only who are under him. He receives likewise gratuities from the Lower School only. These gratuities are always the same as in the Upper School, viz. four guineas." [2]

In point of form, some respect was still paid to the statute of Henry the Sixth which forbade the Master and the Usher to exact, seek, or claim any payment from the Scholars, the Choristers or the other boys under their charge, or from their parents or friends. Curiously enough, the memorandum altogether ignores the 'leaving money' which certainly formed part of the Head Master's emoluments in the eighteenth century.

An advertisement in the *London Evening Post*, of 9 November

[1] *The Academy*, 15 May 1875.
[2] Kirby's *Annals of Winchester*, p. 401. The document is not dated.

1731, affords a curious insight into the manner in which the Usher used to eke out his living :—

> "Whereas Mr. Franc. Goode, under-master of Eaton, does here by signify that there will be at Christmas next, or soon after, two vacancies in his school—viz. as assistants to him and tutors to the young gents; if any two gentlemen of either University (who have commenced the degree of B.A. at least) shall think themselves duly qualified, and are desirous of such an employment, let them enquire of John Potts, pickleman in Gracious Street, or at Mr. G.'s own house in Eaton College, where they may purchase the same at a reasonable rate, and on conditions fully to their own satisfaction. F. Goode.
>
> "N.B.—It was very erroneously reported that the last place was disposed of under 40*s*."

This Francis Goode has been sometimes confounded with his elder brother, Barnham, immortalized by Pope as

> "Sneering Goode, half malice and half whim,
> A fiend in glee, ridiculously grim." [1]

Both of them were Kingsmen, and, although the younger aspired to succeeding Newborough as Head Master in 1711, he did not obtain the inferior office of Usher until 1717. Cole describes him as "a most easy and good-tempered man, and though no great scholar, yet sufficient for the post he held in the schole, where he was much beloved by his scholars." He also mentions "his easy and pleasant way of instilling his instructions into the boys, who seemed rather to be entertaining themselves with their familiars than at schole while he was explaining Ovid or Terence to them." Goode resigned in 1734, not too well satisfied with the treatment which he had received from the Head Master, Dr. George, and from his Whig friends.[2]

A severe contest for the Provostship of King's College began in the autumn of 1742, several months before the death of Dr. Snape. Ralph Thicknesse, an Assistant Master at Eton, was at one time considered to have the best chance, and he had just made arrangements for taking the necessary degree in divinity, when he fell down dead at a concert where he was playing the

[1] *The Dunciad*, iii. 153.
[2] *Cole's MS.* vol. xvi. f. 144; Allen's Catalogue of King's Scholars, MS.

first fiddle in a composition of his own.[1] The Head Master of Eton was supported by the Earl of Orford and some of the Whigs, while Thomas Thackeray and John Chapman were the candidates favoured by the other parties. A letter from Cambridge thus describes the proceedings, which lasted thirty-one hours :—

> "The Fellows went into Chapel on Monday, before noon, in the morning, as the Statute directs. After prayers, and sacrament, they began to vote—22 for George; 16 for Thackeray; 10 for Chapman. Thus they continued, scrutinizing and walking about, eating, and sleeping; some of them smoaking. Still the same numbers for each candidate, till yesterday about noon (for they held that in the 48 hours allowed for the Election no adjournment could be made) when the Tories, Chapman's friends, refusing absolutely to concur with either of the two other parties, Thackeray's votes went over to George by agreement, and he was declared.
>
> "A friend of mine, a curious man, tells me he took a survey of his brothers at the hour of two in the morning, and that never was a more curious, or a more diverting spectacle. Some, wrapped in blankets, erect in their stalls like mummies; others asleep on cushions, like so many Gothic tombs. Here a red cap over a wig; there a face lost in the cape of a rug. One blowing a chafing-dish with a surplice sleeve; another warming a little negus, or sipping 'Coke upon Littleton,' *i.e.* tent and brandy. Thus did they combat the cold of that frosty night, which has not killed any of them, to my infinite surprize."[2]

William Cooke, one of the Assistant Masters, who was appointed to succeed Dr. George at Eton, broke down in health within three years and had to resign. The boys were glad enough to escape from his severe discipline.[3] He afterwards incurred the enmity of William Cole the antiquary, who made no attempt to conceal his own feelings in the following biographical sketch :—

[1] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ix. pp. 252, 253, 743.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 701, 702; Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. i. p. 95; vol. iii. p. 140.

[3] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. p. 587; vol. ix. pp. 629–631.

"William Cook, D.D. Fellow of King's, Assistant at Eton, made Master of the Schole, for which post being found not equal, he was made Fellow of the College to let him down gently; and to get rid of his impertinence, insolence, and other unamiable qualities, he was strongly recommended to be Provost of King's on Dr. Sumner's death. It is not the first time a man's unsocial and bad disposition has been the occasion of his advancement. I know the College would be delighted to kick him up higher, so that they could get rid of a formal, important pedant, who will be a schoolmaster in whatever station of life his fortune may advance him to." [1]

The studied acrimony of such a passage is almost enough to make one doubt its justice, and closer enquiry proves that there was an interval of at least a year and a half between Cooke's resignation of the Head Mastership and his election to a Fellowship. It is almost superfluous to observe that the old Etonians at King's knew well enough what sort of man they were unanimously choosing to preside over their College, but it is not improbable that a boy who published a Greek tragedy while still at Eton grew up somewhat of a pedant. Cooke's profile was exactly delineated in an engraving in Spence's *Polymetis*, representing an ass dressed as a schoolmaster, and, although it has since been contended that the likeness was accidental, it is certain that the plate had to be omitted from the second edition of the book.[2]

The number of boys at Eton, which, in the days of Newborough, of Snape, and of Bland, had sometimes exceeded 400, was very considerably smaller during the administrations of William George and William Cooke, the decrease in the Lower School being specially remarkable. A List of the year 1745 gives the names of 244 boys, of whom 131 were subject to the 'Upper Master' and only 113 to the 'Lower Master.' Inasmuch as there were three 'Upper Assistants,' and a like number of 'Lower Assistants,' the proportion of the masters to boys was about 1 to 32 in the Upper School and 1 to 28 in the Lower School. The Sixth Form consisted exclusively of Collegers,

[1] *Cole's MS.* vol. xlvii. f. 213.

[2] Spence's *Anecdotes* (ed. Singer), p. xiii. See the engraving at the end of the 17th chapter of *Polymetis*.

11 in number. In the School-lists of the earlier part of the eighteenth century, it was customary to place noblemen at the top of their respective forms, followed by the sons of noblemen, and again by baronets. This practice was, however, gradually abandoned, and although maintained in the Fourth Form for a considerable time, it came to an end in 1737.

In this connexion, it may be observed that the designation of 'Mr.' prefixed to the names of the sons of noblemen, who would elsewhere be styled 'Hon.' is to be found in successive Lists from 1698 to the present time.[1] Although it does not in this sense form part of the common vocabulary of Eton, a boy in the Fifth Form at the end of the eighteenth century mentions two of his contemporaries as "Mr. Lysaght" and "Mr. Butler," the one being a son of Lord Lisle and the other a son of the Earl of Ormonde.[2]

From John Murray, a boy of sixteen, named in the List of 1745, there is an interesting letter written at Eton, in September of that year, to his uncle, the Duke of Atholl :—

> "A late piece of news has quite shook me, and I am no longer able to bear up against it, which is that my father has declared for the Praetender, which of all things I was most afraid of, but as Your Grace, who has so long been at the charge of my education, is for King George, and as his Majestie has given me such an early mark of his favours as to make me a Captain, I shall lay down my life and shall spend the last drop of my blood in his service."
>
> "I should be very much obliged to you if you would let me leave school and come down to Scotland, for I don't dout but that I could handle a broadsword or a musket well enough, for there are a great many younger than I am who are both fighting in Flanders and else whare ; and what I want in strength I shall make up in willingness." [3]

John Sumner, who was appointed Head Master in succession to Cooke in 1745,[4] and Stephen Sleech, who was elected Provost in the following year, in succession to Bland, do not demand any

[1] Austen Leigh's *Eton College Lists*, p. xli.

[2] Letter from M. Hicks Beach [May 1796].

[3] *Cornhill Magazine*, N. S. vol. xxiv. pp. 747, 748.

[4] 23 December 1745. Register, vol. iv. f. 145.

particular notice. Both these surnames occur frequently in the list of Scholars elected from Eton to King's. One very natural consequence of the release of the Fellows from compulsory celibacy, was that they became closely connected with one another by intermarriage, and, before the days of genuine examinations, the members of certain families looked upon Scholarships at Eton, and Fellowships at King's, almost as part of their birthright. Successive generations of Hawtreys, Carters, and Thackerays, for example, alike derived substantial benefits from the bounty of King Henry the Sixth.[1]

John Burton, by far the most distinguished Fellow of Eton in the middle of the eighteenth century, was an Oxonian, and obtained his place through having been tutor to a son of Dr. Bland. In 1733, he was presented to the living of Mapledurham, vacant by the death of Dr. Edward Littleton ;

> "He found the widow and her daughter at the parsonage house, and desired them to remain there. Some time after, a neighbouring clergyman happened to call on him, and found Mrs. Littleton shaving John Burton. He told him that the thing was indecent, and ought to be set to rights. Burton proposed marriage and was accepted."

After the death of his wife, Dr. Burton resided chiefly at Eton, where he used to give lessons in divinity at his own house to certain of the boys.[2] Some of his works were published on the spot by Joseph Pote, an enterprising man, best known for his *History of Windsor* and the *Registrum Regale*.[3] The Eton boys had little sympathy with commercial pursuits, and used to sing :—

> "Jos Pote of Eton, a man of great renown,
> Buys a book for sixpence, and sells it for a crown."

The Eton press was in the hands of Joseph Pote's descendants until 1882, and many members of the family have been educated on the foundation.

[1] See the instructive genealogies appended to Mr. R. A. Austen Leigh's edition of the *Eton School List of 1771*.

[2] Kippis's *Biographia Britannica*, addenda; Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, and *Illustrations of Literature; Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xli. p. 305; *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[3] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ii. p. 418.

Two Fellows, Thomas Evans and John Reynolds, an uncle of Sir Joshua, deserve notice among the benefactors to the College, the former as the donor of the advowson of Hitcham Church, the latter as the founder of three Exhibitions for superannuated Scholars, worth about 50*l.* a-piece.

Roger Huggett, who was appointed one of the Conducts, or Chaplains, in 1737, was, some four years later, entrusted with the care of "the books and drawings in the Library," with instructions "to show them at hours proper and convenient." [1] Undertaking researches into the history of the College, he somehow obtained access to the statutes, which, he says, had been carefully concealed, and he eventually committed to paper some severe reflections on the Provost and Fellows collectively. After making the fullest allowance for the change in the value of money since the middle of the fifteenth century, it is abundantly clear that the Fellows were in receipt of incomes much larger than those provided for them by the Founder, much larger too than those enjoyed by contemporary Fellows of Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.

This chapter may close with an extract from a London newspaper of the year 1747 :—

> "*August* 11*th*. King George II. visited the College and School of Eton, when, on a short notice, Master Slater of Bedford, Master Masham of Reading, and Master Williams of London, spoke each a Latin speech (most probably made by their masters) with which his Majesty seemed exceedingly well pleased and obtained for them a week's holiday. To the young orators five guineas each had been more acceptable." [2]

[1] Minute Book, 20 May 1741. | [2] *Rawlinson MS.* B. 266, f. 159.




## ETON LIFE IN 1766.

THERE is an interval of about two hundred years between the date of William Malim's *Consuetudinarium*,[1] and that of another highly interesting manuscript which gives a minute account of the system of education pursued at Eton in the early part of the reign of George the Third, a system which continued almost unaltered until about seventy years ago, and of which some traces remain even in these days of scholastic reform. The document in question was drawn up in 1766, and annotated in the course of the next five years, by Thomas James, a Kingsman, who subsequently acquired a great reputation as Head Master of Rugby.[2] A somewhat lengthy abstract of its contents may legitimately be given.

It reveals a much milder form of discipline than that which prevailed under Malim, one radical difference being that, whereas in the sixteenth century all the work was done in school, in the eighteenth century the boys prepared most of their lessons in their own rooms, a change which was due partly to the reduction in the price of books, and partly to the introduction of the

[1] See Chapter viii.

[2] It is now in the possession of Mr. L. Vernon Harcourt, who acquired it from the Rev. C. C. James, formerly an Assistant Master at Eton. The whole of it has been recently printed in *Etoniana*, pp. 97–108, 113–119.

tutorial system. The general tendency of society towards later hours for rising and for going to bed, had also affected Eton, and the increase in the number of boys belonging to the aristocratic and leisured class may to some extent account for the great extension of the time allowed for recreation.

In a regular week, Tuesday was a whole holiday, Thursday generally a half-holiday, and Saturday a 'play-at-four.' On the three stricter working days, the normal school-hours lasted from eight to nine, from eleven to twelve, from three to four, and from five to six, except that on Friday the first lesson in the afternoon lasted from two to half-past three. It is expressly stated that "Friday's business" was considered "very material," and that it should be interfered with as little as possible. On Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, in a regular week, the boys in the Fourth Form had to get up earlier than their elders, for 'six o'clock lesson,' which in reality began a little before seven, and lasted about three-quarters of an hour. The Lower School also had 'six o'clock lesson' on four or five days of the week in summer.

Whole holidays in the eighteenth century were not abridged by early school, as in recent times, and the boys were free to lie in bed later than usual, being only obliged to answer to their names at 'absence' in the School Yard at nine o'clock. They had, however, to spend the hour between ten and eleven in School and to attend Church at eleven, and again at three. On half-holidays, the Fifth Form Præpostor read morning prayers in school at noon, and the boys had to be at 'absence' at two, and at Church at three. In summer, 'absence' was called at six o'clock on all holidays, half-holidays, and 'play-at-fours'; in winter, the boarding-houses were locked up at six, and the Assistant Masters went round to call over the names in each house between seven and eight. The half-holiday on Thursday in regular weeks used to be granted by the Provost, at the request of a member of the Sixth Form who had done a specially good exercise. The boy who was thus 'sent up for play' was allowed to absent himself from eleven o'clock school on Thursday, in order to copy out, on gilt-edged paper, the exercise which he had to present to the

Provost at noon.[1] Failing this, Thursday would have been only a 'play-at-four.' On all 'play-at-fours,' except Saturday, the Fifth Form Præpostor read evening prayers in School immediately after the three o'clock lesson,[2] and then the boys were at liberty until six o'clock. On Saturday, the only lesson in the afternoon was at two o'clock, and was followed by Church at three.

Such was the routine of a regular week, but two regular weeks did not often occur consecutively. All the ordinary arrangements were liable to be thrown out by the occurrence of a red-letter day, inasmuch as each of these festivals was observed as a holiday, and its vigil as a half-holiday. Then, too, there were Founder's days, and Court days (or anniversaries of the births, marriages, &c., of the principal members of the royal family) which disturbed the week if they fell on any day except Sunday or Tuesday. As some security against excessive interruption of the necessary studies, elaborate rules were made for shifting the 'business' of the stricter days on to the easier days, although this could not be done to any great extent, as three 'whole school-days' were never allowed to come together, and no school-hour could ever be imposed on Saturday after four o'clock.

Breakfast was not served at any exact hour. On holidays the boys were "supposed to breakfast" after 'nine o'clock absence'; on other days they could apparently obtain food soon after their release from eight o'clock school. From other sources of information we learn that the College did not provide breakfast for any of the boys: it affected to ignore the need of such a meal.

The Collegers dined at twelve o'clock every day,[3] and supped at six on 'whole school-days,' and at five on other days. They assembled in the Hall at seven every night, apparently for the

[1] The three series of *Musæ Etonenses* are mainly compiled from these exercises, which are preserved in the College Library.

[2] All the prayers in use at Eton at this date are given in a small volume, entitled—'*Preces quotidianæ in usum Scholæ Collegii Regalis apud Etonam.* 1809.' An edition of 1686 was reprinted in 1895. The Latin prayers appointed for 6 and 11 A.M. were, in 1766, actually said a little before 7 A.M. and on half-holidays at noon. Those appointed for 5 P.M. were said on 'play-at-fours' except Saturdays, at 4 P.M. and probably at 6 P.M. on 'whole school days.'

[3] The old grace was said before and after dinner on Sundays.

purpose of study. At eight they proceeded to the Lower School, where they recited the prayers which used, in earlier times, to be said in the Long Chamber.[1] They were then locked up for the night.

On Sunday morning the Collegers went to the Upper School to sing the 100th Psalm, and to join in the usual prayers read by the Fifth Form Præpostor. Oppidans and Collegers alike went to Church at ten o'clock on Sundays, and they all had to sit in the Upper School between two and three, where a member of the Fifth Form read aloud four or five pages of the *Whole Duty of Man*. The afternoon service was at three.[2]

On turning to the time-table of the studies pursued throughout the School, we find that there was little difference between those of the Sixth and Fifth Forms, which together constituted the Head Master's division—about 120 boys in all. In a regular week, these two forms had to attend school seventeen times, viz. ten times for construing, and seven times for repetition. The construing-lessons were as follows:—

Homer, twice, about 35 lines each time.
Lucian, twice, about 40 lines each time.
Virgil, twice, about 30 lines each time.
*Scriptores Romani*, twice, about 40 lines each time.
*Poetæ Græci*, about 35 lines.
Horace (hexameters) about 60 lines.

This Horace, and the double lessons of Homer, Virgil, and *Poetæ Græci*, constituted four of the subjects for repetition. Two of the remaining saying-lessons were taken from the *Selecta ex*

[1] These prayers were all in Latin. After a collect, the Lord's Prayer, Versicles and Responses, and the Apostles' Creed, the boys sang the hymn beginning:—

"*Salvator mundi, Domine,*
*Qui nos servâsti hodie,*"

which occurs in the office of Compline on 'double feasts' in the *Sarum Breviary*. This was followed by Versicles and Responses, Collects, and the Prayer of St. Chrysostom from the Church Service.

[2] Dr. Thomas Morell, whose mother had kept a boarding-house at Eton at the beginning of the eighteenth century, edited in 1776 a small book entitled '*Sacred Annals, or the Life of Christ, as recorded by the four Evangelists, with practical observations . . . . Designed for general use, but particularly for the Sunday exercise of the young gentlemen educated at Eton School.*'

*Ovidio, Tibullo, et Propertio* (for the Fifth Form), or from the *Epigrammatum Delectus* (for the Sixth Form), while on Monday morning about twenty verses of the Greek Testament had to be said by heart. At all the repetition lessons, each boy was allowed to go out of school as soon as he had repeated six or seven lines.

In the summer, between Whitsuntide and Electiontide, the *Odes* of Horace were construed instead of Lucian, Virgil and the *Scriptores Romani*, and were moreover repeated by heart instead of the *Selecta ex Ovidio* and the *Epigrammatum Delectus*. The last week before the summer and winter holidays respectively was entirely set apart for the study of Greek plays.[1] The boys in the Sixth Form, and those in the upper part of the Fifth, had two extra school hours every week all the year round, viz. from nine to ten on Monday and Saturday mornings, when they had to construe about a hundred lines of a Greek play, generally taken from the *Pentalogia* of John Burton[2] or from Aristophanes. At the ordinary lessons, the members of the Sixth Form were called up to construe before those of the Fifth, and it is remarkable that the former had to turn Homer into Latin, instead of into English. The boys in the Fifth Form had to parse the words, and to quote rules in grammar and parallel passages. They were also expected to note down in pencil any expositions given by the Master.

> "The Sixth Form boys, and the Fifth, are supposed to read at their leisure hours, Dr. Middleton's *Cicero*, Tully's *Offices*, Ovid's long and short verses, *Spectator*, etc., Milton, Pope, Roman History, Græcian History, Potter's *Antiquities*, and Kennet's and all other books necessary towards making a compleat scholar."

All the boys in the Fifth Form had to compose three Latin exercises every week, viz. an original theme of not less than twenty lines, a copy of verses of not less than ten elegiac couplets,

[1] Four plays by Euripides, the *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phœnissæ*, and *Alcestis*, with notes by John King and Thomas Morell, were issued in 1748 '*in usum scholæ Etonensis*.' Morell was also the compiler of a *Thesaurus* of Greek poetry which was published at Eton in 1762.

[2] The five plays were—*Œdipus Tyrannus*, *Œdipus Coloneus*, *Antigone*, *Phœnissæ*, and *Septem contra Thebas*.

and five or six stanzas of lyrics on the same subject as the other verses. In the Sixth Form, the theme and verses were rather longer, and Greek iambics took the place of Latin lyrics. These three exercises were written in play-time, and were shown up to the Master at repetition lessons. In irregular weeks, a translation from Latin into English was exacted, as some compensation for work omitted.

"If the week be regular, the Master sets an extempore theme at three o'clock school [on Monday], and the boys are to make four long and short verses on it in the manner of Martial, like this on

"*OTIOSUS.*

*Occurris quocunque loco mihi, Posthume, clamas*
*Protinus, et prima est hæc tua vox, 'quid agis?'*
*Hoc, si me decies una conveneris hora,*
*Dicis; habes puto tu, Posthume, nil quod agas.*"

"*BREVITAS.*

*Si placeat Brevitas, hoc breve carmen habe.*"[1]

"If the boys are not able to cut a joke on the theme, they ought by no means to be punished; however, it will be right to have an extempore, which must be shewn to the Master and read in five o'clock school."

"We have Declamations made about a month before every holidays. We have likewise Speeches which are spoken before the school, with the emphasis and proper stress on particular words. These speeches are spoken on Saturday at four o'clock, and no doubt learn the boys to read with propriety. The

[1] Several such epigrams may be seen in the notebook of an old Etonian of the time of the Commonwealth, now in the Bodleian Library, *Rawl. Misc. MS.* 762. The following on the respective characteristics of Oxford and Cambridge occurs on f. 18:—

"*Quos vexat sua pauperies, hos excipit Isis;*
*Non nisi divitibus Chamias unda patet.*"

The two following epigrams are transcribed in a MS. book, lately in the possession of Mr. J. H. Patteson. The first must have been written in the earlier part of the eighteenth century:—

"*SAPERE EST FARI.*

"*Si sapiant taceant alii, WALPOLE diserte,*
*Nunquam si sapias tu tacuisse velis.*"

Considerably later we find—

"*EX NIHILO NIHIL FIT.*

"*Ex nihilo nil fit, veteres cecinere poetæ,*
*EX NILO NELSON. Quid, fuit ille nihil?*"

Declamations are spoken on Saturday, immediately after the business of eleven o'clock school, almost a fortnight before every breaking up. The Sixth Form boys only speak and declame, and they [are] suffered to skip a whole week's exercises, if they have a Declamation to make, or speech to get [up]. Our speeches are taken, some from Tully, some from Sallust, and some from Livy, etc."

In a regular week, the boys in the Remove construed—

*Poetæ Græci*, twice, about 16 lines each time.
Virgil, twice, about 30 lines each time.
Horace (*Odes*), twice.
Pomponius Mela, twice.
Cornelius Nepos, once.

They had two repetition lessons in Greek Grammar, one in Virgil, Horace, and *Poetæ Græci* respectively, and two lessons in Geography. They had to draw a map every week, in addition to their theme, fourteen elegiac verses, and three stanzas of lyrics.

In a regular week, the boys in the Fourth Form construed—
Farnaby's *Delectus*, three times, about 12 lines each time.
Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, twice, about 25 lines each time.
*Electa ex Ovidio*, &c. twice, about 16 lines each time.
Æsop, twice.
Cæsar, twice.
Terence, twice.
Greek Testament, about 12 verses.

They had three repetition lessons in Greek Grammar, and one each in Greek Testament, Ovid, and the *Electa*. They had to compose two sets of elegiac verses, not less than six couplets each time, and an extempore of two couplets, and to translate into Latin six sentences from Willymott's *Peculiars*.

The studies of the boys of the Lower School need not be given in detail.

In 'Upper Greek' and 'Lower Greek,' the books used were —the Latin Testament, *Selecta e Profanis*, Ovid, Terence, the Church Catechism in Latin, and the Greek Grammar. In 'Sense' and 'Nonsense,' the work was very similar, but the

lessons were shorter, and Terence was omitted. The names of these divisions indicate the character of the verses written by the boys.

In the Second Form, the books studied were Latin Testament, Catechism, Grammar, and Phædrus.[1]

In the First Form, nothing was taught except Latin Grammar.

In addition to learning the lessons enumerated above, all the boys had to repair to the School from ten to eleven o'clock and from two to three, on holidays, and from two to three on half-holidays. During these hours, the younger boys were exercised in writing, and in arithmetic, while some of the Fifth Form were learning geography,[2] or algebra. Those who stayed at Eton long enough went through part of Euclid, and thus, in our author's opinion, could proceed to College "compleat scholars."

> "When boys are removed from one form to another, we have a custom of trying them in the books they have already learned, and in such sort of exercises as they have been used to make. If their tryal is satisfactory, they are advanced with glory; if otherwise, kept back to their shame. The time allowed for trying boys for their removes is not to be in a school hour, but at some hour which the Master shall appoint on a holyday. In all the different removes made in the forms . . . . these tryals will be necessary to raise emulation in the boys.
>
> "If boys gain their removes with honour, we have a good custom of rewarding each with a shilling, if high in the school 2*s*. 6*d*. which is given them by the Dames, and placed to the father's account, who, no doubt, will be glad to pay that which may so much conduce to the improvement of his son's learning and application. The same custom obtains when a boy distinguishes himself by a good exercise, or wins a place.
>
> "In order to encourage the industry of boys, the Master now and then gives a book to a boy who excells and takes much pains with his exercise. This [is] a great help towards encouraging diligence and ambition. Sometimes a boy looses

[1] An edition of Phædrus with English notes by Ralph Thicknesse, an Assistant Master at Eton, was published there in 1741.

[2] The authors read for geography were—Pomponius Mela, Cornelius Nepos, Cellarius, and Salmon. John Reynolds, a Kingsman, and eventually a Fellow of Eton, brought out an edition of Pomponius Mela at Exeter in 1711. Some of the later editions were printed at Eton after his death.

(*sic*) a place through idleness. The boys in the lower part of the school are encouraged in challenging each other for places. When this happens, the Master tries both, and judges of their performances, and accordingly determines."

"The vacations are three times in a year, Easter, Christmas, and August, vulgarly called Bartlemetide—a most strange corruption from St. Bartholomew's name. The Christmas holydays last a month, and the School breaks up the second Monday in December, about the 10th, 12th, 14th, or 15th day of the month. The Easter holydays last a fortnight, and the School breaks up on the Monday before Easter Sunday. Our Task at Easter is some short chapter of Jeremiah, which is to be turned into Long Verses, or Long and Short Verses, or Asclæpiads, or Alcaics, or Iambics, or whatever metre the boys chuse ; many of which Tasks beg half holydays, if the boys take pains with them. . . . The holydays at August (at which time you may try the uppermost in *Funebres Orationes*, and fit them for College) begin the first Monday in August and last a month."[1]

"Prepostors, or monitors, are chosen for this purpose, viz. to gather exercises, to mark the boys' names every School time, and Church time, to write down the names of those boys who are not present at the time of absence. When these Prepostors, five in number (one to every form, except the Sixth, which [shall] be spoken of particularly) find any boy missing, they inquire about the reason of their absence at the Dames who keep the Boarding houses, and bring an excuse for [it] in the Dame's handwriting, in this manner :—

'James, a cold,
Mary Naylor.'

These Prepostors let the Master know likewise, if any boy after confinement for some disorder[2] returns into the School at any particular School hour.

"The Sixth Form hath two Prepostors (one of the Upper, and another for the Lower School). . . . . The Upper Prepostor calls over the boys' names at absence, delivers the rod to the Master, when he punishes a boy, at the same time one or two of the other Prepostors attend to assist at the *execution*.

[1] The holidays at Easter and in August seem to have been substituted for those at Whitsuntide in 1755. Austen Leigh's *Eton College Lists*, p. xlvii.

[2] "Staying out" cancelled in the MS.

> The Upper Prepostor walks round the School to keep the boys quiet in eleven o'clock school, and five o'clock school. The Lower Prepostor does the same in eight o'clock school and three. These Prepostors, chosen weekly, take it by turns to attend the six o'clock [lesson] in the summer when the Lower School go in, in order to keep them quiet. The Fifth Form Prepostor, winter and summer, attends six o'clock lesson to say the prayers. These Prepostors are chosen weekly. The Sixth Form Prepostors only are excused the business of the School during the time of their office."

One of them was called the "birch-desk keeper" and, like the Lord Chamberlain, bore a key as a badge of office. In or about 1765, a certain 'Nosey' Bambridge was turned out by the Head Master, but reinstated on sending in the following couplet :—

> "*Agnosco culpam, veniam da blande petenti.*
> *Floreat et lateri clavis ut ante meo.*"[1]

The Fifth Form Præpostor seems to have read prayers at the end of the last school time of every day, except Saturday.

> "There are certain bounds fixed to the School, and the whole Sixth Form can have any boy punished, if they [find] him beyond these bounds. They can likewise have a boy [punished] for not making his own exercise, swearing, drinking, or any other fault ; which power granted to them has been one great means of preserving regularity."[2]

Having thus noticed the principal contents of the manuscript which describes the studies and discipline of Eton from a scholastic point of view in the year 1766, we may turn to a more popular account of the School drawn up in the same year or the preceding year, and entitled *Nugæ Etonenses*.[3] Supplementary information

[1] *Etoniana*, p. 157.

[2] According to Jeremiah Milles's pamphlet (see next chapter), the monitorial power was vested only in the first seven Collegers, and the first ten Oppidans.

[3] Two copies of the *Nugæ Etonenses* are known to exist, one belonging to Sir J. W. Buchanan Riddell and the other in the College Library. (*Etoniana*, pp. 61–63, 155–158.) The first of these is probably an original, but the second, although only a transcript made by Sir Thomas Frankland in the early part of the nineteenth century, contains various entries which are not to be found in the first. The original date is fixed by allusions to "Dr. Barnard's farewell speech" (see p. 337 below), and the removal of the clock (see p. 330) on the one hand, and on the other by the mention among the Masters of Dampier, who was elected Fellow in 1767.

is also to be obtained from various sources. Not venturing upon any irreverent mention of the higher authorities, the *Nugæ Etonenses* begins with a list of the names and nicknames of the Lower Master and some of the Assistant Masters :—

> "Perny-pojax Dampier, Gronkey Graham, Pogy Roberts, Cat Edwards, Skimmer-Jack Norbury, Buck Ekins, Mazzard Heath, Barber Davi[e]s, Bantam Sumner, Wigblock Prior." [1]

When Edward Hawtrey, a Kingsman, was appointed an Assistant in the Lower School, in 1766, his elder brother wrote to him from Eton :—

> "Your chambers consist of two rooms without any furniture. The furniture for your pupil-room may be bought here —any rubbish will serve, but the chairs and tables for your sitting-room you had better buy in London. Mr. Norbury used to sleep in his pupil-room, in a press-bed that shut up, made of wainscott. I think you had better do the same. Take care to purchase a new one. . . . Get an Assistant's wig and Bachelor's gown ; but be sure to bring no pease blossom coat." [2]

None of the Assistant Masters were allowed to keep boarding-houses ; but at least one of them, William Hayward Roberts, used to undertake the charge of two or three boys of good family, at the rate of 100*l.* a year apiece, or 150*l.* for two brothers. His receipts from other pupils averaged 400*l.* a year, and the salary paid to him by the Head Master, Dr. Barnard, was 44*l.* 2*s.*, raised to 50*l.* by Dr. Foster. At the same time he held a living in Northamptonshire, served during nine or ten months out of twelve by a curate at 34*l.* a year. Altogether his income as a Master at Eton amounted to about 700*l.* and he would have suffered materially by promotion to a Fellowship, if he had not obtained also a richer benefice in the gift of the College.[3]

Supplementary to the Head Master, the Lower Master and their ten Assistants, there were three writing-masters, of whom one—'Domine' Evans—kept a boarding-house. French was

[1] Sumner was also called 'Numphy,' and Prior was also called 'Daddy,' or 'Perpendicular John.' Angelo's *Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 112 ; Lawrence's *Etonian out of Bounds*, vol. i. p. 10.

[2] Hawtrey's *History of the Hawtrey Family*, vol. i. p. 150.

[3] Account-book of W. H. Roberts.

taught, out of school hours of course, by Lemoine and Porny, the latter the author of a popular book on *The Elements of Heraldry*, dedicated "to the noblemen and gentlemen educated at Eton School."[1] There was a dancing-school conducted by Hickford, and a fencing-school under the management of Henry Angelo, by whose family a school of arms was maintained at Eton until 1864.[2] The teacher of drawing was Alexander Cozens, a natural son of Peter the Great, and one of the founders of the English school of painting in water-colours.[3]

For some 450 Oppidans there were thirteen boarding-houses, of which three were kept by men commonly styled 'Domines,' and the remainder by 'Dames' of the other sex, described respectively as 'boarding masters' and 'boarding dames' in the Church Register. In the list of tradesmen patronised by the boys occur the names of Pote, the bookseller, and Thomas and Roger Payne the eminent bookbinders. A gunsmith, a spur-maker, and a fishing-tackle-maker were very useful to those who were addicted to out-door sports. The landlord, the tapster, and the waiter of the *Christopher* Inn, were apparently familiar to most, as were also the four coffee-house keepers, Charters, Jones, Ramlet, and Layton, and fifteen other worthies who sold oysters, fruit, sweetmeats, and the like.

Tea was coming into favour in 1766, even among boys in Lower School. William Dutton writes to his father :—

> "I wish you would be so kind as to let me have tea and sugar here to drink in the afternoon, without which there is no such thing as keeping company with other boys of my standing."[4]

A list of games in vogue runs as follows :—

> "Cricket, Fives, Shirking Walls, Scrambling Walls, Bally Cally, Battledores, Peg-top, Peg in the ring, Goals, Hopscotch, Headimy, Conquering Lobs, Hoops, Marbles, Trap-ball, Steal

[1] Mark Anthony Porny's real name was Antoine Pyron du Martre. He lived to a considerable age, and devoted his savings to the establishment of a free school at Eton for sixty boys and thirty girls. See Knight's *Passages of a Working Life*, vol. i. pp. 68, 69, 74.

[2] *The Ancestor*, No. 8, contains an elaborate account of the Angelo family.

[3] *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[4] *Calendar of the Sherborne Muniments*, p. 47.




South Western angle of the Schoolyard

baggage, Puss in the corner, Cat Gallows, Kites, Cloyster and Flyer Gigs, Tops, Humming-tops, Hunt the hare, Hunt the dark lanthorn, Chuck, Sinks, Starecaps, Hustlecap, Football, Slides in School, Leaping poles, Slide down the sides of the stairs from Cloysters to College Kitchen."

A few notes about these different games may not be out of place.

Cricket is first mentioned in 1598, in connection with the free school at Guildford.[1] In 1706, William Goldwin of King's College, afterwards a Fellow of Eton, published in his *Musæ Juveniles* some Latin hexameters *In certamen pilæ*, explained to be "*Anglice*, a cricket match."[2] 'Cricket' is mentioned also by Horace Walpole as one of the diversions of his schoolfellows at Eton about the year 1734, but the annals of cricket in the Shooting Fields and the Playing Fields do not begin until the later part of the eighteenth century.

The etymology of 'Fives' is obscure. In a play of the time of Charles the First, there is a casual allusion to "a sport called Fives."[3] Nevertheless, in 1692, one Thomas Samborne claimed to have "invented, contrived, and perfected a certain exercise called Fives, which is moderately expensive and in itself innocent and harmless, and very much conducing to the health and refreshment of such as practise it, the same, being never before heretofore publicly practised in England." After due enquiry, he obtained letters patent protecting his interest for fourteen years, and apparently giving a plan of the 'ground' to be used.[4] In the early part of the following century, fives was played in the old Ball Court of St. John's College, Oxford.[5]

Until the year 1848, the game of 'fives' at Eton was played exclusively between the buttresses on the north side of the Chapel. Two of the paved 'courts,' assuredly not made for any such purpose, could be used only by two players apiece; but at the foot of the stairs leading up to the north door of the Chapel

[1] *New English Dictionary.*

[2] I have not been able to meet with a copy of Goldwin's *Musæ Juveniles*. It is said to comprise 28 pages printed in folio. Anthony Allen's MS. Catalogue of Kingsmen.

[3] *New English Dictionary.*

[4] *Calendar of S. P. Dom, 1691–1692*, pp. 220, 235. Patent Roll, 4 Wm. & Mary.

[5] Amherst's *Terræ Filius*, no. 34.

there was a larger space, partially obstructed on the left by the end of a stone balustrade, the prototype of the 'pepper-box' which to this day forms an essential feature of an Eton fives court. There four boys could play together, two of them between the buttresses, and the other two behind them on a level platform a few inches lower down.[1] It is not improbable that the name of 'fives' was originally limited to the game as played by two boys, and that the game as played by four boys in the larger 'court' corresponded with 'shirking walls,' the second game on the list in the *Nugæ Etonenses*. Provost Goodall, writing to his former pupil, C. T. Metcalfe, in 1816, alludes to "the steps near the shirking walls" as a place where stray copies of Horace or of the *Poetæ Græci* might often be picked up,[2] thus showing that the name of the game is of local origin. 'Upper and Lower Fives' are mentioned in the early part of the nineteenth century.[3]

If then 'shirking walls' was a variety of fives, owing its distinctive character to the accidental shape of the 'court' in which the game was played, 'scrambling walls' may have been the game of football as played 'at the wall,' likewise peculiar to Eton. The origin of this game, so mysterious to the uninitiated, is not known, but it cannot go back beyond the year 1717, when the wall between the Slough Road and the Playing Fields was built. In a book describing Eton life about a hundred years ago, "a large tree" is mentioned as a "goal."[4]

'Battledores' and 'peg-tops' are still popular, though not at Eton, and a game analogous to 'peg-in-the-ring' seems to have been revived for a while in Dr. Hawtrey's days, when "he who could split his comrade's plaything into two halves at the first fling was accounted an expert."[5]

If the conjecture offered above with regard to 'scrambling walls' be erroneous, 'goals' may perhaps be identified with the game of football as played 'at the wall'; otherwise 'goals' may represent 'prisoner's base,' which is not mentioned in the *Nugæ Etonenses*.

[1] See the picture in Hornby's *Walks round about Eton*.

[2] Kaye's *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, vol. ii. p. 456.

[3] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. J. Blake], p. 35.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 44.

[5] Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 302.

'Hop-scotch' requires the players to hop in such a way as to drive a tile, a shell, or other object with one foot in a particular direction.

'Headimy' needs explanation, but there was a boy at Eton about 1766 nicknamed 'Headimy Owen,' presumably because he excelled in that game.[1]

'Conquering lobs' appears to have been a game in which each player tried to smash the 'lob-taw,' or marble, of his adversary, his own marble thus becoming a 'conqueror' in a contest of strength.[2]

'Hoops' seem to have been in vogue at Eton for a considerable period. Gray, who went up to Cambridge in 1734, writes of boys who loved "to chase the rolling circle's speed"; an Etonian of 1787 says that some of his schoolfellows were wont to "trull the hoop";[3] and, even in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the October half was 'hoop time' for all boys below the Fifth Form. Every small boy had a hoop, a stout ash lath, bent round and retaining at first some of its bark.[4] The game of 'hoops' mentioned in the *Nugæ Etonenses* may have been merely a race between boys rolling hoops, or it may have been a sort of cudgel-play. A Colleger of Dr. Goodall's time describes himself as "skirmishing with some Oppidans at hoops, a favourite and healthy sport in the autumn and winter season, in the School-yard and Cloister, and in the exercise of which some pretty hard blows arise."[5] So again a later writer speaks of yearly encounters between Oppidans and Collegers in the Long Walk in front of the Church Yard, some twenty combatants on either side, armed with hoop-sticks, and the Collegers somewhat protected by their heavy gowns, which they used to shield their left arms.[6]

Although, as will be seen hereafter, Etonians from time to time went in chase of real hares, the game of 'hunt the hare' consisted in pursuing one of their own number, favoured by a

[1] *Etoniana*, p. 156. In the list of games in Sir J. W. Buchanan Riddell's version of the *Nugæ Etonenses*, 'headimy' appears as 'heading.'

[2] Cassell's *Book of Sports*, p. 246.

[3] Lawrence's *Etonian out of Bounds*, vol. i. p. 8.

[4] *Eton of Old*, p. 104.

[5] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. J. Blake], p. 70.

[6] *Eton of Old*, p. 105.

reasonable 'start.' James Lawrence, in 1786, mentions the diversions of some of his schoolfellows :—

> "These with agility and speed
> Will hunt the hare on Charvey mead ;
> While those with jumping poles in hand
> Have Stocker's ditches at command,
> Some for Steal-baggage, others cry
> Unanimous for I-spy-I." [1]

This last mentioned game was a variety of 'hide and seek.' 'Hunt the dark lantern,' which is said to have been played by Collegers in the Playing Fields on winter evenings in the nineteenth century, seems to correspond with 'Sam, Sam, show a light,' popular elsewhere.[2]

'Chuck' is probably an abbreviated name for the common game of 'chuck farthing,' and 'sinks' appears to be a phonetic rendering of 'cinques,' suggesting the idea of five knuckle-bones. 'Hustlecap' was a form of 'pitch and toss,' in which the coins were shaken together in a cap before being tossed.[3]

'Football' was almost certainly the game as played 'in the Field,' inasmuch as the 'Football Fields' are mentioned in the *Nugæ Etonenses* as distinct from the Playing Fields and the Upper and Lower Shooting Fields, which together occupied the space between the Slough Road and the river. The Football Fields in question may perhaps be identified with South Meadow, which is not mentioned among the "places of resort" in the *Nugæ Etonenses*. Football was played there in the early part of the nineteenth century, but chiefly by members of "minor clubs."[4]

To 'slide down the sides of the stairs from the Cloysters,' or rather from the passage between the Hall and the Buttery, 'to College Kitchen,' or rather to the beginning of the Kitchen Yard, was a diversion very popular with Collegers, until the authorities obstructed the course with blocks of wood, which remain to this day.

'Marbles,' the ancient game of 'trap ball,' 'puss in the corner,'

[1] Lawrence's *Etonian out of Bounds*, vol. i. p. 5.
[2] Cassell's *Book of Sports*, pp. 261, 267 ; *Eton of Old*, p. 59.
[3] *New English Dictionary*.
[4] *Eton College Magazine*, pp. 140 285.

'kites,' 'tops,' 'humming tops,' and 'leaping poles,' are too familiar to require explanation. 'Bally cally' is mentioned, but without description, in a poem by Henry Carey, written about 1727. The characteristics of 'steal baggage,' 'cat gallows,' 'cloyster and flyer gigs,' and 'starecaps' have yet to be defined.

Hockey is not mentioned by that name in the *Nugæ Etonenses*, but it must have been in vogue in the School when, about 1751, Charles Cornwallis, afterwards Governor-General of India, playing with Shute Barrington, afterwards Bishop of Durham, received a blow which disfigured one of his eyes for life.

It will have been observed that many of the games enumerated in the *Nugæ Etonenses* were suitable only to small boys. Several of them are again mentioned in 1787 :—

"On the Long Walk, while others sport and play,
Or with the top consume the fleeting day,
Or trull the hoops, or through the yielding air
Whirl from the bat the flying ball afar,
Some eat, some drink, some squabble, fight and thump,
Some play at marbles, some hop, step and jump." [1]

No games of any sort were taken very seriously in the eighteenth century. Several forms of amusement, likely to find favour with boys of mature age, are mentioned in the *Nugæ Etonenses.*

There were bathing-places at "Sandy hole, Cuckow ware,[2] Head pile, Pope's hole, Cotton's hole, South hope, Dickson's hole."

In one version of the *Nugæ Etonenses*, three boats are mentioned, called respectively Piper's *Green, Snake*, and My Guinea's *Lion*, the third of which evidently took its name from 'Guinea' Piper, a celebrated waterman of the day, while the first must have belonged to one of his relations, Dick or Jack Piper.[3] In the other version, the list runs as follows :—"Old and new four-oared, *Snake*, My Guinea's *Lion*, and Moody's skift." The same MS. mentions a "race between Piper's old and new four-

[1] Lawrence's *Etonian out of Bounds*, vol. i. p. 8.

[2] "Cuckoo-where" and "Sandy Bay" are mentioned again in 1786. Lawrence, vol. i. p. 7.

[3] *English Spy*, vol. i. p. 93. The island in the Thames from which the fireworks were annually displayed on the Fourth of June until 1891 is still called "Piper's Eyot.'

oared boats from Datchet Bridge to Windsor Bridge, won by the former," which was probably identical with Piper's *Green*. There are some grounds for believing that the crews in such races consisted of a waterman and three Eton boys. The *Nugæ Etonenses* gives the names of 'Commodore Stevens,' and six watermen, in addition to the three Pipers and the two Moodys, who kept boats for hire close to Windsor Bridge.

There were apparently six guns available for Etonians, each bearing a distinctive name. We also read of boys "shooting swallows and swifts" on the "Brocas banks," and of their "halter-ing jacks," with twisted wire, in Chalvey ditch.[1]

It is curious that Sir Thomas Frankland's version of the *Nugæ Etonenses* contains no reference to badger-baiting, for when he was a small boy he wrote as follows to his father, under date of 22 April 1761 :—

> "I was out at a badger-baiting last night, out on Eaton Common. We worried one to death almost with the dogs, then turned out another which was very big. . . . At last it broke its cord, and we ran it about a mile over hedges and ditches and gates and stiles, and finished our sport at eight o'clock, and did not kill it, but it is to be hunted again with a pack of hounds, and is to be ten minutes before them, which sport I shall not have the pleasure to see, for none but the Fifth and Sixth Form go to it."[2]

A boy high up in the School describes himself, in July 1767, as taking no amusement except tennis, and never entering the billiard rooms. So familiar indeed were some Etonians with tennis, that one of them named Hulse arranged to play a set with a gentleman for twenty guineas.[3] In the *Nugæ Etonenses*, Jermyn is specified as the only 'tennis-court keeper,' while there were, presumably at Windsor, three 'billiard-table keepers,' "Lawrington, Sibson and Russell," the first of whom is also mentioned by Angelo.

Within a small radius of the College, Etonians of 1766 could go to see a criminal called Watkins, hanging in chains, and at

[1] Cf. *Reminiscences of an Etonian.*

[2] *Hist. MSS. Commission, Report on Astley MSS.* p. 414.

[3] *Hist. MSS. Commission, Twelfth Report*, Appendix VII. p. 358 ; *English Spy*, p. 94.

stated times they could witness pony-races at Datchet, at Chalvey, and in South Meadow. If they wished to accomplish longer distances, they could hire horses and ride to Sunning Hill, Gerard's Cross, Cranford Bridge, Maidenhead Bridge, or —rarest treat of all—to Ascot races. They could also occasionally see cock-fighting in Bedford's Yard, and bull-baiting in Bachelor's Acre in Windsor. If, however, they remained absent beyond a reasonable time, they were liable to be brought back to Eton ignominiously, by Jack Cutler, the 'Pursuivant of Runaways,' or by one of his four assistants,—subordinate functionaries who ranked with the College gardener, the clock-winder, and the rod-maker.



View from Barne's Pool Bridge




## 1760—1781.

First Visit of George III.—Building Operations—Edward Barnard—Charles James Fox and James Hare—John Foster—The Rebellion of 1768—A Public Flogging—The Election of 1778—Lord Wellesley—The Duke of Wellington—Richard Porson—Theatricals—Dr. Barnard as Provost.

ETON, lying as it does almost under the shadow of Windsor Castle, has usually enjoyed an ample share of royal favour, but no king since the days of Henry the Sixth has shown a warmer interest in all that concerned the College than George the Third, who could hardly have been more familiar with its traditions and customs if he had himself been educated within its walls. When he and his young queen were expected to pass through the town for the first time, in September 1762, all the boys, headed by the Provost, Fellows, and Masters, were drawn up in front of the Church Yard to welcome them ; but, no notice having been given of the intended demonstration, the carriage proceeded at a rapid pace towards Windsor, without stopping for a moment. The Provost soon had an opportunity of delivering the complimentary speeches which he had prepared, for the King and Queen were much distressed at the idea of having cast a slight on such loyal subjects, and devoted several hours to an inspection of the College on the following Saturday. They came in some state, accompanied by the Duke of Devonshire and Lord

Talbot, who bore white staves of office, and by several Lords in Waiting. The Provost and Fellows received them at the great gates, and conducted them to chairs of honour in the Upper School, where the Masters and boys were awaiting them. An English oration, lasting some five minutes, was pronounced by Foote, the Captain of the Oppidans, as the elocution of Burrough, the Captain of the School, was not considered good enough for the occasion. Thence the royal party went to see the Long Chamber, which, we are told, had been "lately cleaned and whitewashed, and looked very well," and so back through the Upper School to the Chapel, whither the boys had been, meanwhile, "expeditiously and silently conveyed." No religious service was held, but a solemn piece of music was performed on the organ accompanied by a military band, while the King and Queen walked up and down looking at the boys.

> "From thence their majesties went to the Hall and to the Library, where many of the young noblemen were presented to them. They also spent a considerable time in the Election Chamber, examining the valuable collection of drawings, etc. which had been carried there for their inspection."
>
> "The King ordered six holidays, and the Provost desired Lord Cantilupe to ask the Queen if she would please to have three, upon which she went up to him and asked for three in English, and coloured very much. The King was gracious beyond expression, and asked the Provost what would be proper for him to give. He said they desired nothing, being quite satisfied with the honour of seeing his Majesty. He said he would give something, and would give any sum that the Provost would name."

It is not clear whether the sum he gave to the College was 100*l.* or 230*l.* The boys thought more about the promised holidays, and shouted lustily "*Vivant Rex et Regina*," as the royal chaise drove off from the door of the Provost's Lodge. The King and Queen often descanted with pleasure on their visit to Eton, which, they said, gratified them much more than all the pomp and show connected with a grand installation of Knights of the Garter in the same week.[1]

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, vol. xxvi. p. 470; *Annual Register*, vol. v. p. 105; Sterry's *Annals of Eton*, p. 177; *Letters of*

An important change in the external appearance of the College had been made shortly before this royal visit, by the addition of an attic story to the northern and eastern sides of the Cloister. The architect was careful to carry up the towers and battlements in the same proportions as before, and the effect has been to give dignity to the whole pile of buildings, as seen from the Playing Fields, and from Romney. On the other hand, the difference between the architectural details of the fifteenth century and those of the eighteenth is only too apparent, and the long sash windows, which were, about that time, substituted for the old mullioned windows on the first floor, are very unsightly.

The attic storey, begun in 1759 and completed at a cost of over 2000*l.* was added because the Fellows found the chambers allotted to them "very inconvenient for the accommodation of their respective families."[1] Under the statutes of Henry the Sixth they were entitled to a single room apiece. The introduction of women and children into the Cloister at a laxer period had led to various structural changes, internal staircases having been made, so as to convert different sections of it into two-storied houses for the members of a close corporation. Roger Huggett, a Conduct in the middle of the eighteenth century, used to let his two rooms on the eastern side of the Cloister to a Fellow who lived alongside.[2] It would be difficult to say when the Fellows began to have private kitchens. Arthur Young, who stayed at Eton on business in 1786, describes himself as "dining every day with the Provost and Fellows."[3] Three years later, Boswell writes :—

> "I go to Eton to-morrow with my eldest son. I was there last week to prepare matters, and to my agreeable surprise found myself highly considered there, was asked by Dr. Davies, the Head Master, to dine at the Fellows' table, and made a creditable figure. I certainly have the art of making the most of what I have. How should one who has had only a Scotch education be quite at home at Eton? I had my classical quotations very ready."[4]

*Horace Walpole* (ed. Cunningham), vol. iv. p. 32 ; *Historical MSS. Comm. Tenth Report*, Appendix I. p. 343.

[1] Willis & Clark, vol. i. pp. 459, 460.

[2] *Sloane MS.* 4839.

[3] *Autobiography of Arthur Young*, p. 142.

[4] *Letters of Boswell*, p. 308.



ETON COLLEGE, FROM ROMNEY.

In the nineteenth century, the seats at the high table usually lay empty.

In 1765, a northern wing, visible only from the garden, was added to the Provost's Lodge. In the same year, the great clock in the School Yard was removed from its ancient position between the two easternmost buttresses on the north side of the Church, and placed in Lupton's Tower, a pair of picturesque turrets being erected to receive the bells.[1] The three bells there, cast by Lester and Pack, are dated 1765. The 'knell bell' above the Church, although bearing a mediæval inscription, dates only from 1777.[2] In 1769, the 'ante-chapel' was repaired, and, in the opinion of some, "beautified" with stucco-work.[3] Many of the parishioners ceased to attend the Collegiate Church, on the opening of a chapel of ease, erected in that year by William Hetherington, one of the Fellows, and, by repute, "the richest clergyman in England."[4]

When John Sumner, afterwards Provost of King's, resigned the office of 'Upper Master' at Eton, there arose a very sharp contest for the succession, the two candidates being Thomas Dampier, the 'Lower Master,' and Edward Barnard, one of the private tutors. At one stage of it, Barnard signed a curious undertaking as follows :—

> "Feb. 1, 1754. I promise to relinquish all pretensions to the upper-mastership of Eton, and even in case it should be offered to me to refuse ; upon condition that Mr. Hetherington and Mr. Lyne will assist me with their votes and interest to procure the under-mastership."[5]

This negotiation, however, came to nothing. Thomas Townshend, member for the University of Cambridge, whose three

[1] The line of the lean-to roof of the old clock-chamber may still be traced by a patch of dark stones in the buttresses between which the Master ordinarily stands, when calling 'absence' for the lower boys—or rather for the Remove. In order to compensate the Provost for the accommodation which he thus lost, an opening was cut through the thick wall of his dining-room, and a section of the northern side of the Cloister was added to the Lodge. It is curious to trace the encroachments of successive Provosts.

[2] Cocks's *Church Bells of Buckinghamshire*, pp. 381, 384.

[3] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 60.

[4] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 294.

[5] *Notes & Queries*, 10th series, vol. xii. p. 26.

sons had been taught by Barnard, and other persons of influence, exerted themselves on his behalf, supported by his general popularity "and his own canvassing address," and he was eventually chosen. Barnard, it may be observed, was an Etonian, who had been superannuated for King's and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. The College seems to have selected the right man, for no Head Master of Eton, before or since his day, has attained a higher reputation for administrative ability. Without being a profound scholar in any branch of literature, he was indued with a refined taste which instantly perceived the spirit and beauties of whatever author he was studying or expounding. One of his pupils says that "he corrected with grace, and with good humour, everything that was vicious in the mode of reading or construing. When he read our compositions, he made them his own by the charm of his accent and the just emphasis that he laid. When he gave out a subject for prose or verse, it was a feast." His manner was gentlemanlike and dignified, although he had some difficulty in restraining a natural tendency to joking and caricature.[1] Another writer says that Barnard "had that power of impressing his dictates and opinions on his scholars, which lessened the necessity of practising corporal correction. He knew how to awaken love and create fear with admirable address. Boys, who would have been hardened by the infliction of punishment, trembled at his rebuke."[2] Writing of Eton to Sir Horace Mann in 1762, Horace Walpole says :—

> "Dr. Barnard, the Master, is the Pitt of masters, and has raised the school to the most flourishing state it ever knew.[3]"

Barnard overcame several attempts at rebellion with the vigour and tact of a statesman. Thus it was that in less than eleven years, the number of boys at Eton rose from 326 to 513, while the rival school at Westminster made little or no progress in public estimation. Two additional Masters were appointed in 1754, and two more in 1760.[4] A *List of Eton School* taken at Election 1766, gives the names of the Head Master, the Lower

[1] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. pp. 543—551.

[2] Hakewill's *History of Windsor*, p. 22.

[3] *Letters of Horace Walpole* (ed. Cunningham), vol. iv. p. 32.

[4] *Sloane MS.* 4843, f. 461.

Master, ten Assistants, and 483 boys, of whom fifty are marked in red ink as noblemen, noblemen's sons, or baronets, the highest in rank being the Duke of Hamilton. It should, however, be noted that while the School had almost doubled in size within twenty-one years, and had attracted a large proportion of the young aristocracy of England, the number of eleemosynary Scholars had, within the same period, declined from seventy to fifty-two. Perhaps the hardships of a Colleger's life had begun to be generally realized. Out of these fifty-two, twelve, together with eight Oppidans, constituted the Sixth Form. Twenty were in the Fifth Form, while the remainder were distributed among the different forms down to the very lowest. The 'Bible Seat' had for some years been combined with the First Form, and the Third Form had become so large as to comprise a hundred and fifty boys, nearly a third of the whole School.[1]

Barnard is said to have possessed in an eminent degree the power of discerning the character of those under his care, admiring genius and spirit even when they did not run in the ordinary groove. When Sir John Macdonald, 'the young Marcellus of his day,' joined the School, he was utterly unskilled in the art of Latin versification, the crucial test of Eton scholarship, but Barnard at once placed him at the top of his form, saying to the other boys:—"I am going to put over your heads a boy who cannot write a verse, and I do not care whether he will ever be a poet or no, but I will trust him in your hands; for I know my boys, and how generous they are to merit." This confidence was well founded, and Macdonald soon proved that he could hold his own in versification, as well as in other branches of learning.[2]

Barnard had a brilliant if wayward pupil in Charles James Fox, who owed many of the defects in his character to the evil influence of his father. Lord Chatham once said that he considered the elder Fox "the blackest man that ever lived. . . . He educated his children without the least regard to morality, and with such extravagant vulgar indulgence, that the great change which has taken place among our youth has been dated

[1] Austen Leigh's *Eton College Lists*.

[2] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. pp. 543—551.

from the time of his son's going to Eton."[1] When Charles James Fox was only fifteen years of age, he was taken away from school for four months, and introduced to the dissipated society of Paris and Spa. He returned to Eton with the ideas and airs of a man of fashion, but he was laughed at by the boys, and soundly flogged by the Head Master.[2] After this, he became more careful about his work, and attained such proficiency in Latin versification as to be 'sent up.'[3] His great talents were appreciated at this early period, not only by Barnard,[4] but by the young Earl of Carlisle, who addressed him in the following manner, in some lines on the probable future of several of his schoolfellows :—

"How will my Fox, alone, thy strength of parts
Shake the loud senate, animate the hearts
Of fearful statesmen, while around you stand
Both Peers and Commons list'ning your command:
While Tully's sense its weight to you affords,
His nervous sweetness shall adorn your words;
What praise to Pitt, to Townshend, e'er was due,
In future times, my Fox, shall wait on you."[5]

The other young Etonians noticed in this poem were St. John, Lord Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Buccleuch, Legge, the Earl of Offaly, Lord Stavordale, and Anthony Morris Storer; but we miss in it the name of James Hare, one of the most popular members of that *coterie*, and the author of several clever compositions in the *Musæ Etonenses*. When Fox was congratulated on his maiden speech in the House of Commons, he said:—"Wait till you hear Hare";[6] but the subject of this compliment had little political ambition, and was satisfied with being the "Hare with many friends." A few days after his death, in March 1804,

[1] Fitzmaurice's *Life of Lord Shelburne*, vol i. p. 78.

[2] Russell's *Memorials of C. J. Fox*, vol. i. pp. 11, 12.

[3] See the *Musæ Etonenses*.

[4] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. p. 547.

[5] *Foundling Hospital for Wit* (1784), vol. i. p. 7. It seems clear that these verses were written while the author and his friends were still at Eton. Lord Offaly died prematurely in 1765, and an allusion to the political rivalry between Bute and Temple would have been meaningless after that year. Lord Carlisle's verses and the answer to them by Bertie Greathead, are mentioned in the *Nugæ Etonenses*, as almost contemporaneous with Dr. Barnard's farewell speech.

[6] *Annual Register*, vol. xlvi. p. 473.

there appeared, in one of the London newspapers, an amusing biographical notice signed *Leporis Amator*, from which we may extract the following :—

'Mr. H—— is sent, in 1764,[1] to Eton, by his uncle, and admitted a colleger,—is soon distinguished as a boy of considerable parts and taken great notice of by Lord Carlisle, Mr. Fox, the Duke of Buccleugh, Lord Ilchester, Lord Ophaly, Lord Fitzwilliam, and all the noblemen who admired quick parts, easy manners, and ready wit. These honours gave him an air of consequence superior to the pretensions of a Colleger, and attracted the envy of the Master, who was resolved to cut him short in his career, and for that purpose dock'd his long hair with his own hand ; telling him on his showing signs of indignation, that he might think himself well off that the operation was not performed according to the statutes by a bowl-dish. He resented this, and prepared no *Bacchus* at Christmas, but wrote a beautiful poem on the subject of Cain and Abel, which was admired by the Cooks, and all the ladies of the Fellows ; he was obliged, however, to write a Latin *Bacchus* at a night's notice,—goes to the ball at Windsor, and dances with Mrs. Lyne,[2] and his friend Mr. F——[3] with Dr. Biddle's niece.[4] This is considered as an unparalleled outrage, and noticed accordingly but differently, by a threat of expulsion to the one, and a hope to the other that he was not going to be irregular.'[5]

The accuracy of this account is shown by two notices of "remarkable occurrences" in the *Nugæ Etonenses* of 1765, as follows :—

"Dr. Barnard cutting off Hare's pigtail in Hall with a greasy commons knife." "Hare torn over *Bacchus* (foul copy) for having written an English theme (*Cainus fratricida*) and obliged to make a Latin one in a few hours, which, though only 150 lines, was the best shown up."

Hare himself alludes to the Head Master's birch in a poem enshrined in the *Musæ Etonenses:*—

[1] This date is wrong. James Hare was at Eton from 1760 to 1766, when he went to King's. Austen Leigh's *Eton Collegers*, p. 19; *Registrum Regale*. The account of Hare in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is incorrect in several respects.

[2] Perhaps a daughter of Richard Lyne, one of the Fellows.

[3] Fox.

[4] Miss Cook.

[5] *St. James's Chronicle*, 29 March 1804.

"*Suggerit illa rudi numeros, et dulcia vati*
*Carmina, viminea musa juvatur ope.*"

And again, addressing Barnard in his '*Vale*' of 1766, he says :—

"*Auspice te, viridi certavit betula lauro,*
*At sine te vilis, ceu prius, arbor erit.*"[1]

Barnard's free use of the scissors as well as of the birch is noticed by Christopher Anstey in his account of 'Master Marmozet Danglecub' :—

"Mrs. Danglecub's not such a fool
To send a poor thing with spirit so meek,
To be flogg'd by a tyrant for Latin and Greek;
For why should a child of distinction and fashion
Lay a heap of such silly nonsensical trash in?
She wonders that parents to Eton should send
Five hundred great boobies their manners to mend,
When the master that's left it (though no one objects
To his care of the boys in all other respects)
Was extremely remiss, for a sensible man,
In never contriving some elegant plan
For improving their persons, and showing them how
To hold up their heads, and to make a good bow,
When they've got such a charming long room for a ball,
Where the scholars might practise, and masters and all;
But what is much more, what no parent would chuse—
He burnt all their ruffles and cut off their queues."[2]

The Head Master had a direct pecuniary interest in the prosperity of the School, the yearly stipend of 62*l.* paid to him by the College forming but a small part of his emoluments. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the different Domines and Dames used to levy for him four guineas a year from almost every boy in the Upper School, noblemen paying double. A practice had also arisen of exacting an entrance fee from every newcomer, the amount varying from a guinea to six guineas. A certain John Baker who was admitted in 1762, distinguished himself by presenting Dr. Barnard with twenty-five guineas. Then again, the Head Master used to receive 'leaving money,' as mentioned above. In 1763, he got 411*l.* from this source alone.

[1] *Musæ Etonenses*, vol. i. p. 210.
[2] Anstey's *New Bath Guide* (ed. 1784), p. 103.

To every boy who thus 'took leave,' it was customary for the Head Master to present a quarto volume handsomely bound in leather. The system continued until 1868.

In Barnard's time, it became customary for some of the wealthier boys to present the Head Master with their portraits, painted soon after their final departure from the school. The practice was maintained under his successors for about a century, and the different collections have come into the possession of the College by bequest or otherwise. Thus it is that the walls of the Provost's Lodge are adorned with an unrivalled series of portraits of young men, many of them highly distinguished in after life, painted by Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, West, Hoppner, Beechey, Lawrence and other masters of the English School.[1]

Thomas Dampier, who was Lower Master from 1745 to 1767, seems to have maintained the reputation of his part of the School fairly well, though from all accounts he must have been somewhat weak and indulgent. A boy under him, fonder of cricket than of Latin and Greek, boasted that he was sure of getting his remove:—"Dampier loves a good glass of wine, I'll write to my father to send him a hamper of claret, and mark, if I do not soon *swim* into the Upper School."[2] One of the Bruđenells climbed up one of the pillars in the Lower School, and from this lofty perch, set the Lower Master at defiance for half an hour, until at last he was pulled down by the præpostors and 'birch-desk keeper.'[3] There is a less credible story of a boy, named Frank North, having a fair set-to with Dr. Dampier in Windsor Castle, and rolling him down the Hundred Steps.[4]

Upon the death of Dr. Sleech, in October 1765, a royal mandate was issued requiring the Fellows to elect the Head Master, Edward Barnard, as Provost. Some difficulty, however, arose out of the fact that the King's nominee had never been a Fellow of Eton or of King's, and there was an idea of electing William Cooke instead. Eventually the living authority of George the Third was recognized to be paramount in the

[1] For a list, with fine reproductions, see Cust's *Eton College Portraits*. A comparison of dates shows that in many instances the pictures were not finished or delivered for several years.

[2] Angelo's *Reminiscences*, vol. i. pp. 111, 112.

[3] *Etoniana*, p. 63.

[4] *English Spy*, vol. i. p. 91.

matter, and "the conclave ended in the submission of a royal College to royal pleasure."[1] To prevent any derangement of work, Barnard continued to act as Head Master for some weeks after his election as Provost, and when, at the end of the school term, he took leave of the boys, they were moved to unwonted tears.[2] His concluding words were:—"*Stet fortuna domus.* God bless you all."[3]

John Foster, one of the Assistants, who was appointed through Barnard's influence to succeed him as Head Master,[4] had many qualifications for the post, and great things were expected of him. He is said to have been the "boast of Eton during his education there," and, as a man, he was not less respected for the uprightness of his character, than noted for the soundness of his scholarship. A writer of his own time says:—

"He was a lover of that virtue which he taught and practised; and whatever in ancient or modern history was calculated to cherish a spirit of social duty, and a sense of unbending rectitude, he never failed to impress on the minds of his scholars, and to suggest as the subject of their exercises. Indeed his zeal in these great points of education could not be excelled. . . . His memory was great, and joined to a clear and firm intellect, prevented any embarrassment in his ideas from the great extent of his reading. He was a strict disciplinarian, severe against all immoral conduct, inexorable when he discovered meditated deception, and [he] considered the deviation from truth to be an act of baseness which it would be equally wrong to pass without correction, as to commit."[5]

In some circumstances, such a man might have become a most successful educator of youth, but it was Foster's misfortune to succeed a master who had been almost idolized by those under him. The contrast between Barnard and Foster was very marked, and persons more discriminating than mere schoolboys might well be pardoned for preferring the brilliant genius of the former to the quiet virtues of the latter. In all points of classical scholarship Foster was infinitely superior to his predecessor, but

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Tenth Report*, Appendix I. p. 397.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Eighth Report*, Appendix II. p. 118.

[3] *Etoniana*, p. 157.

[4] 16 December 1765. Eton Register, vol. iv. f. 201; Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 342.

[5] Lipscomb's *History of Buckingham*, vol. iv. pp. 496, 497.

he had not the same acquaintance with the literature of his own age and country. Barnard loved to spend his leisure time in genial society, while Foster was poring over the dissertations of some dry commentator. The one was satisfied with grasping the ideas and characteristics of ancient writers, whereas the other insisted on ascertaining the exact force of every word employed, and was the author of a learned *Essay on the different natures of Accent and Quantity*. Barnard was ever causing merriment by his ready wit, Foster by his blunders, as for instance, when he mistook a black sow under the wall of the Long Walk for a boy shirking, and called out "Come here, you Colleger!"[1] Even in outward appearance there was a great difference between the two men, for Barnard was tall and dignified, while Foster was small and insignificant. It would have been well for the School if the contrast had stopped here; but it soon became evident that the new Master was deficient in that kind of tact for which his predecessor had been so distinguished.

Within six months of Foster's appointment, there were "great disturbances amongst the boys," the exact cause of which is not recorded. Thomas Dampier, the Under Master, being specially interested in one of the offenders, William Windham, at once sent him home to his mother, and so preserved a future Secretary of State from the disgrace of public expulsion by the Head Master.[2] In the following year, the third boy in the school was expelled for insolence to Dr. Foster,[3] and, not long afterwards, this Head Master's want of discretion helped to produce the most serious rebellion that is ever known to have occurred at Eton. It originated in a controversy on the subject of 'bounds,' between the Assistant Masters and the Sixth Form Præpostors.[4] These latter exercised monitorial authority over their schoolfellows, and, as in later times, had power to punish any lower boys whom they met outside the precincts of the College. This

[1] *Etoniana*, p. 63.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Twelfth Report*, Appendix IX. p. 207. Windham's nickname at Eton was 'Gallows.' *Etoniana*, p. 157.

[3] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Twelfth Report*, App. VII. p. 357.

[4] These were the first seven Collegers, and the first ten Oppidans, in the School, who were alike eligible for the weekly office of Præpostor. The limitation of the Sixth Form to ten Collegers and ten Oppidans is comparatively recent. See Stapylton's *Eton School Lists*.

naturally implied an exemption for themselves from keeping within the ordinary bounds, although as a matter of form they used to 'shirk,' or avoid, the Assistant Masters outside those bounds. In the autumn of 1768, however, the Masters claimed the right of sending Sixth Form boys back to College, a claim which was strenuously resisted. All Foster's attempts at pacification proved vain, and affairs were brought to a crisis by a casual encounter between one of the Masters and a Præpostor in the main street of Eton, one Saturday afternoon. No words passed at the time, but when the Præpostor was performing his ordinary duty of keeping the lower boys quiet in Church, on the following afternoon, he received a message to the effect that the Master intended to complain of him for making a noise. Feeling deeply aggrieved, he determined to ascertain whether the accusation was due to misapprehension, or to a mean spirit of revenge, and therefore lost no time, when service was over, in asking for an explanation of the message. The Master vouchsafed no reply, but collared him and dragged him before Foster, who was about to administer punishment, when the Sixth Form Præpostors, entering the room in a body, threatened to resign their duties, if their privileges were to be thus infringed. This bold device proved unsuccessful, for their resignation was accepted, and their comrade was severely flogged.

On the following day, the ex-Præpostors had an interview with the Head Master, at which they claimed that the Assistants should not be authorized to send them back to college, unless they found them in taverns, billiard-rooms, or other improper places, in which event they were willing to be sent back, and even to be flogged. Dr. Foster refusing to entertain this proposition, the boys vowed that they would not take part in the ensuing Declamations, as the right of declaiming belonged to them as Præpostors and not as members of the Sixth Form. Foster retorted that they must either declaim at the proper time, or leave the School; and when a deputation of Fifth Form Oppidans came to enquire whether the Sixth Form boys had been expelled, he answered curtly :—"Go and ask them." After this, a council of war was held in the Playing Fields, and all the members of the Sixth Form, many of the Fifth, and some even

of the Fourth—a hundred and sixty in all—resolved to start at once for Maidenhead. The author of an apology for the boys boasts of their good conduct :—

> "They marched with the greatest order and regularity, and . . . during the whole time they were absent from Eton, there was not one single act of riot, indecency, or intemperance, committed. . . . The Master behaved with the warmth of youth ; the boys with the prudence of a more advanced age. The boys desired either to be convinced, or to convince the Master by reason ; the Master refused both. The boys behaved with resolute constancy ; the Master with an injudicious obstinacy, and wavering timidity."[1]

On the other hand, tradition says that all the rebels threw their school-books into the Thames—a sadly childish proceeding on the part of such would-be heroes, Thomas Grenville alone refusing to part with his Homer.[2] Be this as it may, we find that they spent the night at Marsh's inn,[3] despite the remonstrances of a friendly Master who rode over to advise them to return at once. On the following morning, they marched back to the Playing Fields, and eighteen of them had a conference with the Masters in the Upper School, at which they offered to capitulate on condition that all should be treated alike, but Dr. Foster declared that he would make no conditions. This announcement caused a regular panic, and *Sauve qui peut* became the order of the day. The writer already quoted records with

[1] The pamphlet was printed anonymously, but the copy in the Bodleian Library bears the name of Jeremiah Milles as the author. This Jeremiah Milles was the eldest son of the Dean of Exeter, an Etonian, and afterwards a Fellow of Merton College. He was at Eton in 1768. Austen Leigh's *Eton under Barnard*, p. 30 ; *Eton College Lists*, p. 143. Angelo (*Reminiscences*, vol. i. p. 116) says that the chief ringleader was named Webster. A story that he tells about the Marquess of Buckingham appears improbable.

[2] *The English Spy*, vol. i. p. 92 ; *Biographie Universelle*, vol. lxvi. p. 95.

[3] A MS. in the possession of Sir J. W. Buchanan Riddell is endorsed : —"*Bill at Maidenhead Bridge for the entertainment of the boys concerned in the Eton Rebellion, 2nd Nov.* 1768." The items are—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| "Beer for dinner | 1 | 2 | 6 |
| Wine and punch, etc. | 6 | 18 | 6 |
| Dinners, coffee, tea, etc., suppers and breakfasts for 160 at 5*s.* per head | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| Beer at supper | 0 | 18 | 6 |
| Wine and punch, etc. | 5 | 14 | 9 |
| Fires | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Cards | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| | 55 | 18 | 3 |

November the 2d and 3rd, 1768."

See also *Saturday Review*, vol. xliv. p. 213.

indignation that three of the ringleaders, "to their eternal infamy, made peace at the expense of their own honour."[1] Many of their comrades followed this example, while others more deeply implicated, or more timid, hastened away to their own homes—only to encounter the reproaches of their indignant parents. William Grenville, afterwards Prime Minister, was sent back to Eton for a few hours—probably to be flogged—and was then taken away from the School.[2] Lord Harrington's son swore a solemn oath that he would not submit, and went up to London, but his father would only speak to him through the door, insisting that he should immediately return to Eton. "Sir," said the son, "consider, I shall be d——d if I do." "And I," answered the father, "will be d——d if you don't." "Yes, my Lord," retorted this dutiful son, "but you will be d——d whether I do or not."[3] The two sons of the Marquess of Granby met with a warmer reception, and were asked whether they would like to go to the theatre that evening. The offer seemed too good to be true, but they accepted it with alacrity. "Yes," said the sturdy general, who had himself experienced the discipline of Eton, "you shall go there to-night for your own pleasure, and to-morrow you shall return to Dr. Foster and be flogged for mine."[4] By the 5th of November, the School was said to be "restored to its proper discipline."[5]

Traditions of a great battle between the Eton boys and the butchers at Windsor, some three or four years before the rebellion of 1768, were current in the School in the early part of the nineteenth century, but they have passed away with a bygone generation. Henry Angelo, the celebrated fencing-master, states that many of the boys got back to College only by dressing themselves up like women, as the foe had secured Windsor Bridge, and so cut off their retreat.[6]

The same writer has preserved a fuller account of a remarkable incident which took place during his school days, and of

[1] Jeremiah Milles.

[2] *Biographie Universelle*, vol. lxvi. p. 95.

[3] *English Spy*, vol. i. p. 92.

[4] Angelo's *Reminiscences*, vol. i. pp. 116, 117.

[5] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxviii. p. 539.

[6] Angelo's *Reminiscences*, vol. ii. p. 298. The battle, and the verses on the occasion, are mentioned in the *Nugæ Etonenses*.

which he was an eye-witness. He and other fags were engaged in preparing their masters' tea one Sunday evening after church, when a messenger came to summon them all to the Upper School. They found Dr. Foster and his Assistants awaiting them there, and, as the boys came pouring in from the different houses, intense curiosity prevailed as to what was about to happen. When all were assembled, the block was brought in from the 'Library,' and an imperative voice shouted "Burke!" A burly Irish boy of about eighteen came forward and knelt down to be flogged, amid solemn silence. When the Doctor had administered three cuts, he bade him stand up again, and said—"Now, I expel you the School." The boys were more perplexed than ever, but they subsequently ascertained that Burke had been lampooning the Head Master in the London newspapers, and that he would not have submitted quietly to a flogging if he had known that it would be followed by expulsion. Angelo adds "such a disgraceful exposure was never exhibited in the middle of the School."[1] On another occasion, however, a boy named Onslow received twelve cuts from the birch, "in the middle of the School, for running away."[2]

We may easily believe that stringent measures of this kind were sometimes necessary for the maintenance of discipline, but it seems clear that Foster use to carry out his severity beyond the limits of prudence. Being unable to control the boys by his personal influence, he had recourse to a system of terrorism, which soon rendered him extremely unpopular. The fact that he was the son of a Windsor tradesman was, of itself, enough to raise a prejudice against him in the minds of his aristocratic pupils, who took no pains to hide the contempt they entertained for his person and authority.[3] One consequence of this unhappy state of affairs was that the number of boys in the School declined under him even more rapidly than it had risen under Barnard's management. In eight years it fell from 522 to 230, and Foster, broken down in health and spirits, resigned in 1773, at the age of forty-one.[4] Jonathan Davies, nicknamed

[1] Angelo's *Reminiscences*, vol. ii. pp. 376, 377.

[2] *Etoniana*, p. 63.

[3] Lipscomb's *History of Buckingham*, vol. iv. pp. 496, 497.

[4] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 343.

'Barber,' perhaps on account of his father's profession, succeeded him as Head Master, and ruled the School for eighteen years with moderate success.[1]

Among royal visitors long remembered by Etonians of this period was the young King of Denmark. When he came with the Duke of Gloucester on the 12th of September 1768, the Masters and all the boys assembled in the Upper School to receive him.[2] Another memorable event was the day of fasting ordered in 1776 in connexion with the British reverses in North America. It was religiously observed by young Charles Simeon.

In years when there was no procession *ad Montem*, the most important season was Electiontide, at the end of July. There were speeches, mostly in Latin or Greek, in Upper School on the Saturday afternoon, and again on the Monday morning before a much larger audience comprising old Etonians and others interested in the young orators. Dr. Davies records that, in 1774, the company was "most numerous and respectable," including the Prime Minister and several peers. "The School," he notes, "was so crowded that a ring was formed behind the speakers, and the boys obliged to sit on the ground."

The Election of 1778 was remarkable for the number of distinguished personages who came to Eton to hear the speeches on the Monday. The royal children arrived about noon, in three carriages preceded by twelve running footmen. The King and Queen followed "in their own post chariot" and drove into the School Yard, where they were received by two of the Fellows, and the Head Master and Lower Master, the Provost being laid up with an attack of the gout. The Archbishop of Canterbury Lord North, and others were assembled in the Upper School' and no time was lost in proceeding to the business of the day. Lord Wellesley, one of the senior Oppidans, had the honour of making two recitations, the second of which, Lord Strafford's last speech, he delivered with such pathos as to draw tears from

[1] There is a curious reference to him in the College Minute Book under date of 21 January 1756; "Agreed at the same time to give ten guineas to Davis, the Captain of the Scholars, now going to King's College, in consideration of his poverty, but especially of his merit and good behaviour."

[2] Angelo's *Reminiscences*, vol. ii. p. 359; *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxxviii. p. 444.

the whole audience. The Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnaburg, we are told, "took most affectionate notice of all the speakers, shaking hands with them several times." The royal party proceeded from the Upper School to the Church, and thence to the Long Chamber, where every Scholar stood by his own bedside. They afterwards went to the Lodge, to see Dr. Barnard in his bedroom, and the King, on taking leave, declared that this should not be his last visit to the College.[1] A holiday was observed in several succeeding years in commemoration of the day, although not on the actual anniversary.[2] After the speeches, the Archbishop of Canterbury took Lord Wellesley with him to spend part of the holidays at Lambeth, and on their way they called on David Garrick at Hampton. "Your Lordship," said the great tragedian to Lord Wellesley, "has done what I could never accomplish—made the King weep." "That," replied the hero of the morning with equal courtesy, "is because you never spoke before him in the character of a fallen favourite."[3]

Lord Wellesley's younger brother, Arthur Wellesley, thrashed 'Bobus' Smith in a fight at Eton, but did little else to attract the attention of his schoolfellows.[4] As Duke of Wellington, he has been credited with a remark that "the Battle of Waterloo was won in the Playing Fields," meaning that he and many of his brother officers had in their boyish contests developed qualities which proved valuable to them in later years. Whether or not he ever uttered these very words, there is contemporary record of his having said something of the sort on the occasion of a brief visit to Eton on the 22nd of January 1818. He came in the morning unexpectedly, to see his two sons, who were then at school under the charge of a private tutor, and boarding at Ragueneau's house.

> "He went all over the house, and visited the room which he had occupied when at school. He looked into the garden,

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xlviii. p. 385; *Add. MS.* 5868, f. 39*b*. quoting the *Cambridge Chronicle* of 1 August 1778.

[2] MS. Diary of Dr. Davies, in the custody of the Provost.

[3] Jesse's *Memoirs of the Reign of George III.* vol. iii. p. 16.

[4] Gleig's *Life of Wellington.*

and asked what had become of broad black ditch over which he used so often to leap. He said : 'I really believe I owe my spirit of enterprise to the tricks I used to play in the garden.' He remembered the name of 'Virgins' bower,' which used to be given to the room next the kitchen where the maids slept. He thought there was a way through it, and said he was going that way. He seemed in high spirits, and when the cook was calling all the servants to go out to see the Duke, he stopped her, as she was going into the kitchen, by saying : 'The Duke is coming to see *you*.'"

A few boys who were in the School Yard cheered him as he went to call on Dr. Goodall, and he ended by asking for a holiday. Dr. Keate was in attendance during part of the forty minutes that he spent at Eton.[1] 'An old Colleger,' writing more than seventy years afterwards, states that he saw the hero of Waterloo "running along the Long Walk wall, followed by his two young sons" and others, "chattering to the boys, and the boys laughing and chattering back, until he jumped down in the midst of them—the veriest boy of them all."[2] A portrait of the Duke, painted in manhood, hangs in the Provost's Lodge.

There was once a debating society at Eton, in which the members assumed the titles and parts of the ministers of state and their principal opponents ; and it was in this mock Parliament that Lord Wellesley and Henry Grey made their first political speeches.[3] The former excelled all his contemporaries at school in writing Latin verses, an art which he continued to practise in his old age ;[4] and Dr. Goodall described him, before a committee of the House of Commons, as a much better classic scholar, in all respects, than Richard Porson, who was more remarkable at Eton for the power of his memory than for the correctness of his compositions. According to a well-known story, Porson, being called up in a Horace lesson when he had mislaid his book,

[1] MS. Diary lately in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Keate. Cf. Angelo's *Reminiscences*, vol. ii. pp. 106, 107.

[2] *Eton of Old*, p. 96. Although the Duke's visit there described is assigned to a time "shortly after" the battle of Waterloo, it is clearly identical with that mentioned above. Lord Douro and Lord C. Wellesley did not go to Eton until after July 1817. (Stapylton's *Eton School Lists*.) Mr. Tucker's statement that the Duke "managed to escape the Provost and Head" is manifestly incorrect.

[3] *Public Characters*, A.D. *1803—1804*, p. 426.

[4] See his *Primitiæ et Reliquiæ*.

borrowed an Ovid from a neighbour, and with this in his hand construed the Horace without a mistake. He was by no means an enthusiastic Etonian, and in after life he used to look back to the rat-hunts in the Long Chamber with greater pleasure than to any other incident of his schooldays. He preferred English to Latin composition, and it was in the former language that he addressed some anonymous lines to Charles Simeon, apostrophizing him as "the ugliest boy in Dr. Davies's dominions." He also wrote two dramatic pieces for representation in Long Chamber, one of which, entitled '*Out of the frying pan into the fire*,' has been preserved in manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge. The actors were Stephenson, Chafie, Goodall, Moore, and Porson himself.[1]

Some Oppidans also had a taste for theatricals, but they were not so ambitious as to attempt original pieces. When Barnard was Head Master, arrangements were made for a performance of Addison's *Cato* at one of the boarding-houses, and numerous invitations were issued. A disreputable old wig was procured for the occasion, and was done up by the barber, on condition that he should be allowed to see it on Cato's head. The first few scenes were greatly applauded, and George Hardinge, the hero, was holding forth in his best manner, when the door opened, and revealed the well-known form of the Head Master. Everybody fled, except the patriot Cato, who had to submit to the indignity of being stripped of his wig and gown. Barnard was vastly amused by the incident, and kept the wig in his room as a trophy, until one day the Vice-Provost, John Burton, recognized it as a discarded one of his own, and carried it off for future use, declaring that the barber had made it as good as new. "This anecdote lasted Barnard for a month. Cato and the Vice-Provost shared the ridicule which convulsed the boys with laughter."

Perhaps Barnard would not have cared to stop the performance if he had been invited, for he was a great admirer of the drama. George Hardinge says :—

> "If nature had given him Garrick's features and figure, he would have been scarce inferior to him in theatrical powers.

[1] Watson's *Life of Porson*, pp. 18—26 ; Beloe's *Sexagenarian*, vol. i p. 215.

He was an admirable mimic; but he was never, like that wonderful man, *an actor off the stage*. . . . His *forte* was a picturesque anatomy of character. His narratives, like those of Garrick, brought the figures alive before you, and yet with no theatrical pedantry; in which respect I thought him superior to Garrick. Mr. Bryant once told me that he was present at a wonderful illustration of his powers in satire. He was in company with an overbearing and impudent savage, who, conceiving effrontery to be a match for genius, was often rudely offensive to him. Barnard, in high good humour, took an opportunity of describing the man by another name, and, lest the portrait should be too marked, he gave the hero of *his* portrait a nose that was aquiline. The curious brute was observed by the rest in the act of tracing his features, to discover if the nose corresponded."

So long as Barnard was merely Head Master, he exercised a certain amount of self-restraint, but after his promotion to the Provostship he indulged his wit too freely, sometimes allowing it to degenerate into buffoonery.[1] One of his detractors—and they were many—declared that he had caused Edward Betham to be elected to a Fellowship in order to have a suitable butt always at hand.[2] He loved to associate with Johnson, Reynolds and other men of genius; and Foote the great comedian, was often his guest, rendering valuable assistance whenever there were private theatricals at the Lodge, entertainments in which some of the scholars generally took part.[3] Foote, having on one occasion been conducted round the College by a party of boys, asked his young *ciceroni* what he could do for them in return. "Tell us, Mr. Foote," said the leader, "the best thing you ever said." "Why," replied he, "I saw a little blackguard imp of a chimney-sweeper, mounted on a noble steed, prancing and curveting in all the pride and magnificence of nature. 'There,' said I, 'goes Warburton on Shakespeare.'"[4]

[1] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. pp. 543—551.

[2] *Poems, &c. of George Monck Berkeley*, p. xlii.

[3] Angelo's *Reminiscences*, vol. ii. p. 416.

[4] Forster's *Essay on Foote*.




## 1781—1809.

William Hayward Roberts—Rebellion in 1783—Jonathan Davies—William Langford—George Heath—Anecdotes of George III.—The *Microcosm*—George Canning—The *Miniature*—Cricket—Boating—Joseph Goodall—Benefactions—Condition of the Collegers.

NOTICES of Eton, and of the principal members of the College, at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, are somewhat scanty. Upon the death of Dr. Barnard in December 1781, Thomas Dampier, a Kingsman, son of a former Lower Master and Fellow, came forward as a candidate for the Provostship, relying upon his influence with the Prime Minister, Lord North, to one of whose sons he had recently been tutor. The King, however, took the matter into his own hands, declaring that, as he lived at Windsor, he regarded all rights of patronage there or at Eton as belonging peculiarly to himself. He had often chatted pleasantly on the Terrace with William Hayward Roberts, one of the Fellows, who had a numerous family, and, by his express wish, Roberts was elected Provost on the 12th of December. The Head Master, Jonathan Davies, who might be supposed to have some claim to the highest office in the College, obtained, instead, a Canonry of Windsor,

the duties of which did not materially interfere with his normal work.

The new Provost, who was only forty-eight years of age, had prospered as an Assistant Master, and had taken every advantage of his position as a Fellow. Cole says of him :—

> "A portly man and of much pride and state, and was used to have 'routs,' as they are called, in the College apartments, for card-playing, which filled the College court with carriages and tumult, not much to the edification of a place of education, and would have the great gates opened for them, which offended the primitive Mr. Betham very much."
>
> "He is a person of the largest size and bulk with great red eyebrows, and I know that he is of Glocestershire, as I have heard him called 'Double Glocester' in allusion to the two different sizes of Glocestershire cheeses, one of which is as big again as the other."[1]

So too, Miss Burney writes :—

> "The Provost is very fat, with a large paunch and gouty legs. He is good-humoured, loquacious, gay, civil, and parading. I am told, nevertheless, he is a poet and a very good one."[2]

Dr. Roberts was the author of a long poem entitled '*Judah Restored*,' and of a work on the errors in the English version of the Old Testament, both long since forgotten.[3]

The Provost sometimes had delicate duties to discharge. At the end of November 1783, the Assistant Masters waited on him in a body, and tendered their resignations, on account of some differences with the Head Master. While fully admitting Dr. Davies's diligence and zeal in the execution of his office, they complained of his injurious and ungentlemanlike behaviour towards themselves. The Provost replied that such matters did not come within his cognizance according to the statutes, which indeed made no mention whatever of Assistant Masters, but he offered, in his private capacity, to mediate between the contending parties. His offer was duly accepted, but two days passed in

[1] *Add. MS.* 5879, ff. 38*b*, 148; *Historical MSS. Commission, Fifteenth Report*, App. VI. p. 549.

[2] *Madame d' Arblay's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 226.

[3] Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ix. p. 187.

recriminations and fruitless attempts at a reconciliation, Davies being all the while left as the only Master in the Upper School. Some ten of the Oppidans accordingly took advantage of the confusion to draw up a list of their supposed grievances, and apply for the remission of certain 'absences' and the like. The Head Master's refusal to relax the discipline of the School was the signal for the outbreak of a serious revolt, in which, although all the Collegers and the senior Oppidans discountenanced the movement, the malcontents were actively supported by the Oppidans in the lower forms. Dr. Davies was driven out of the Upper School, and it was with difficulty that he escaped through a back-door to the Provost's Lodge. The rioters then, being left in possession, proceeded to break all the windows of the School and of the Head Master's Chambers, made havoc of his furniture and destroyed his papers. They furthermore removed the block, or 'whipping-post,' and divided it up among themselves and their schoolfellows with red-hot pokers, their knives being apparently too weak for such work. Fragments of it were regarded as interesting trophies, and the young Marquess of Huntly eventually took one away with him to Gordon Castle. Matters indeed became so serious that the Assistant Masters, "who had laid aside their gowns," took alarm, and quickly accepted the overtures made to them by their chief. Order was thus re-established, but, to prevent the risk of any further unpleasantness, all the boys were sent away for the Christmas holidays at the beginning of December.[1]

It was thought at the time that the parents of some of the boys would combine to demand the removal of Dr. Davies, but he continued in the office of Head Master until December 1791, when, upon the death of Dr. Roberts, he was elected Provost. The last year of his administration was marked by the publication in print of a List of the School as taken at Electiontide, the first of the long series printed and annotated by the late Mr. Stapylton. Out of 433 boys named therein, only 55 were members of the foundation, the notorious hardships of life in College deterring even poor parents from taking advantage of the substantial benefits

[1] *Historical MSS. Comm. Fourteenth Report*, Appendix I. p. 72; *Autobiography of Mrs. Delany*, vol. vi. pp. 171, 172.

offered. George Canning, Captain of the Oppidans in 1786, states explicitly that the Collegers were "not looked upon in near so respectable a light" as the Oppidans, and owns to an "insurmountable dislike" to the foundation.[1] Henry the Sixth might not perhaps have objected to a system under which, at that period, the ranks of the Collegers were largely recruited from the sons of tradesmen in Windsor and Eton, but he would assuredly have seen that something was amiss when beds in the dormitory and seats in the hall were tenantless.

Dr. Davies is remembered chiefly as the founder of two scholarships for superannuated Collegers, and one for a poor Scholar of King's, each worth 42*l.* a year, and of prizes for Holiday Task and 'Declamations' at Eton, recently suppressed. He was a noted *bon-vivant*, and a friend of the Prince of Wales, at whose table, nevertheless, he is said to have received a well-merited rebuke one evening. The talk after dinner ran upon the classics, and the Prince expressed an opinion about Homer. Davies, who was more than half drunk, interposed rudely, "What do *you* know about Homer? I'd bet you don't know a line of the *Iliad*." "I'll take your bet," answered the Prince, and forthwith quoted a line in the First Book, beginning Οἰνοβαρές ("thou wine-bibber").[2] Dr. Davies figures, with two other Kingsmen, in the elaborate satire of Mathias, who, in characterizing an event as distant and improbable, writes :—

> "Sooner Stentorian Davies cease to talk,
> And for *his* Eton quit his Bond Street walk;
> Sumner drink deep of the Castalian spring;
> Or Langford leave off preaching to the King."

In the footnotes, Davies is described as "a learned, pleasant, generous, open-hearted man, but in conversation too much of a Stentor, who is declared by Homer to have had a voice equal to fifty other men. Mr. Provost has an invincible partiality for the charms of London, whenever *his duty* does not oblige him to be at his Lodge. The reason is simple; the air at Eton now and then bites shrewdly."

[1] Knight's *Half Hours with the best Letter Writers*, Second Series, pp. 424, 425.

[2] Dr. Hawtrey used to tell this story of Provost Barnard, but with less probability.

The Sumner mentioned was Humphrey Sumner, Provost of King's. Langford was Lower Master, or Usher, at Eton, Canon of Windsor, and Chaplain to George the Third, in which capacity he used diligently to follow the King to Weymouth. "The Doctor," writes Mathias, "seems unwilling to trust the royal theology to the country curates, even for a few weeks, during his Majesty's absence from the heavenly country at Windsor."[1] A



William Langford, Under Master at Eton, A.D. 1793.[2]

"cauliflower wig" and a cocked hat were part of the official costume of the Lower Master until 1802,[3] and an Etonian of 1786 enquires

> "At Surly Hall, who cares a fig
> For Langford in his gown and wig?"[4]

According to tradition, Dr. Langford, when in residence at the

[1] Mathias's *Pursuits of Literature*, Dialogue iv.

[2] From an original drawing by S. H. Grimm, in the British Museum.

[3] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. C. Blake], p. 31.

[4] Lawrence's *Etonian out of Bounds*, vol. i. p. 7.

Castle, used to administer floggings there, instead of in the Lower School. Complaints, it is said, were allowed to accumulate until it suited him to attend to them, and the culprits were then made to march up to his house in a body.

Severer discipline was maintained in the Upper School by George Heath, nicknamed 'Ascot Heath,' who succeeded Jonathan Davies as Head Master in 1792. Michael Hicks Beach, writing to his mother, in February 1796, retails the experiences of his schoolfellow Warren :—

> "That in the Lower School he could get on from one holiday to another without being flogged, but that in the Upper School he can hardly get off from one day to another without a flogging ; for that he has been flogged once for striking a boy who pulled his hair, and had he not staid out would have been flogged for putting his foot against another boy's ; and he also says it is a great shame flogging for such trifles."

Tradition relates that on one occasion Dr. Heath flogged no less than seventy boys, administering ten cuts to each, and that, after the operation, "he was laid up with aches and pains for more than a week."[1] A letter written in July 1798 mentions his having recently given fifty-two boys "a round dozen each."[2] Once only is he recorded to have held his avenging hand, and that was when the boys boarding at Mrs. Yonge's house 'broziered' their parsimonious dame.[3] Nevertheless Heath entirely failed to suppress tandem-driving and other similar recreations not permissible at a public school. On the afternoon of every fine holiday and half-holiday in his time, three or four tandems might be seen leaving the yards at Windsor, driven by Eton boys.[4] John Hawtrey, writing in November 1799, asks :—

> "How [can] Heath go on with his lawless b[oys]? November is always a month of riot. God bless him! I

[1] *Eton of Old* [by W. H. Tucker], p. 181.

[2] Hawtrey's *History of the Hawtrey Family*, vol. i.

[3] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [by H. C. Blake], p. 37. A 'brozier' was the short Eton term for a conspiracy to go on eating until there was nothing left in the house, and then to ask for more. In Cheshire, a 'brozier' means a bankrupt.

[4] Information of the late Earl of Abingdon, derived from Col. Bisse Challoner.

wish he had good preferment and would retire from the school."[1]

Heath took a Fellowship at the end of 1801, and was succeeded as Head Master by Joseph Goodall.[2]

George the Third was ever partial to Eton. When there was an idea of the young De Quincey being sent to school there, the King said to him emphatically—"All people think highly of Eton; everybody praises Eton. Your mother does right to inquire; there can be no harm in that; but the more she inquires, the more she will be satisfied—that I can answer for."[3] George the Third knew many of the boys personally, and he would chat with those whom he saw on the wall of the Long Walk as he rode through Eton, or on the Terrace at Windsor. "Well, well, my boy. When were you flogged last, eh, eh? Your Master is very kind to you all, is not he? Have you had any rebellions lately, eh, eh? Naughty boys you know sometimes. Should not you like to have a holiday, if I hear a good character of you, eh, eh? Well, we will see about it."[4] When he noticed a face which was not familiar to him, he would stop and ask "What's your name?" "Who's your tutor?" "Who's your dame?" and on receiving the answers, he would generally remark:—"*Very* good tutor, *very* good dame." On one occasion he asked young Stratford Canning what part of the School he was in, and when the future diplomatist replied:—"In the Sixth Form," the King observed:—"A much greater man than I can ever make you."[5] He watched with interest the careers of the most promising scholars, and once reminded an eminent statesman of a prize he had obtained at Eton.[6] The late John Barnard, of King's, remembered going to the Terrace with his father and brothers, about 1807.[7] The King came up to them, and, after a few kind words of greeting to the father, pointed to the lad and

[1] Hawtrey, vol. i. p. 134.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 13*th Report*, App. iv. p. 365.

[3] De Quincey's *Autobiographic Sketches*, p. 166.

[4] *Reminiscences of an Etonian*, p. 62.

[5] Lane-Poole's *Life of Stratford Canning*, vol. i. p. 16.

[6] *Annual Register* (ed. Baldwin), vol. lxii. p. 708. The statesman was perhaps Lord Wellesley.

[7] The boys used to go up to the Terrace of a Sunday afternoon, in full dress, and if there were any holes in their black silk stockings, they used to remedy the defect by a judicious application of ink to their legs.

asked :—"Who is this?" "Another son, Sir, whom I have lately placed at Eton." "What!" said the King, affecting severity, "Lower boy, do you know that you are out of bounds?" Then, turning round to the eldest brother, who was in the Sixth Form, he said, "Put him in the bill, Præpostor: he must be flogged." Another day, a boy named More ran up against the King, in the street, and by stopping to apologize became late for 'absence.' The King took down his name, and kindly sent a note to the Head Master, begging that the boy might not be punished.

Little incidents of this kind made George the Third very popular with the boys, and when he appeared at Eton unexpectedly in May 1804, after a partial recovery of his health, they greeted him with loud cheers, and followed the royal carriages up to the Castle to give a final 'hurrah.' The knowledge that this hearty demonstration had been quite spontaneous gratified him exceedingly, and, on the following day, he declared that from thenceforth he would be an "Anti-Westminster."[1] A few months after this, he went down to Eton in person, to invite about eighty of the boys to a ball given at Windsor for the amusement of the young Princesses.[2] A late Vice-Provost, Thomas Carter, remembered a concert to which masters and boys were alike invited; the boys were kept to supper at the Castle, while the masters were allowed to go home supperless. It has been stated on apparently good authority that the Collegers received the name of King's Scholars by express command of George the Third;[3] but, even if this be true, the designation was not a new one, for it occurs in manuscripts of the years 1621 and 1661.[4] The continued observance of this King's birthday, the Fourth of June, as a *gala* day at Eton is largely due to the fact that his successor's birthday fell during the holidays.[5]

The King's frequent visits to Eton were not prompted merely by a liking for the boys. In announcing to the Bishop

[1] *Rose's Diaries*, vol. ii. pp. 146, 147; Lane-Poole's *Life of Stratford Canning*, vol. i. p. 17.

[2] Watkin's *Memoirs of Queen Charlotte*, p. 484.

[3] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 77. The account of Eton is said to have been drawn up, or at least corrected, by Provost Goodall.

[4] *Rawlinson MS.* B. 274, f. 49; Page 252, above.

[5] *English Spy*, vol. i.

of Worcester his intention of being present on Election Monday in 1787, he wrote :—

> "I wish from time to time to show a regard for the education of youth, on which most essentially depend my hopes of an advantageous change in the manners of the nation." [1]

Miss Burney accompanied the royal party on the occasion, and thus records what took place :—

> "The speeches were chiefly in Greek and Latin, but concluded with three or four in English ; some were pronounced extremely well, especially those spoken by the chief composers of the *Microcosm*, Canning and Smith." [2]

The *Microcosm* was the first, and in some respects the most successful, of the different magazines which, from time to time, have been conducted by Eton boys. It was started in the winter of 1786, by a committee of four—George Canning, John Smith, Robert Smith, better known as 'Bobus' Smith, and John Hookham Frere, the editorial *nom-de-plume* being 'Gregory Griffin of the College of Eton.' Most of the numbers contain essays written in imitation of those in the *Spectator* and *Tatler*, the proportion of verse to prose being small. Canning, as might be expected, did not confine himself to either branch of composition, and the poem which he wrote on the Slavery of Greece has been cited to prove the early date at which he interested himself in the political state of a country whose liberation he afterwards helped to accomplish. The *Microcosm* had a large circulation beyond the limits of the School, and Miss Burney sent portions of it to the Queen.[3] After the publication of the last number at Electiontide 1787, the copyright was sold for fifty guineas to Charles Knight, the Windsor bookseller,[4] and several reprints were issued, one as late as 1825.

Less serious in character than Canning's contributions to the *Microcosm* were some lines which he wrote upon the marriage of Pote, the Eton bookseller, to Mary Kendal, daughter of his

[1] *Bentley's Miscellany*, vol. xxvi. pp. 334—336.

[2] *Madame d'Arblay's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 412. Canning himself alludes to his pleasure in taking parts that afforded opportunities for oratory. Knight's *Half Hours with the best Letter Writers*, 2nd Series, p. 424.

[3] *Madame d'Arblay's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 236.

[4] *Annual Register*, vol. lxix. p. 480.

well-known neighbour, the landlord of the *Christopher* Inn.[1] Altogether the reputation which he won as a schoolboy was without precedent. Charles James Fox came down to Eton on purpose to see him, and had some claim upon his gratitude, as having helped to dissuade his uncle from transferring him from an Oppidans' house into College.[2]

It is interesting to contrast the opinions on the subject of education entertained by two of the greatest Etonian statesmen. Lord Chatham declared :—

> "That he scarce observed a boy who was not cowed for life at Eton ; that a public school might suit a boy of turbulent, forward disposition, but would not do where there was any gentleness."[3]

On the other hand, Canning said :—

> "Foreigners often ask, by what means an uninterrupted succession of men, qualified more or less eminently for the performance of parliamentary and official duties, is secured. First, I answer (with the prejudices, perhaps, of Eton and Oxford), that we owe it to our system of public schools and universities. From these institutions is derived (in the language of the prayer of our Collegiate Churches) 'a due supply of men fitted to serve their country in Church and State.' It is in her public schools and universities that the youth of England are, by a discipline which shallow judgments have sometimes attempted to undervalue, prepared for the duties of public life. There are rare and splendid exceptions, to be sure ; but in my conscience I believe that England would not be what she is, without her system of public education ; and that no other country can become what England is, without the advantages of such a system."[4]

Canning often revisited his old school ; and, at one of the Eton dinners in London, he declared amid enthusiastic applause, that "whatever might be the success in after life,

[1] Angelo's *Reminiscences*, vol. ii. pp. 277, 278.

[2] Knight's *Half Hours with the best Letter Writers*, Second Series, p. 423.

[3] Fitzmaurice's *Life of Lord Shelburne*, vol. i. p. 72. The same opinion is expressed in Cowper's *Tirocinium* :—

> "The rude will scuffle through with ease enough,
> Great schools suit best the sturdy and the rough."

[4] Quoted in the notes to Byron's *Don Juan*, canto i. stanza 52.

whatever gratification of ambition might be realised, whatever triumphs might be achieved, no one is ever again so great a man as when he was a Sixth Form boy at Eton."[1]

The success of the *Microcosm* did not tempt any boys to try their powers as authors until 1804, when a new magazine, entitled the *Miniature*, was set on foot, under the management of a mythical 'Solomon Grildrig.' The two publications resemble one another in scope and style, as well as in name. No list of contributors was ever published, but it is known that Stratford Canning (afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe) was the working editor, and that he was assisted by Thomas Rennell, H. Gally Knight, and the two illegitimate sons of the Marquess Wellesley. Thirty-four numbers of the *Miniature* were issued in the course of a twelvemonth, and were afterwards reprinted as an octavo volume dedicated to Dr. Goodall. The sale of the book was small, and the editors were beginning to feel uncomfortable about their pecuniary obligations to the publisher, Charles Knight of Windsor, when a little bookseller in Fleet Street, named John Murray, offered to help them out of their difficulties. He bought up and destroyed all the unsold copies, and at his own risk brought out a new edition in two small volumes, which, although commercially a failure, had the effect of bringing him into immediate contact with George Canning, the cousin of the principal editor. Under the patronage of the great Tory leader, he widened his connexion, started the *Quarterly Review*, and became the founder of the famous business now carried on in Albemarle Street.[2]

One Etonian of this period, Charles R. Sumner, eventually Bishop of Winchester, wrote a sensational novel entitled '*The White Nun or the Black Bog of Dromore*,' the copyright of which he sold to Ingalton for 5*l*. It was issued as the work of "a young gentleman of note," the publisher explaining to the author that every one would see that 'note' was 'Eton' spelt backwards.[3]

Turning to lighter forms of amusement, we find that the

[1] Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 170.

[2] Knight's *Passages of a Working Life*, vol. i. pp. 65, 66; Lane-Poole's *Life of Stratford Canning*, vol. i. pp. 19, 22; Smiles's *Memoir of John Murray*, vol. i. pp. 67—69.

[3] *Dictionary of National Biography*.

reputation of Eton for cricket stood very high at the close of the eighteenth century, and that an Eleven of old Etonians could hold its own against almost any foe. In April 1792, there was a match at Lord's for 500 guineas, "seven gentleman of Eaton against seven gentlemen of Marylabone (*sic*) Club, with four men to field on each side." Most of the old Etonians who played were themselves members of the Marylebone Club.[1] The boys, too, were generally victorious in their matches against the Oldfield Club.[2] On the other hand, they were beaten by the Westminster Eleven in the first match known to have been played between any two public schools. The place selected was Hounslow Heath, and the day the 25th of July 1796. Almost all the Oppidans went to watch the progress of the game; and those who stayed at Eton agreed to 'shirk absence,' so that when the names of the Collegers had been called over by the Sixth Form Præpostor, the Head Master asked in surprise:—"Polehampton, where are the Oppidans?"[3] He had positively forbidden the match, but the Eleven counted on personal immunity, because most of them were going to leave school in the following week. They were greeted on their return from Hounslow Heath with the information that they were all to be expelled, and were consequently glad enough to compound for a flogging the next morning.[4]

The defeat sustained in 1796 was more than avenged on the old Lord's Ground four years later, when the Eton Eleven obtained 213 runs in one innings, against 54 and 31. Thomas Lloyd, who contributed 81 runs, an enormous score in those days, thus almost beating Westminster off his own bat, caught a cold on the occasion and died shortly afterwards. In July 1801, the Eton bowlers disposed of their opponents for 34 and 17 runs; no member of the defeated Eleven scoring more than 8.[5] The result was very discouraging to the Westminster boys, and no match has been played between these two schools from that time to the present. Some Harrovians fared little better

[1] Papers at Burley on the Hill.

[2] Lillywhite's *Cricket Scores*, vol. i. pp. 155—223.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 204; information of the late Rev. J. F. Plumptre, Fellow of Eton.

[4] Information of the Rev. J. H. Snowden.

[5] Lillywhite's *Cricket Scores*, vol. i. p. 291.

in an informal match against Eton, played on old Lord's Ground in 1805, being beaten in one innings. Lord Byron, despite his club foot, scored altogether 9 runs for Harrow, and Stratford Canning was one of the representatives of Eton.[1]

More important in the eyes of Etonians were the matches played in their own Shooting Fields against some of the most famous clubs in England. A contest with the Marylebone Club in 1808 or 1809 lasted into a second day and ended in a signal triumph for the boys, largely due to Sir Christopher Willoughby, who, by "a system of beautiful blocking" is said to have "wearied out the skill and even the patience of his adversaries." Such a style of play would hardly be considered interesting nowadays. Nevertheless, when the cricketers went into Upper School, fresh from their victory, "all construing ceased," and the Head Master, Dr. Goodall, "greeted the modest Sir Christopher with language savouring of the greatest delight."[2] According to another writer of reminiscences, Willoughby could stay in for the greater part of an innings without ever making more than a single run at a time, and with a small score at the end.[3] He met his death in the cricket-field at Oxford a few years later.

The following is perhaps the earliest notice of a match played by Etonians against Etonians :—

> "There has been a match at cricket by the eleven best players against the twenty-two next best, and the twenty-two beat ; and after that out of those twenty-two there was eleven men chosen who played the twenty-two next best to them and beat them."[4]

Very few particulars have been preserved as to the manner in which Etonians of a century ago amused themselves on the Thames. Of boat-races no record whatever is known to exist. It is, however, tolerably clear that on the Fourth of June and again on Election Saturday of every year, a regular procession of long boats used to go up to Surly Hall, accompanied along the banks by a crowd of Etonians and others. A boy of twelve, writing to his mother in the first week of June 1793, says :—

[1] Wisden's *Public School Matches.*
[2] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. J. Blake], pp. 50—52.
[3] *Eton of Old*, p. 110.
[4] Letter from M. Hicks Beach, 4 May 1795.

"On Tuesday, the King's birthday, there went up six boats, all with flags to them as good and as large as the Montem flag, and all different from each other. All the boys that pulled in them had caps with feathers in them. Some of the boys went up in chase and four, some in gigs, and some on horseback." [1]

Three or four years later, he writes :—

"There are four eight-oared boats, and two sixes, this year. I have hear it said that the Colligers intend manning another six, but I fancy it is a mere report. To-morrow I shall pull up in the third eight for Warren."

So again on the 21st of May 1797, he says :—

"My cap is made, but I have not yet seen it. It is to cost a guinea. All our caps are made together, that they might be alike. Lucas *major* pulls in my boat."

Here we may perhaps discover the germ of the elaborate costume now worn by the crews of the different boats on the Fourth of June.

With regard to ordinary boating, the same boy mentions "Piper's skifts," "the four-oared boat," and "Piper's six." He also says :—"When I go on the water or in, I always take off my coat and wastecoat (*sic*) and put on my great coat," and he describes himself as attired in "riding breeches" when his boat was accidentally submerged near Windsor Bridge.

In June 1798, there was serious trouble at Eton with regard to an expedition on the Thames. Dr. Heath, having heard that many of the Fifth Form, and some of the lower boys, intended to row up to Maidenhead, thereby necessarily 'shirking six o'clock absence,' tried in vain to dissuade them. Regardless of his remonstrances and his threats alike, they carried out their scheme, and were soundly flogged on their return ; but this punishment did not suffice to quell the spirit of insubordination, for one of the same boys was guilty of another act of disobedience in the following week and was expelled in consequence.[2]

Among the minor games in vogue at Eton at this period and for some time afterwards was that of 'the devil on two sticks,' lately revived under the name of 'diabolo.' [3] Bandalores were also

[1] Letter from M. Hicks Beach.

[2] Dodsley's *Annual Register*, vol. xl. p. 50.

[3] Green's *Memories of Eton and King's*, p. 41.

popular. A bandalore was a disc of box-wood, with a deep groove in its outer edge, round which a string was coiled, and the art was to send it flying through the air unwinding the string as it went, and by giving a jerk at a particular moment to bring the disc back again to the hand, recoiling the string on its return journey.[1] Michael Hicks Beach, writing to his mother in his sixteenth year, says :—

> "I have three exelent bandylores and did throw one of them out (which has a string about four feet and a half long), one hundred and fifty-nine times without missing."

A year later, he describes himself as "playing hop, step and jump," a puerile game which is also mentioned by an Etonian in 1787. In an undated letter, he says :—"I swam from the Upper Hope very near down to the warf down opposite Stoccker's mill."

There is an epitaph in the Chapel to Lord Waldegrave, who was drowned in 1794, aged about ten years ;[2] and several of his schoolfellows met with a similar death at different times. The Collegers used to bathe near the oak tree in the Lower Shooting Fields,[3] while the Oppidans frequented the upper part of the river, sometimes 'taking headers' off the low wooden bridge which then connected Eton with Windsor.[4] In one of the compositions in the *Musæ Etonenses*, a nurse is represented as warning her fondling of the perils that await him at school :—

> "*In fragili cymba tua membra ignara natandi*
> *O noli Thamesis credere cautus aquis ;*
> *Neu, si te parvus gessit per rura caballus,*
> *Et per nostra humiles prata tulere rotæ,*
> *Excelso in curru moderare infirmus habenas ;*
> *Neu quid Etonensi crede caducus equo.*"[5]

[1] *Eton of Old*, p. 106 ; *New English Dictionary*. The definitions given in both these books appear to be somewhat incorrect, and the toy in question is not extinct, although it may perhaps bear a different name nowadays.

[2] Lipscomb's *History of Buckingham*, vol. iv. p. 487.

[3] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. J. Blake], p. 86.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 54. The term 'header' is said to be of Etonian origin. Blake's use of it is considerably earlier than any of the quotations given in the *New English Dictionary*.

[5] *Musæ Etonenses*, New Series, vol. i. p. 98.



Sixth Form Bench, and Fellows' Eyot.

This open allusion to driving and riding would suffice to show that such recreations were then in vogue at Eton. Elsewhere we read that Davis's tandem was frequently hired for a drive to Virginia Water, and that the more adventurous boys sometimes got a run with the hounds.[1] Henry Matthews, afterwards author of *The Diary of an Invalid*, drove through Eton itself.

The double danger of being intercepted by a Master or by a gamekeeper added greatly to the excitement of predatory expeditions in Windsor Little Park. A boy named Coke had just shot a hare one day when the gamekeepers came up ; he took to his heels, flung his prey over the wall by the waterside, and, having clambered over, found to his dismay that the comrade whom he had left in the boat had taken alarm and rowed off. As there was not a moment to be lost, he at once plunged into the river with the hare in his mouth, and swam across to the Playing Fields in safety.[2] On another occasion, when three boys were coursing with a greyhound in the Park, one of them, named Barnard, was captured by a keeper and locked up for the night. Dr. Goodall was greatly amused at hearing of the affair, and informed the boys of it in school the next morning with mock solemnity :—"One of your comrades is now languishing in prison with common malefactors, for a serious offence against the King himself—poaching in the royal demesnes. I do not know whether he has actually committed high treason, but I am sure you will join with me in a hope that he will escape with his life." The culprit had in point of fact spent his time very pleasantly, having had an excellent supper and breakfast in the society of the keeper's pretty daughter. In the end he got off scot-free, the King and the Head Master mutually leaving it to the other to fix on a suitable punishment.[3]

Another boy, who survived until 1888, was caught shooting close to the Slough Road, by John Keate, the Lower Master, and 'complained of' in due course. The forfeiture of his

[1] *Reminiscences of an Etonian*, p. 63.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 83—85 ; Information of the late Rev. A. F. Luttrell.

[3] *Reminiscences of an Etonian*, p. 85 ; Information of the late Mr. John Barnard.

gun was the worst part of his punishment, for Goodall's floggings were, like the rest of his discipline, of the mildest character.[1] The School, nevertheless, flourished under him, and the number of boys in the later part of his administration was almost as great as it had been in Dr. Barnard's time. Dr. Hawtrey writes of him :—

> "He had a peculiar talent of finding out and stirring up latent powers—powers of which from snubbing and neglect the possessor himself was wholly ignorant, and ready to give up all exertion in despair. Goodall caught at the first symptom of merit, gave it more than its due praise, but not more than the broken spirit required ; and if he found responsive diligence, he took the earliest opportunity of rewarding it, and thereby making a character which might, by less kind management, have soon sunk into absolute and inconceivable nothingness."

Hawtrey himself was one of a small group which profited largely by sympathetic treatment.

> "The enthusiasm for self-culture under the inspiration of Goodall was such that not one of that set would ever think of going into school without being prepared to illustrate the lesson if it were Homer or Virgil, from not only Milton but from Dante and Tasso ; if it were Demosthenes or Cicero, from great English orators ; if a Greek play, from the great modern dramatists, whether French or English. In this way Hawtrey laid the foundation of his encyclopædic knowledge of literature." [2]

The Fellows at this period were not the kind of men to leave a mark on their age, or even on their College. Several of them were often the laughing-stocks of the boys. John Norbury, in particular, known as 'Skimmer Jack,' used to cause a good deal of amusement by preaching the same sermons over and over again in the Chapel. One morning on mounting the pulpit, he found on the cushion before him a list of his favourite texts, headed :—"Skimmer Jack, which is it to be ?" Of another Fellow, William Roberts, who was elected at the early age of twenty-four, simply because he was son of the reigning Provost,

[1] Information of the late Rev. A. F. Luttrell.

[2] Thackeray's *Memoir of Hawtrey*, pp. 13—15.

it is related that when told that a chalybeate had been discovered in the Shooting Fields, he answered :—"Put it into the cistern with the rest of the fish."

In addition to the benefactions of Dr. Davies already mentioned in this chapter, we must here record Jacob Bryant's legacy of 1000*l.* for the benefit of superannuated Collegers. The Eton Library received a great accession in 1799, by the legacy of Anthony Morris Storer's collection of choice books and fine prints ;[1] and the 'ante-chapel' was beautified by the erection of a marble statue of Henry the Sixth, by Bacon, costing about 700*l.* the gift of Edward Betham, one of the Fellows. A legacy of 4000*l.* from Francis, Lord Godolphin, who died in 1785, for "augmenting the diet of the Scholars" upon the Foundation, was very strangely handled, for only a part of the interest was annually expended in buying mutton and providing pudding on Sundays, the remainder being allowed to accumulate for the benefit of a future generation.[2] The College brew-house, which in former days had supplied beer to kings and nobles, bore an indifferent reputation at the end of the eighteenth century. In a parody on Gray's *Ode*, written "on a near prospect" of Eton, in 1798, a Colleger derides the quality of the beer :—

"Pint after pint you drink in vain,
Still sober you may drink again,
You can't get drunk in Hall."[3]

The scanty food provided by the College had to be supplemented from other sources. Breakfasts were obtained at private rooms hired in the town ; lower boys were made to bring cans of beer from the *Christopher* at their own peril ; and a bar in the window of Lower Chamber was loosened at night in order to admit provisions from without.[4] An Eton tradition of this period, since turned into verse by the late Poet Laureate, relates how for a few days the Collegers enjoyed the unwonted luxury of sucking-pig for supper :—

[1] *Musæ Etonenses*, New Series, vol. i. p. 48 ; Hawtrey's *History of the Hawtrey family*, vol. i. p. 137.

[2] *Report of Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 199—209, 256—267.

[3] Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 12.

[4] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. C. Blake], pp. 76—78.

There lived a flayflint near ; we stole his fruit,
His hens, his eggs ; but there was law for *us* ;
We paid in person. He had a sow, sir. She,
With meditative grunts of much content,
Lay great with pig, wallowing in sun and mud.
By night we dragg'd her to the college tower
From her warm bed, and up the corkscrew stair
With hand and rope we haled the groaning sow,
And on the leads we kept her till she pigg'd.
Large range of prospect had the mother sow,
And, but for daily loss of one she loved,
As one by one we took them—but for this—
As never sow was higher in the world—
Might have been happy: but what lot is pure ?
We took them all, till she was left alone
Upon her tower, the Niobe of swine,
And so return'd unfarrow'd to her sty." [1]

The absence of any effective supervision of the Collegers after 'lock-up' left them free to do whatever they pleased, and some spent their evenings in gambling. In September 1806, lansquenet was much in vogue, having supplanted whist ; and Oppidans, presumably well provided with money, sometimes came in to play. A Colleger in the Sixth Form was said to have won no less than 18*l.* and another to have lost 10*l.*, within a few days after their return at the end of the holidays. Theatricals in Long Chamber were a more legitimate form of amusement.[2]

There is apparently no record of the exact date at which the Assistant Masters entered into competition with the Domines and Dames, by establishing boarding-houses for their respective pupils. Although the practice is mentioned in 1824 as a recent innovation,[3] an informal School List of 1788 shows that most of the Assistants then had a few boarders, the number in no case exceeding nine.[4] One of them, Joseph Goodall, had just built a substantial brick house at the corner of the Dorney Road,[5] and several letters by a boy living there soon after have been

[1] Tennyson's *Poems—Walking to the Mail.* The story is told in prose in the *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. C. Blake], pp. 76—78.

[2] Lane-Poole's *Life of Stratford Canning*, vol. i. pp. 18—21 ; Stapylton's *Eton School Lists*, pp. 45—47.

[3] *English Spy*, vol. i. p. 56.

[4] Austen Leigh's *Eton College Lists*, pp. xlvii, 363.

[5] *Etoniana*, pp. 12, 13.

preserved. In 1797, we read of the inmates of this house in the Upper Remove making "a row" about the bad suppers provided. On the other hand, Goodall used to allow some of his pupils to do their maps in his parlour when their own rooms were dark.[1] He continued to occupy the house until his election as Provost in 1809, when he let it to the new Head Master, from whom Keate's Lane derives its name.

One may enquire in vain as to the circumstances under which the boys' dinner-hour was shifted from twelve o'clock to two. Then again, there are considerable difficulties with regard to the origin of the meal intermediate between dinner and supper. In a letter about George Finch, afterwards Earl of Winchilsea, written on the 11th of October 1761, three days after his being placed at Mrs. Young's house, we read :—"He has most evenings company to drink tea."[2] Henry Angelo incidentally speaks of himself and other 'fags' as preparing their masters' tea on a Sunday after church, in Dr. Foster's time ;[3] and tea is mentioned again by an Etonian in 1787.[4] Nevertheless it seems to have been regarded somewhat as an innovation five years later, for Michael Hicks Beach, boarding at Goodall's, wrote to his mother :—

> "I will tell you how teathings come into this house for little boys. First Harvey's[5] mother sent him some teathings from Winsor ; then Warren wrote to his father for some and had them. . . . I wrote to you for leave to have some."

He furthermore expressed his intention of buying "teaspoons and knives ; as for forks, they are of no use for tea."[6] The most curious part of the matter is that we find one of the very boys mentioned above joining in an agitation in favour of tea more than seven years later, when one of the senior Oppidans in the School. There are several entries on the subject in the Diary of C. T. Metcalfe, afterwards Governor-General of Canada, who, like Hicks Beach and Hervey, boarded at Goodall's house :—

[1] Letters from M. Hicks Beach, 7 July 1791 ; 17 February 1796 ; and 28 February 1797.

[2] MS. at Burley on the Hill.

[3] See pages 318, 342, above.

[4] Lawrence's *Etonian out of bounds*, vol. i. p. 10.

[5] Sir F. Hervey-Bathurst.

[6] 29 October 1792.

*March* 3, 1800.—"Drank tea after six in Hervey's room, according to agreement. Afraid the plan of bringing in that custom won't succeed."

*March* 4.—"Drank tea solo."

*March* 5.—"Drank tea in Neville's room, according to agreement, after six. My hopes gain on my fears, though the latter are still predominant."

*March* 6.—"Tutor jawed about drinking tea after six. Drank tea with Tonson."

*March* 7.—"Drank tea with Shaw, according to our convention, after six. Tutor jawed with great spirit. Destruction of our plan must in the end come on. We are at our last struggle; all our endeavours now are the exertions of despair, and we must only think how to resign nobly; in such cases as these, unanimity is required to obtain success, and that has not been obtained."

*March* 10.—"Gave tea to Neville, Hervey, and Shaw, after six, according to agreement. Had a most tremendous jaw from my tutor, who said nothing but that it was a serious inconvenience, but could not bring one argument to prove that it was so."

*March* 11.—"Gave Tonson tea."

*March* 12.—"Drank tea with Shaw."

*March* 14.—"Drank tea with Hervey after six. We have conquered, and my tutor, not finding an argument against us, was obliged to consent, so that we now do it lawfully. Had it not been for our last despairing struggles, we should have failed."

This young innovator has also left a record of the books which he read at Eton for his own amusement and instruction:—Ariosto, Voltaire's *Louis XIV.* and *Charles XII.* Rousseau, Gibbon, Rowley's *Poems*, and Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*.[1]

The normal cost of an Oppidan's education at Eton at the beginning of the nineteenth century is shown by some bills sent to John Fownes Luttrell of Dunster Castle for his eldest son, who boarded with the Misses Hawtrey. For half a year from Christmas 1800 to the 25th of June following, these ladies charged 15*l.* for 'board,' 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* for 'bed,' 2*l.* 2*s.* for 'fire and candle,' 14*s.* for 'study,' and 2*l.* 2*s.* for 'washing and mending,' in all 22*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* Two guineas were payable to the Head

[1] Kaye's *Life of Lord Metcalfe* (ed. 1854), vol. i. pp. 10—16.

Master, four guineas to Mr. Thackeray, the boy's tutor, and one guinea to some servants unspecified. A further sum of 6*s.* 8*d.* due to the Head Master comprised five separate items, 'candles, post, chaple, fields, boats.' The subscription for music on the Fourth of June was only 1*s.* and that for music on Election Saturday 1*s.* 6*d.* The boy himself received 1*l.* 7*s.* by way of 'allowance,' and 2*s.* 6*d.* on promotion into the Remove. Money was also advanced to him for his journey westward at Easter. Among the miscellaneous charges not directly connected with board or tuition there was one of 2*s.* 6*d.* for mending windows, and another of 8*s.* 2*d.* for washing waistcoats and breeches, of some interest in connexion with the history of Etonian costume. At the end of the bill, the Dames added :—

> "For the extravagant rise on every article of consumption since Christmas, we are obliged to charge 5*l.* 5*s.*"

Examples of the increased price of meat, bread, butter and other necessaries were subjoined. In further support of the extra charge, Miss Lucy Hawtrey wrote :—

> "The year 1800, we were upwards of twenty pounds out of pocket, and were obliged to sell out of the Funds, to enable us to pay our debts. You must think it reasonable, Sir, in our situation that we should be paid for our time and trouble. I am sure no one would engage in such an unpleasant business unless it was with a prospect of getting something, and for these last three years we have not saved a farthing."
>
> "I applyed to Dr. Heath to raise the board, but he did not chuse to do it ; at the same time he said he knew we must be great losers ; therefore gave us leave to charge what we thought reasonable, and then, if things came down to their usual rate, there would be no occasion to raise the board."

Young Luttrell's bill for the second half of 1801 is missing. That rendered in June 1802 contains items of 2*l.* 5*s.* for 'tea and sugar,' and 14*s.* for 'Captain['s] Salt, and great coat, Montem.' There is also a charge of 5*l.* for the Drawing Master, more, be it observed, than that for the boy's regular tutor. The Dames' extra charge "on account of the continued high price of provisions" was reduced to two guineas.

Such of the Assistant Masters as received boarders exacted

payment on a much higher scale. Discipline was, however, more efficiently maintained in their houses, and the accommodation was better.

> "The dinners were properly served; boys dined in their tutor's dining room; all boys but brothers had single rooms, and they lived as gentlemen's sons should live. On the other hand, in the Dames' houses there were many instances of four-bedded rooms, with an extra charge of ten (? two) guineas for what was called a study, a closet about four feet square. . . . The dinners were served in the most uninviting way; the tablecloth changed once a week, common knives, two-pronged forks, tin cups; some boys allowed meat only once a day. Their supper was bread and cheese at 6.30; the dining-room floor, as that of their own rooms, sanded—in fact they were worse provided for than their fathers' servants."

Mr. William Evans, the writer of the preceding notes, remembered a boy who during his last two years at Eton never dined at his Dame's house, preferring the food at a cook's shop.[1]

A lady of the Thackeray family long remembered a visit which she paid to the Head Master in the spring of 1808 :—

> "On the night of our arrival at Eton, we were surprised to see that Dr. Goodall was not in his splendid cauliflower wig, but wore instead a small brown scratch. He walked up and down the room quite perturbed and was not in his usual buoyant spirits. Mrs. Goodall (the gentlest of women) took an opportunity of telling us that there was a mutiny in the school."[2]

The last year of Goodall's Head Mastership was memorable for a flood, at the end of January 1809, which carried away six of the central arches of Fifteen-Arch Bridge on the Slough Road, between the Playing Fields and the Timbralls. For five days, some of the boarding-houses were inaccessible except by water. An energetic master would have arranged that the boys should be conveyed to school in punts, or that they should write out and translate the lessons of the day, as they were prevented from construing them in their respective classes. Goodall, however,

[1] Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, p. 28.

[2] Mrs. Bayne's *Memorials of the Thackeray Family* (privately printed), p. 183.

was content to do nothing, and the boys, confined to their boarding-houses, lay in bed of a morning until a late hour, and spent their days in mischief, card-playing and the like, amusing themselves of an evening by the discharge of small fire-balloons. This was lively enough for a while, but the novelty of the situation soon wore off, and 'bricks' from Windsor proved poor substitutes for the fresh rolls ordinarily supplied for breakfast by the Eton bakers, whose ovens were submerged.[1] The broken arches of the bridge were eventually replaced by three of larger span, which cost the College upwards of 900*l.*,[2] and lasted until 1833, when the County of Buckingham pulled down the whole of Fifteen-Arch Bridge and erected the present structure of three arches. The old name, however, survives.

[1] Information of the late Dr. Okes, Provost of King's; *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. C. Blake], p. 98.

[2] Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, vol. i. p. 66.



View from Fifteen-Arch Bridge.




## 1809—1834.

Administration of Dr. Keate—Attempted Rebellions in 1810 and 1818—State of Education at Eton—Frequency of Floggings—Theatricals—Magazines—Cricket—Boating—Other Sports—Practical Jokes—Dr. Goodall as Provost—Resignation of Dr. Keate.

WHEN the Provostship became vacant in December 1809 by the death of Dr. Davies, there was no lack of candidates for the place. Four of the Fellows—Benjamin Heath, William Foster, George Heath, and William Langford, the Head Master—Joseph Goodall, and three Kingsmen—Francis Randolph, John Plumptre, and Thomas Rennell—were alike mentioned as suitable. In the first instance, Spencer Perceval recommended Benjamin Heath, but George the Third said in his quaint way "He will never do, for he ran away from Eton," alluding to his having gone to Harrow as Head Master in 1772. In this connexion it is worthy of remark that Dr. Heath's two immediate predecessors in the Head Mastership of Harrow, Thomas Thackeray and Robert Sumner, had been Scholars and Assistant Masters at Eton. At the time of his appointment, there had been a riot at Harrow, and a protest had been entered "that a school of such reputation . . . . ought not to be considered as an appendix to Eton."[1]

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on Ducane MSS.* pp. 230—237.

Having rejected the nominee of the Harrovian Premier for the Provostship, the King turned for advice to the Marquess Wellesley, who at once put forward the claims of Joseph Goodall. The King said "Goodall, Goodall, Goodall," and shortly gave orders for the issue of the customary mandate in his favour. The news was communicated to the Head Master, some days before the funeral of Dr. Davies, in a letter from Henry Dampier, consisting of only three words :—"You are Provost."[1]

Goodall was succeeded in the management of the School by John Keate, the Under Master. Charles R. Sumner, a Sixth Form boy, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, writing from Eton, two days after Christmas, thus explains the position of affairs to his old schoolfellow, John Patteson :—

> "As I should think that you must by this time be safely landed in the wool-pits, take, my dear Patty, some account of the various changes and chances which have taken place here within the last four weeks. Of course the papers have shown you how Goodall is appointed Provost, how he has kissed hands, how he has retained his Canonry, how—but all the other acts that he did, are they not written in the *Gazette* of December the 15th? This seems to give universal pleasure as to the advancement of the man, but as to the removal of the man from his archididascal functions, the joy comes with sorrow not unmixed. He bears his dignity well, and makes his bows a third lower on the occasion.
>
> "The canvass for the place of the Under Master was hot—Thackeray, Carter, Drury, and Yonge. The latter soon resigned; Drury was informed that he might break the disappointment to himself by degrees, and set off for Devonshire without injuring his chance. The contest then lay between Thackeray and Carter, the latter of whom was considered the College man. My brother[2] canvassed strongly for Thackeray, and his beautiful sister caught a cold in his service, and, about three days ago, their united efforts were successful. This will suit well with his weak state of health, for though the business is if possible more than that of an Assistant, yet it is lighter, and less head-work. His income will be less than it is at present, but that must be of little

[1] *Windsor and Eton Journal*, 28 March 1840; MS. Diary lately in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Keate.

[2] An Assistant Master, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

comparative consequence to him. Yonge is to come into the Upper School, being hand and glove with our supreme Keate. Thackeray sent an invitation to . . . William Heath to come into the Lower School. Such is the state of things here, and it is altogether so unpleasing a prospect that I am very impatient to free myself from all the bore of verses and lyrics. "[1]

Many of the boys were of opinion that Benjamin Heath Drury ought to have been appointed Head Master, instead of Keate, and manifested their displeasure in various ways. Drury himself behaved loyally to his new chief, and in a harangue to his pupils said:—"I had much rather you should cry 'Down with Drury,' than put me in a false position with the Head Master, and I must beg of you, as I advise you, to be careful of your conduct."[2]

Under date of the 17th of January 1810, a sister-in-law of the new Head Master records in her diary:—

"Mr. Keate put on his robes for the first time, and his beautiful triangular hat, and went in to 8 o'clock prayers. . . . To-day at 11 was his first *début* in the Upper School."

The new Head Master found himself in a difficult position. The universal popularity of his predecessor was in itself sufficient to make him start at a disadvantage, by creating a prejudice against him, which his appearance and manner were not calculated to remove. Although not really less kind at heart than the indulgent Goodall, he thought fit to display a harsh, dictatorial tone towards those under him, on the theory that a school should be managed by intimidation rather than by encouragement. The boys chafed at his severe discipline, and more than once meditated open rebellion. Symptoms of ill-feeling showed themselves from the first, sometimes in the form of practical jokes. One morning, a boy named Cornewall blocked up the keyhole of the door between the 'Library' and the Upper School with a bullet, and Keate was consequently obliged to go round to the south entrance and walk up the whole length of the School amid shouts of "Boo, Boo." On reaching

[1] Original letter lately in the possession of Mr. J. H. Patteson.

[2] Information of the late Dr. Okes, Provost of King's.

the enclosed platform which forms the Head Master's desk, he found one of the doors screwed up ; with an angry growl he crossed over to the other, only to find it similarly closed against him. This would have baffled most men, but Keate's spirit was indomitable, and he surprised every one present by nimbly vaulting into his place, saying "I'm not so old as you think." He never succeeded in discovering the offenders.[1]

In a letter to John Patteson, written in May 1810, Charles R. Sumner asks :—

> "What wind blew you to Eton ? Is it possible you can have been hinting to Keate any secret desires which you may still cherish for the grinding trade ? The door seems shut closer at present to new-comers than at any former time, unless Keate throws up in disgust. I understand there is much chance of these rumblings and grumblings continuing, as the principal malcontents agreed to carry on the joke after their return. Keate will not bear being trifled with half so well as Goodall, and will deal his blows about with a heavy hand, should they force him to extremities. . . . I suppose you have been enjoying his dozen of wine in Old Court, for I hear he is Doctored."

Many of the boys in the lower part of the Fifth Form took to lingering in the 'ante-chapel' before service, until the Masters came in, and then rushing to their places in a disorderly manner.

> "To stop this unseemly practice, Dr. Keate imposed an additional 'absence' on that part of the school which he considered to be most in fault. The consequence of this was that the 110 or 120 boys affected by the novelty, instead of being their own masters from four to six on whole holidays, were obliged to attend and answer to their names at five ; and thus, to speak in the language of Eton, the 'after-four' was completely cut up. An 'absence' is a ceremony at which every boy is required to be present ; as each name is called, the proprietor answers 'Here, Sir !' and any stray, who cannot give

[1] Information of the late Rev. A. F. Luttrell ; Hogg's *Life of Shelley*, vol. i. p. 46. Another account (in Capt. Gronow's *Recollections*, 4th series, pp. 53—56) goes on to say that at the end of the lesson Keate found himself stuck to his seat by a lump of cobbler's wax ; but this is clearly apocryphal, as it was customary for the Head Master to stand in desk.

a satisfactory excuse, receives a flagellation. On this particular occasion, the boys concerned, with a few exceptions, kept away; and in consequence, each received from the Head Master six cuts with a birch rod."[1]

This punishment was inflicted after 'six o'clock absence' on the 2nd of June 1810. When twenty boys had been flogged in rapid succession, their comrades began to grow rebellious and a few of them threw rotten eggs at Keate, who thereupon sent for the Assistant Masters. The young mutineers were plainly told that resistance would be followed by immediate expulsion, and sixty more were duly flogged, none of the number eventually refusing to submit. Matters had hardly settled down when fresh trouble was caused by a boy named Harris, who, after being expelled for insubordination, set the Head Master at defiance. Taking up his abode at the *Christopher*, he continued to drive about in a tandem, and to mix with his companions in the Long Walk and School Yard, booted and spurred. At the end of a week, he was removed by his uncle. Keate's firmness in dealing with him and other mutineers was much applauded, particularly by the King, who was cognizant of all the circumstances, and congratulated him in person.[2]

The additional 'absence' was taken off after the summer holidays, but, in October, about forty of the upper boys in the Fifth Form revived the custom of loitering in the 'ante-chapel' before service, and, being reproved for this, took to shouting as they went in and out of Church. On one occasion they bolted the northern door of the 'ante-chapel,' in order to exclude the Head Master.

Keate had to encounter opposition of a more serious character at the end of October 1818, when, in order to check the hunting, shooting, and tandem-driving, then in vogue among the boys, he altered the hour at which the boarding-houses were to be locked up of an evening from six o'clock to five. The whole School was in a state of ferment for several days. Detonating balls, bought at Windsor Fair, were thrown about during lessons, the windows of one of the Masters' houses were smashed, and

[1] *The Song of Floggawaya* [by W. N. Lettsom], 1856, pp. iv—v.

[2] MS. Diary lately in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Keate.

part of the wall of the Long Walk was thrown down. The private expulsion of a boy, who, although only in the Remove, was one of the chief tandem-drivers at Eton, tended to aggravate matters. He himself submitted without protest and, being unavoidably detained at Eton, sent to ask the Head Master whether it would not be expedient for him to leave during Church time, so that there might be no demonstration on the part of his comrades. When, on the following day, which was Sunday, Keate went into Upper School at two o'clock, to read 'Prose,' the whole building resounded with angry shouts of "Where's Marriott?" Unable to make himself heard amid the prevailing groans and hisses, he descended from his desk, and passed out into the adjoining room. No sooner was his back turned than a volley of rotten eggs was sent after him, but even the boldest of the rioters were careful not to take too good an aim, and he escaped untouched. He returned shortly afterwards, accompanied by several of the Assistant Masters, and, stationing them at intervals down the School, with instructions to seize any one who spoke, succeeded in restoring order.

Two days later, the Head Master's great desk at the end of Upper School was found to have been smashed to pieces. Keate himself took no immediate notice of the outrage, and stood on the bare platform all through eleven o'clock school, affecting not to see the *débris* around him. Meanwhile evidence was being collected. A little Colleger named Lloyd, seen by the Head Master's servant, Cartland, in the Upper School at an unwonted hour, was haled before a council of Masters, and, although able to establish his own innocence, was compelled in cross-examination to reveal the names of the culprits, two Collegers and four Oppidans, all of them high in the Fifth Form. Immediately after three o'clock Church, the boys were summoned into Upper School, where all the Masters were assembled. Keate called over their names, and, after "a firm, measured address," pronounced formal sentence of expulsion on the four Oppidans who were subject to his jurisdiction. When he proceeded to express a hope that this exemplary punishment would induce the boys to behave better in the future, Palk was heard by Ben Drury to say "Never!" and was accordingly

expelled on the spot. In the absence of the Provost, the two inculpated Collegers, Pitt and White, were privately dismissed by the senior Fellow in residence.

Keate has been censured for his "untimely severity" towards "one so gentle and harmless" as "Johnny Palk," and indeed expulsion from a public school might at first sight appear too grave a penalty for a single unguarded word. The whole affair was, however, long remembered at Eton as 'Palk's rebellion,' and rightly so, for a contemporary diary shows that he had been the leader of the malcontents in every thing except the attack on the desk. Having considerable influence, he soon obtained a commission in the army.[1]

Matters, however, did not end here, for some of the boys had sworn an oath neither to go into their houses at five on half-holidays and holidays, nor to submit to a flogging for disobedience; and Henry Holroyd, aged only thirteen, proved so obdurate on this point, that his father, one of the Judges, had to remove him from the School. Placards were also affixed to the doors of the Church and other conspicuous places in Eton, inscribed:—"Down with Keate—No five o'clock absence—*Floreat Seditio*," and the like. By the end of the week, however, the excitement had subsided, and on the 8th of November, Keate was able to report that the boys had been "as quiet as lambs" at 'Prose,' in marked contrast to their conduct on the previous Sunday. Still he found himself unable entirely to check the riding and tandem-driving; the frequent resistance to constituted authority at Eton, as at Winchester, Harrow, and other schools, being, in his opinion, due to imperfect control of parents over their sons at home, and to the large allowances of money granted to mere boys.[2] The following letter, which he received from the Duke of Wellington at the close of the year, is interesting as giving a

[1] According to Mr. Tucker, "two of the expelled took post chaise at once, drove over to Harrow and were admitted before the next morning's post gave formal notice of their expulsion." Although such a story hardly needs serious refutation, it may be noted that the *Harrow School Register* for 1818 does not give the name of any one of the boys expelled from Eton.

[2] MS. Diary lately in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Keate; *The Courier*, 9 November 1818; Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 110; *Poetry of the College Magazine*, pp. 65, 67, 70; *Eton of Old*, pp. 199—206.

distinguished soldier's opinion as to the authority that a master should exercise at a public school:—

"I have received your letter of the 23rd, and I am very happy to find that my sons had nothing to say to the late disturbances at Eton. They are too young to be concerned in such transactions, and I hope that they have been sufficiently well brought up, and have sufficient sense, to keep themselves clear of them at all times.

"You have it in your own power to frame such rules as you may think proper for the preservation of order in the establishment under your direction, and to enforce them as you may think proper, and as far as I have anything to say to the subject you may rely upon my concurrence in whatever you may think proper to do with the view to which I have above referred. But, in my opinion, the parents of those who are receiving their education at Eton have nothing to say to the rules which you may choose to adopt and enforce. If they are so unreasonable as to disapprove of them, they have it in their power to remove their sons from the school, but none to influence your regulations or your mode of enforcing them."[1]

Keate ruled the School with unrivalled vigour for a full quarter of a century, and his name will hardly be forgotten so long as Eton lasts. Kinglake's brilliant sketch of his former master, written to a non-Etonian friend, is a *locus classicus*, which can hardly be omitted:—

"I think you must have some idea of him already, for wherever from utmost Canada to Bundelcund—wherever there was a white-washed wall of an officer's room, or of any other apartment in which English gentlemen are forced to kick their heels, there likely enough (in the days of his reign) the head of Keate would be seen, scratched, or drawn with those various degrees of skill which one observes in the representation of Saints. Anybody without the least notion of drawing could still draw a speaking, nay scolding, likeness of Keate. If you had no pencil, you could draw him well enough with a poker, or the leg of a chair, or the smoke of a candle. He was a little more (if more at all) than five feet in height, and was not very great in girth, but in this space was concentrated the pluck of ten battalions. He had a really noble voice,

[1] Original letter lately in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Keate.

which he could modulate with great skill, but he also had the power of quacking like an angry duck, and he almost always adopted this mode of communication in order to inspire respect; he was a capital scholar, but his ingenuous learning had *not* 'softened his manners,' and *had* 'permitted them to be fierce' —tremendously fierce; he had the most complete command over his temper—I mean over his *good* temper—which he scarcely ever allowed to appear: you could not put him out of humour—that is, out of the *ill*-humour which he thought



Dr. Keate.[1]

to be fitting for a head-master. His red, shaggy eyebrows were so prominent that he habitually used them as arms and hands, for the purpose of pointing out any object towards which he wished to direct attention; the rest of his features were equally striking in their way, and were all and all his own."[2]

Humorous descriptions of this kind, true enough as far as they go, do not of course pretend to give an exhaustive analysis of character. Keate was in his way a really great master, although his views and systems of education would not

[1] From an original sketch taken in Upper School by J. Calvert Jones.

[2] *Eothen*, ch. xviii.

accord with modern ideas; and here and there one might recently find a *laudator temporis acti se puero*, declaring that there has been no proper discipline at Eton since 1834. Keate's career at the University had been brilliant; his Latin verse was second to that of no contemporary;[1] and he possessed in an eminent degree the power of imparting clearly to others the results of his own careful classical reading. Moreover, as Sir F. H. Doyle remarks, "he had no favourites, and flogged the son of a duke and the son of a grocer with perfect impartiality. He was thoroughly manly and right-hearted in the depths of his nature."[2] The school-hours and the lessons done in them, while he was Head Master, were almost identical with those of the previous century.[3] A correspondent, intimately acquainted with Eton affairs, contributes the following notes on the state of education in Keate's time:—

"There were three ancient authors well known to Etonians—Homer, Virgil, and Horace. If a boy was in School for eight or ten years, as many Collegers were, he was sure to go through the *Iliad* once and a half, the *Æneid* twice; there was no certainty that he would know the *Eclogues* or the *Georgics* at all; and of the *Odyssey* he must needs know, only too familiarly, a few hundred lines which were in the school-book called *Poetæ Græci*, a book then very meagre and insufficient, but many years afterwards expanded into a valuable, though by no means perfect, anthology of Greek verse. All Horace, except perhaps the *Epodes*, was read and repeated, subject to expurgation, but it may be doubted whether even superior boys knew the meaning of the *Odes* accurately. However, these three poets were on the whole as familiarly known as could be reasonably expected, and an Oppidan spending only three years at Eton, and being for half that time under Keate, was pretty sure to read thus much with relish and with advantage. But the late Lord Halifax, who left school in 1818 and went straight to Oxford, had never read a line of Thucydides. The wretched compilation called *Scriptores Græci* consisted of a lump of Lucian, with a veneer, gradually thickened, of scraps of Herodotus,

[1] Nevertheless it has been observed that he used a final vowel short before *sp.* and *sc.* *Memoir of the Rev. F. Hodgson*, vol. i. p. 150.

[2] *Reminiscences*, p. 49.

[3] See Chapter xvi.

Thucydides, Xenophon, and Plato ; so that literally not one first-rate Greek prose writer was really known to the student of 1818. Yet he found himself at Oriel as good a scholar as any man from any other school. Between 1818 and 1834 the *Scriptores Græci* may have been altered a little, and Hawtrey added to it from time to time. At one period it contained several solid insertions—the first book of the *Anabasis*, Plato's *Euthyphon*, and the *Menexenus* (which was probably accepted as a veracious sketch of Athenian history), but to the last Herodotus and Thucydides were represented in a capricious and unsystematic set of selections, and as late as 1842 a reflective freshman at Cambridge was able to say with truth that he had been taught Greek in school at Eton, but had been left to get his knowledge of Attic Greek out of school. The young man who entered Oriel in 1818, fresh from the Upper Division, had paid for private tuition for three years, but the whole amount of what he had done with two clever tutors was this—with one he had read the *Alcestis* (a very short and easy play), to the other he had said by heart, on Sundays, the first *Satire* of Juvenal. We must complete the account of his Greeks tudies by adding that he had been in the habit of saying by heart, on Monday morning, to an Assistant Master, some fifteen verses of the Greek Testament, of course without interpretation, or comment. This was probably meant for a religious lesson to be learnt on Sunday.

"Turning to Latin prose literature, in Keate's days and down to a very recent time, it was represented by a book called *Scriptores Romani*, an odd but interesting compilation, bearing up to the last edition the impress of a mind which contemplated not merely elegant scholarship, but the training of young men for a parliamentary career, for it contained a good deal of fine hard Latin about oratory and public virtue, and, though it was wofully inadequate as a thread of beads to illustrate Roman history, it betokened a lofty purpose corresponding to Lord Chatham's ideas, and it was a great relief to the intellect. Nor is it fair to forget that for Sixth Form boys the *Scriptores Romani* was handsomely supplemented by the 'Speech-Book,' which contained many gems of eloquence ; only it was a pity that the young reciters were not taught to construe what they learned by heart.

"Meagre as this bill of fare may appear, it would be a mistake to think that a clever or even an average boy suffered from scantiness of classical diet so much as he did indirectly from the limited range of knowledge and the indifference growing out of monotony, which inevitably lowered the tone of the ordinary teachers. It was a grievous thing that a man charged with the philological training of choice lads should be wholly unacquainted with such a writer as Aristophanes, or be obliged to leave out the choric verse in reading the *Agamemnon* with his pupils. Monotony is the inevitable burden to be borne by a schoolmaster, but personal character sometimes overcomes this sort of limitation; and we may readily believe that some of Keate's Assistants were better acquainted with ancient literature than they were bound to be; still at the best they were probably ignorant men compared with College tutors. 'Private business' gave them occupation. In their own pupil-rooms, with a limited class, they would, for instance, read the *Medea* of Euripides, in lessons of thirty lines, given three times a week; or they would judiciously take the boys through the narrative in Thucydides of the siege of Platea; or they would refresh their own weary souls with a duly prepared edition of the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. But it must be remembered that, being overwhelmed with the correction of verses, and with dull routine labour wasted on themes in which neither man nor boy took any interest, they did not even in 'private business' set their pupils tasks which required the use of a pen. Written translations from Greek or Latin into English, or from English into Latin or Greek, were unknown at Eton, as were also questions on history or divinity.

"The Oriel man of whom mention has been made had missed the best part of Keate's teaching, by not being in the Sixth Form, for the Sixth Form had special lectures on Greek plays, and it is well ascertained that in his quiet class-room Keate used to give out his best knowledge, seasoned with perfect taste and free from all pedantry, to a respectful party of eighteen lads who were too much behind the scenes to be afraid of him.[1] It may be fairly doubted whether

[1] The following anecdote, supplied by the late Bishop Abraham, tends to prove that he was a rational teacher. Selwyn, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield, was translating Horace's account of the auctioneer at the barber's shop "*proprios purgantem leniter ungues*," "cleaning his own nails." Keate corrected him, "cleaning his nails. Go on." Again and again

there was any man who was doing better work than this in any English school, except Butler of Shrewsbury.[1] Few are the traditions of Keate's critical tenets ;[2] and when asked after his retirement to let others have the benefit of his written notes on the books he had expounded, he shrank from the suggestion with unique bashfulness ; but it was honestly believed by his best pupils and assistants that they owed almost everything to his soundness of mind and rigorous accuracy, and it was well known that if an exercise came into school badly altered, he pointed out the mistakes in 'Chambers,' to the terror of negligent tutors.[3] He may at

the lad said "his *own* nails." Keate scolded him, but he held out against the less emphatic "his," and argued the point. "If you please, Sir, Horace lays the stress on the word '*proprios*,' because most of the dandies made the barbers pare their nails ; and when Philippus saw Mena paring his own nails '*vacua in umbra*' —though nobody was engaging the barber's time—he thought him a man of some energy, and likely to become a good farmer." Keate in his truly generous spirit of appreciation, said, "Well, there's something in that. Lay the stress, then, on *proprios*."

[1] The passage in the text written in 1875, is strikingly confirmed by a letter, which has been found since at Youngsbury, from R. A. Hornby to his former schoolfellow, C. W. Puller, in March 1824:—

"Sixth Form business occupies me almost entirely, so that my own reading is reduced to a mere nothing, which is not, as you may suppose, satisfactory. I will say, however, that in school the gain which the Sixth Form brings with it is incredible, for, from getting up each lesson with care, and hearing in part and bringing out in part the information which each conveys with it, the quantity of knowledge which one gets in a day is ten times what it used to be, and it is imparted lastingly." See also Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, vol. i. p. 34.

[2] A later writer, speaking of Keate's teaching at 'Play' in the Head Master's Chambers, says : "It was a treat to hear him roll out the choruses, and give them a form, beauty, and intention of which we had only glimpses, however bright, before." —*Eton of Old*, p. 165.

[3] It may here be explained that, according to a system peculiar to Eton, every Assistant Master who took a regular class in school had also under his charge a number of boys varying considerably in age, whom he instructed in their own respective work ; or, to put the case conversely, that every boy had to encounter the double ordeal of being called up to construe a lesson before his tutor and before the Master in school. So, too, every copy of verses and every theme was looked over twice, first in the pupil-room, and then in school The tutor made any corrections that seemed desirable, and the boy showed up a fair copy in school. This system incidentally gave every Master frequent opportunities of gauging the scholarship of his colleagues. A boy skilled in copying the handwriting of one of the Masters was in the habit of introducing eccentric alterations into the verses of one of that Master's pupils, as they lay on a table after being looked over. One day he found a hexameter ending "*nigrum detrusit*

least be said to have been the main, if not the sole, support of scholarship, no less than of discipline, to have done all he could to make up for the deficiencies of his staff, and to have left a very strong mental impression on several lads who at Oxford, at Cambridge and at St. Stephen's, proved themselves first-rate men."

The pages of the *Eton School Lists* teem with the names of boys who obtained the highest honours of their respective universities, and Dr. Jelf's *dictum* that "if a boy of parts chooses to work at Eton, Eton will do him justice, and he will do Eton justice,"[1] is true of almost any period in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the amount of work absolutely enforced at Eton was formerly very small indeed. One great obstacle to efficient instruction on the part of the Head Master was the unwieldy size of his class. In the middle of the eighteenth century, when the total number of boys in the School was about the same as at the date of Keate's accession, Barnard used to undertake the whole Fifth Form, in addition to the Sixth; but as the Upper School increased at the expense of the Lower School, it was found necessary to separate the Fifth Form into two Divisions, of which the Lower was transferred to an Assistant Master. Nevertheless, Keate found himself the sole teacher in school of about 170 boys, and the numbers continued to increase. The late Edward Coleridge remembered being one of 198 boys in the Head Master's Division, and, as might be expected, he was called up to construe twice only in the course of a half.[2] Songs, and even choruses, used to be sung in school, and Keate was seldom able to ascertain whence the sounds proceeded. An attempt was made to remedy this state of things in 1820, by the formation of a 'Middle Division' between the Upper and Lower Divisions of the Fifth Form, but

*ad Orcum*" (he thrust him down to the dark Hades), and substituted the word "*conto*" for "*nigrum*." The author of the verses copied out all the alterations in perfect good faith, but the word "*conto*" caught the eye of Keate when he was looking over the fair copy. "What do you mean by using such a word as *conto*?—'he thrust him down to Hades with a punt-pole.' How dare you write such rubbish?" "If you please, Sir, it was my tutor's correction," replied the boy, with all the confidence of injured innocence. Cf. Wilkinson's *Reminiscences*, pp. 66—69.

[1] *Contemporary Review*, vol. iii.

[2] *Report of Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 3701.

even after this change, more than a hundred boys were still left under the immediate supervision of the Head Master. There were, up to this time, six Masters in the Upper School, which generally consisted of upwards of four hundred and fifty boys, so that each of the five Assistants had on an average about seventy boys under him in school. Nor were matters much better in pupil-room, for, although the average number of boys to a tutor was fifty-three, the more popular tutors had between sixty and seventy pupils apiece. Of course they could not do justice to all. They were supplemented by some thirty-two private tutors, entirely unconnected with the School, and engaged by wealthy parents and guardians to look after a very small number of pupils specially entrusted to them. Even as late as 1833 there were only nine Masters, Keate included, for the five hundred and seventy boys in the Upper School.[1]

The Duke of Newcastle gave a great impetus to learning at Eton, in 1829, by founding three Scholarships, each worth 50*l.* a year and tenable for three years. One Newcastle Scholar is elected annually, after a competitive examination open to Oppidans and Collegers alike, and a medal of the value of 6*l.* is given to the candidate who stands second. The Duke's munificence obtained for him such a degree of celebrity that John Wickens, who himself afterwards gained the Newcastle Scholarship and a double first class at Oxford, being asked to name the Three Graces answered :—"Grace before meat, Grace after meat, and his Grace the Duke of Newcastle."[2]

Before 1829, the talent and industry of boys in the 'Upper Division' and in the Sixth Form could be measured only by a reference to the number of their 'sent up' exercises, or, in other words, by the proficiency they had shown in the composition of Latin and Greek verses; but the importance avowedly attached to other branches of classical study in the examination for the Newcastle Scholarship, roused ambition in the minds of many who, although quite disposed to work, did not happen to possess the peculiar knack of writing verses.[3] The competitors soon

[1] *Report of Public Schools Commission*, vol. ii. p. 112. Information of the late Dr. Okes, Provost of King's.

[2] *Saturday Review*, 5 February 1876.

[3] *Eton College Magazine*, p. 231.

discovered the advantage of the help afforded by 'private business' in pupil-room, and the tutors were put on their mettle. Thus, within a few years, by training a series of Newcastle Scholars, Edward Coleridge acquired a reputation higher than that enjoyed by any Assistant Master at Eton before or since. Nor must we fail to notice the beneficial effect produced by the exaction of a fair knowledge of divinity as a preliminary and necessary condition of success. The founder of this scholarship, indeed, originally intended that it should be styled 'The Christian Scholarship,' but he was dissuaded from this idea by Dr. Keate, who also pointed out the undesirability of examining boys of seventeen and eighteen upon the Thirty-nine Articles.[1]

It seems incredible that there should ever have been an entire absence of religious instruction at the greatest school in England; yet such, from all accounts, must have been the case at Eton until about eighty years ago.[2] According to Mr. Gladstone, "the actual teaching of Christianity was all but dead, though happily none of its forms had been surrendered."[3] This was less the fault of individual tutors than of the established system, which practically debarred a sincerely pious man like John Bird Sumner, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, from saying a single word about God to his pupils.[4] The establishment of the Newcastle Scholarship enabled James Chapman, John Wilder, and Edward Coleridge to substitute a lesson in the Greek Testament for a repetition of Virgil or Juvenal on Sunday mornings.[5] Their efforts and example bore fruit in course of time, but Sunday can hardly be said to have been observed as a day of rest at any period during Keate's reign, the hour between two and three o'clock especially being spent in a manner which would now be considered disgraceful. All the boys—except of course those who were under the jurisdiction of the Lower Master—had to

[1] Draft of letter from Dr. Keate to the Duke of Newcastle, lately in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Keate.

[2] See Lofft's *Self-Formation*, vol. ii. pp. 54—55.

[3] *Gleanings*, vol. vii. p. 138. Cf. Benson's *Fasti Etonenses*, pp. 499, 500.

[4] Sir John Patteson vouched for this. Sumner himself spoke of his duties as an Assistant Master as a "hateful trade." *Memoir of the Rev. F. Hodgson*, vol. ii. p. 109.

[5] Coleridge was the first Assistant to have family prayers in his house. The innovation was for a time stoutly opposed by his father-in-law, Keate.

repair to the Upper School directly after dinner, in order to listen to a singular harangue, called 'Prose' by everybody except Keate, who used to say, "Prose, sir, prose ; I don't know anything about *prose ;* I suppose you mean two o'clock *prayers.*" When all were assembled, the Head Master read aloud a short discourse on abstract morality taken from Blair's *Sermons*, from the *Spectator*, or from the works of some pagan writer like Epictetus, and then gave out to the Fifth and Sixth Forms the subject for their Latin theme for the ensuing week.

Perhaps it was as well that passages relating to more sacred subjects were not read at 'Prose,' for they would only have been received with contempt. In one of the Eton Magazines of the time, a new boy is represented as making the following notes in his diary :—

> "Was told that I must go into—(dear me, I cannot think of the word, some very odd one)—went into the Upper School, heard something read, could not hear what, and on something being said afterwards, the whole school raised a yell, booing, hissing, and scraping feet. I was thunder-struck at their audacity—listened to hear what would be said to it—thought it amounted almost to a *rebellion*—thought it disgraceful—surprised all was allowed to pass so quietly."[1]

This fairly describes what took place almost every Sunday afternoon during a long series of years, the noise in the Upper School being so great as to arrest the attention of all passers-by. The Head Master, interrupted in his reading, used to "violently stamp his foot and dash his cocked hat on the desk";[2] but it was practically impossible for any one man, however resolute, to coerce such an assemblage of boys. We are even told that Keate was sometimes "pelted by the smaller boys with atlases and dictionaries, of which he took no notice whatever."[3] Anyhow 'Prose' must have been thoroughly distasteful to Keate, who would have been glad to spend his Sundays at least in peace, but he could make no change without the permission of Goodall, that most conservative of Provosts, and the abuse was tolerated until the days of Hawtrey.

[1] The *Kaleidoscope*, p. 177.
[2] *Reminiscences of William Rogers*, p. 12.
[3] Browning's *Memories*, p 158.

With regard to the sermons on Sunday mornings, an old Colleger writes :—

> "They were intolerably long, as was the custom of the age. They were mumbled and jumbled by old men with weak, smothered voices; not one word of which could be heard except by those immediately under them, and that imperfectly, so that it is impossible to say whether they were suited to our capacity or our welfare. The ladies, if any, absorbed the whole profit derivable from them, as all the wives and daughters of Fellows and Masters were lodged in a large pew which abutted on the pulpit."

He adds that the sermons delivered by John Bird Sumner, after his promotion to a Fellowship, came as "a partial relief."[1] Elsewhere we read of the extraordinary texts chosen by one of the Fellows named Plumptre, perhaps for the purpose of arresting attention :—"Wash"; "Thou art Peter"; "This thing was not done in a corner." Thomas Carter, a Fellow of a somewhat later period, who was quite bald, caused involuntary laughter in Church by giving out as a text, "My sins are more in number than the hairs of my head."[2]

Mathematics fared little better than divinity, eighty years ago, the study of Euclid, of algebra, and even of arithmetic being practically optional. It was publicly said at the time that some of the cleverest boys in the School would have stood a bad chance if tried in the rule of three.[3] The only mathematical teacher was Major Hexter, the Writing-Master,

> "In College the handiest man you can find
> For improvements of all sorts, both buildings and mind."[4]

Keate must not be held solely responsible for the many defects in the system maintained in the School during his administration, for he did not originate it, and he was technically powerless to amend it. The Provost was supreme, and exercised an authority which every one in Eton was made to feel, from the little Colleger

[1] *Eton of Old*, pp. 125, 128.

[2] Wilkinson's *Reminiscences of Eton*, pp. 114—116; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 172; *Nineteenth Century*, vol. xxxii. pp. 598–601.

[3] *The Etonian* (ed. 1824), vol. iii. p. 193.

[4] *The English Spy*, vol. i. p. 55.

crossing the School Yard on the wrong side of the statue, to the Head Master sending up a faulty copy of verses 'for play.'[1] Considering then the fretful impatience with which Goodall received every suggestion of change, even in the most trifling matters, Keate seems to have shrunk from arousing his hostility by proposing any deviation from the old groove. That he was not naturally opposed to judicious reform is evident from a letter which he wrote to Thomas Rennell, as far back as the year 1813, criticizing the prevailing practice of electing King's Scholars from Eton to Cambridge according to seniority only, and also the discipline at King's—"the regular succession of the worthy and unworthy to Fellowships, and the want of examination for degrees," Kingsmen being, till long afterwards, exempt from the ordinary examinations of the University.[2] And again, it is well known that, more than twenty years later, he expressed a generous approval of the changes effected by his successor, Dr. Hawtrey.[3] Whether he himself would, in any circumstances, have initiated large measures of reform is, however, very doubtful. Endued with great capacity for administration, and yet greater capacity for teaching, he had not the qualities of a legislator, and he acquiesced without a protest or murmur in carrying on the old-fashioned system under which he and his contemporaries had been educated. He considered that he was performing his duty if, from day to day and from year to year, he imparted sound instruction to the boys committed to his care, and maintained order among them, without looking to the future.

In some respects Keate's own policy was certainly unsatisfactory. Personally upright, conscientious, and straightforward, he had as Lower Master, acquired a rooted distrust of the honour of boys in general, and he used to make point-blank charges of lying at random. One boy named Micklethwaite, afterwards a Colonel in the Scots Guards, was so indignant at being accused of falsehood, that he sent the Head Master a formal challenge to a duel, a challenge which eventually led to

[1] Information of the late Bishop Chapman; *Report of Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 3710.

[2] Draft lately in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Keate.

[3] Eton Evidence, 3654.

his own expulsion from the School.[1] Keate would often say :— "You're hardened in falsehood." The effect of this was to encourage the very evil which he wished to check. At the same time, he practically insisted upon the almost daily repetition of certain conventional excuses which he knew to be untrue. Boys, for instance, who, after a run with beagles, came to 'absence' splashed with mud, were expected to plead that they had been playing football, the one amusement being allowed and the other ignored.[2] According to the late Lord Blachford, Keate exacted a certain amount of lying "as a mark of proper respect."[3]

Then again the practice of flogging, indispensable perhaps at any large school, was certainly carried to an extreme by Keate. Slight offences, such as 'shirking absence,' were visited with the same form of punishment as others of a graver character, and the frequency of the infliction deadened the sense of disgrace which corporal punishment ought to convey.[4]

Keate's victims declared that his very name was derived from χέω (I shed) ἄτη (woe),[5] and there has been a tendency to regard him simply as a kind of executioner. Some have seriously contended that flogging was a pleasure to him, and stories in support of this view abound. A boy who was one day wrongly accused of some misdemeanour, pleaded an *alibi*, admitting that he had been 'out of bounds' ; but this did not save him, for as he enumerated his actions in detail, Keate interposed at the end of every sentence :—"Then I'll flog you for that." For boys who were 'put in the bill'[6] on account of lessons badly done, he had the ready dilemma :—"Is it ignorance, or is it idleness ? If it is ignorance, you must go down to a lower part of the school, and if it is idleness, I'll flog you."

One of the best stories of the period is thus told by Mr. Collins :—

[1] Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 114.

[2] *Reminiscences of William Rogers*, p. 11.

[3] *Reminiscences of Sir Francis H. Doyle*, p. 50.

[4] *Self-Formation* [by Capel Lofft], vol. i. p. 84.

[5] *Guide to Eton*, p. 7.

[6] The following definition occurs in one of the Eton Magazines :— "Bill, a trifling thin slip of paper with names doomed to flagellation inscribed thereon ; each line as bad as a lawyer's items ; being a 'bill of exchange' of birch for idleness ; the terror of lower boys, and the laughing-stock of sixth-form præpostors." —*The Kaleidoscope*, p. 107.

"A culprit who was due for punishment could nowhere be found, and the Doctor was kept waiting on the scene of action for some time in a state of considerable exasperation. In an evil moment for himself, a namesake of the defaulter passed the door; he was seized at once, and brought to the block as a vicarious sacrifice—a second Sir Mungo Malagrowther."[1]

According to a contemporary, the victim, a brother of the boy who should have been flogged, was one of Keate's most regular



Block and Birch.

clients, so that a castigation more or less made but little difference to him.[2]

Another story narrates the misadventure of a batch of candidates for confirmation, whose names were by accident sent up to the Head Master on a piece of paper identical in size and shape with the 'bill' used by Assistant Masters for the purpose of reporting delinquents. Keate, we are asked to believe, insisted on flogging all the boys mentioned in the document, being the more angry with them for attempting to escape punishment by setting up a plea which was not only false but irreverent.[3] A

[1] Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 103.
[2] *Eton of Old*, p. 178.
[3] Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 103.

third story gives the Doctor's comment on the Sixth Beatitude :—"'Blessed are the pure in heart.' Mind that ; it's your duty to be pure in heart. If you are not pure in heart, I'll flog you." Then again, an old Etonian relates that when he was acting as curate to Keate, after his retirement from Eton, and, as such, scolding a Hampshire lad for misbehaviour in church, the Rector and ex-Head Master came up "full of apparent ire," and "poked off the village boy's hat," saying :—"What's this, sir, don't answer me, sir. Take off your hat, sir. I'll flog you directly."[1] Unfortunately for the story, the person reproved, and another who was present, have denied that Keate made use of any threat.

Although many anecdotes of Keate and his ways are certainly apocryphal, he seems to have used this threat on the most inappropriate occasions. In his time, as indeed in the time of his successors, Hawtrey, Goodford, and Balston, it was customary for boys to call upon the Head Master in Chambers on the eve of their final departure from the School, and furtively to deposit on the table bank-notes to the value of 10*l.* or more, and it is stated that Keate once shouted after a boy who had thus formally 'taken leave' of him :—"Now mind you behave quietly. If I hear of your making a noise at your dame's, I'll have you brought back, and I'll flog you."[2]

All stories, however, of Keate's dealings with individuals pale before the accounts of certain castigations administered wholesale. Mr. Tucker relates how members of the Sixth and Fifth Forms were, in his young days, required to compose Latin epigrams of four lines apiece between the two afternoon schools on Mondays in regular weeks, and how an Assistant Master on one occasion discovered that all the epigrams had been composed by three or four sharp boys and copied by the others.

> "Keate made short work of it. He devoted the whole seventy-two to the block after the next school time. It was a grand scene in the Library. . . . The floor was covered with victims ; the benches and tables with spectators ; upwards of a

[1] Wilkinson's *Reminiscences of Eton*, p. 19.

[2] Information of the late Rev. G. Williams, derived from the late Bishop of Winchester (H. Browne).

hundred present. The Lower boys were delighted to see their masters whipped. The masters had a sort of delight in seeing among them those who had passed through all their previous scholastic life unwhipped, and had prided themselves upon it; and jests and laughter accompanied the execution."

The narrator, who was present, says that Keate administered to each of the seventy-two, the poets included, five cuts apiece of "the gentlest" kind, and that the whole affair was regarded as "a gigantic joke," perhaps even by Keate himself.[1] He does not specify the date, but it must have been several years anterior to 1825, when, on the 3rd of February, Keate is stated to have flogged forty-six boys in succession, for some offence unrecorded.[2]

Fuller particulars have been preserved of an even more remarkable performance.

A very popular boy named Munro, who afterwards commanded a regiment in the Crimea, was, for talking in school, ordered by a Master to write out a punishment; but, instead of doing it at the appointed time, he went to see a boat-race. For this, he was sentenced to be flogged, but he refused to submit, and Keate was obliged to write to his father to request that he should be removed from the School. When at the next 'absence,' the name of Munro was omitted, the boys then assembled in the School Yard set up shouts of "Munro, Munro! Boo, boo!" which were heard at the further end of Keate's Lane. This conduct was repeated at another 'absence,' and to punish it, the Head Master announced that the boys in the Middle and Lower Divisions of the Fifth Form would be required to answer to their names at three additional 'absences' at 1, 7.15, and 8 P.M. on holidays and half-holidays until further notice. At first they complied, but on the second day, the 30th of June 1832, they resolved to try their strength against the Head Master, by ignoring the 'absence' at 7.15, and refusing to be flogged, if summoned to the block. More than a hundred accordingly, relying upon their numbers for impunity, stayed away. Keate was fully alive to the danger which menaced his authority, but like a great general, he acted on the principle *Divide et impera*. Waiting until the recalcitrants were safe in bed,

[1] *Eton of Old*, pp. 182, 183.
[2] Gaskell's *Records of an Eton Schoolboy*, p. 4.

or at any rate dispersed among the different boarding-houses, he sent the Assistant Masters to bring them to him in small relays, after ten o'clock. Thus taken by surprise, the boys had no opportunity of arranging any common line of action ; each was ignorant of what his friends would do, and resolved for his own part to be on the safe side. In vain did some of the more ardent spirits at Knapp's shout from the open windows :—"Don't be flogged. Don't be flogged. We hav'n't been flogged." Out of the whole number, only two refused to submit, while twenty-one others were let off on the score of their protestation that they did not know that there was to be 'absence' that evening. Keate dealt with the rest one by one, and the operation lasted into the small hours of Sunday morning.[1]

"Then cleft the room with screeches riven,
Then rushed the boys to flogging driven,
And louder than the wind of heaven
Far flew the buds quite terribly.

. . . . . .

"Few, few shall stay where many are.
No refuge bed shall be from care,
And every cry which comes from far,
Is, 'Oh, this hurts most wofully.'"[2]

Sore in mind and body, the rebels could not but admit that they had been beaten in every sense of the word. Nevertheless many of them joined heartily in the cheers with which their seniors greeted the Head Master as he crossed the Long Walk on the following Monday morning.[3] The two who had proved stubborn were not only flogged, but turned down to the next form. Thus did Keate suppress the last attempt at rebellion which he had to encounter.

Stories illustrating the gentler side of Keate's character, are not so common or so popular, but they are none the less true. It is, for instance, stated that he freely pardoned a boy named Dallas who had thrown a stone at him in school, on his giving

[1] MS. Diary lately in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Keate ; *Etoniana*, pp. 104—109 ; Wilkinson's *Reminiscences of Eton*, pp. 32—39.

[2] Lines by E. M. Goulburn, in the *Kaleidoscope*, p. 280.

[3] Information of the late Mr. W. Ayshford Sanford.

himself up and apologizing.[1] When two small boys pleaded in excuse for being late for 'absence' that they had been to see Gray's monument at Stoke Poges, he inflicted no punishment, and good-humouredly expressed a hope that they would turn out as good poets as Gray.[2] One of them, John Moultrie, afterwards acquired some reputation as a poet; the other, James Chapman, eventually became Keate's son-in-law.

Small boys who knew Keate mainly as an executioner were doubtless unaware that from time to time he invited some of their seniors to breakfast or to supper in his red brick house at the corner of the Dorney Road, and that, on such occasions, he could show himself "courteous and genial."[3]

The Assistant Masters were no doubt largely responsible for the frequency of floggings, for Keate could not, even if so minded, have neglected to administer the punishment demanded by them without undermining their authority over the boys. Mr. Tucker remarks:—

> "He was simply a minister *des hautes œuvres*, and had no more to do with the fatal slips of paper brought to him every school-time from the Masters, than the Prepostor who presented them. His ideas of the efficacy of the birch-tree may have been strong. No doubt they were. His own

[1] *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 3665. The following passage occurred in the first edition of this book:—"That he could restrain himself, even when armed with the birch, is shown by his forbearance towards an eminent living statesman who, when acting as præpostor, got into trouble for omitting from the 'bill' the name of a friend who had missed a lesson. Before commanding the præpostor to kneel down, Keate charged him with a breach of trust. The boy, showing even then a promptitude for debate and a power of detecting microscopic differences which have since become famous, defended himself by saying—'I beg your pardon, sir; it would have been a breach of trust if I had undertaken the office of præpostor by my own wish; but it was forced upon me.' Keate yielded, and let him off."

Mr. Gladstone reading this, identified himself with the hero of this story, which I had given upon the authority of one of his schoolfellows and personal friends, the late Lord Blachford. He informed me, however, that he could not remember pleading the excuse attributed to him, and that he was certainly flogged for omitting the name of Voules from the 'bill.' As the anecdote has been quoted from my book by biographers and others, I give this explanation, in preference to omitting all mention of the affair.

[2] *Poems of John Moultrie* (ed. 1876), vol. i. p. xiv.

[3] *Eton of Old*, p. 184; MS. Diary lately in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Keate.

panacea with those immediately under him was not the rod but 'imposition,' locally termed '*pœna*.'" [1]

On the other hand, he could easily have given the Masters general rules as to the manner in which different offences should be expiated. That he did not attempt to introduce a more rational system of punishment, was due less to any idiosyncrasy of his than to the fact that in his day flogging was regarded as the normal means of coercing boys at Eton, at Harrow, and at Winchester alike. Dr. Longley, for instance, is said to have flogged no less than fifty-three Harrovians one morning, for missing 4 o'clock bell on the occasion of a steeplechase.[2] Perhaps Keate would not be remembered so exclusively as a wielder of the birch if his ordinary manner towards the boys had been less rough. Those, however, who knew him best agree in saying that his severity was to a large extent assumed, for the purpose of enforcing discipline; for, although often irritable and exacting, he was in private life kind, courteous and gentle. His manner certainly altered, with his costume, after his resignation of the Head Mastership.

Keate was a great master of oratory, and the hints which he gave to Sixth Form boys, when they were rehearsing their speeches to him in private, proved invaluable to them in their subsequent careers as statesmen, as preachers, or as pleaders in the courts of law.[3] An English speech was seldom tolerated in his day, and all the speeches, whether in Latin, Greek, or English, were real orations, not mere recitations. It was generally remarked that the best speeches and Declamations in the Upper School were those delivered by the members of the different dramatic companies, which from time to time were organized among the boys. Moultrie mentions the performances in Long Chamber in his own day :—

"'Twas a sight
Worthy of more fastidious eyes than ours—
That motley pageant of fantastic garbs
Assembled in our green-room; boyhood's limbs

[1] *Eton of Old*, p. 175.
[2] *Longman's Magazine*, vol. xii. p. 54.
[3] Information of the late Mr. Theodore Thring.

Robed in the grave habiliments of age;—
The corpulent round paunch of monk or friar,—
The rustic with red mass of hair unkempt,
Smock-frock, and scarlet hose, and nether vest
Of buckskin, begg'd or borrowed, for the nonce
E'en from the haunch of veritable clown—
And (stranger, more fantastic than all else)
The garb, shape, face, and voice of womanhood,
Aped by some beardless boy. . . . .

"All alike,
Actors and audience, willing both to please
And to be pleased, received and gave by turns
Reciprocal enjoyment; well I wot
None such was ever felt in Drury Lane!" [1]

The poet was himself one of the actors, and, according to a contemporary, unrivalled in domestic pathos.[2] He was one of the managers of the most successful series of performances that have ever been given by Eton boys. It was in 1817 or 1818 that a room was hired near the river to serve as a theatre, and a company formed consisting of Oppidans as well as Collegers, a combination as wholesome as it was unusual. Before long, a better room, capable of holding more than a hundred spectators, was found at a coal-merchant's in Datchet Lane, Windsor, between the bridge and the site of the present South-Western Railway Station. Howard, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, and Germain Lavie, were the first managers, and they were succeeded by Robert Crawfurd and John Moultrie. Lord Tullamore, one of the principal actors, is said to have moved the whole audience to tears on one occasion, by his impersonation of Sir Philip Blandford.[3] Praed and Henry Nelson Coleridge were also members of the company. "Penley's theatrical band was hired for the dramatic music, and the choristers from St. George's Chapel sang the concerted pieces."

[1] *The Dream of Life*, pp. 66, 67.

[2] He alludes to his own acting in the first three stanzas of his *Godiva* in the *Etonian*.

[3] *Poetry of the College Magazine*, p. 64. One of the spectators is represented as protesting:—
"Sooner should Keate relax his ire,
Or Plumptre shine in gay attire,
School, absence, flogging, all be o'er,
Than I forget my Tullamore."
*Ibid.* p. 63.

These proceedings were winked at by the authorities, and patronized by the Dames and the Masters' wives, who used openly to go down to Datchet Lane in their sedan chairs. At last, it became impossible for Keate to ignore performances which were so much talked about, and he told the managers plainly that, as they had been sent to Eton to become scholars and not actors, the theatre must be closed.[1]

Some years later, another attempt at amateur theatricals was made, and several performances were given at Barney Levi's (afterwards Turnock's) rooms in the High Street of Eton. E. S. Creasy, afterwards Chief Justice in Ceylon, took the part of Sir Anthony Absolute, Lord Hillsborough that of Sir Lucius O'Trigger, P. Y. Savile that of Bob Acres, C. O. Goodford, afterwards Provost of Eton, that of Mrs. Malaprop, and George Williams that of Lydia Languish. However, the Head Master one day seized a copy of the playbill in Chambers, and called up all the actors in turn under their assumed names, beginning with the ladies.[2]

Two of the Masters, Benjamin Heath Drury and Henry Hartopp Knapp, were enthusiastic admirers of the drama, and were in the habit of going up to town when some special 'star' was to perform. They used often to leave Eton on Saturday afternoon and return on the Monday morning, in time (or occasionally not in time) for early school, looking over exercises as they drove along in their curricle. Sometimes they would each take a favoured pupil to see the play, and sup and sleep at the *Hummums*, or the *Bedford*, in Covent Garden. Captain Gronow relates how on one of these expeditions, when their young companions were Lord Sunderland and a son of Lord Eldon, they sallied forth at night in search of adventures, and "created such a disturbance, that after several chivalrous encounters with the watchman, they were taken to Bow Street, and had to be bailed out of durance vile by the secretary of the all-powerful Chancellor."[3]

[1] Collins's *Etoniana*, pp. 186—191; *Eton of Old*, pp. 99—101.

[2] Collins's *Etoniana*, pp. 192, 193; Wilkinson's *Reminiscences of Eton*, pp. 196—199.

[3] *Recollections and Anecdotes*, Second Series, pp. 79—81.

Although Gronow was one of Knapp's pupils, the truth of this story has been called in question by another, who says :— "Ben Drury, I know, loved a fight for fighting's sake ; but Knapp was an effeminate, timid, little man, who would as soon have walked into Van Amburgh's den as into a street row." [1] Elsewhere, however, we read :—

> "He was as fond of prize-fighting as of theatres, and said that a scholar ought to attend prize-fights and horse-races, if he wanted to get an idea of what the Olympian games were like. At one time he owned a terrier named 'Keph,' whom he backed to kill pole-cats against a bull-dog of Sir Christopher Willoughby's at a cock-pit in Peascod Street, Windsor." [2]

The time in question must have been about 1810. The following story is vouched for as "literally true" :—

> "Drury presented himself at Chambers before 11 o'clock school one day with a conspicuous black eye. 'Bless me, Mr. Drury,' said Keate, 'you've met with a terrible accident.' 'Yes, Dr. Keate,' replied he, perfectly unabashed, 'I went over to Harrow yesterday, and taking a ball in the cricket field it ran up my bat, and struck me violently, as you see, in my right eye.' 'Dear me, Drury,' said little Knapp, who was standing close under his wing, 'the ball must have cannoned, for you've a dreadful bruise under your left ear.'"

Keate is said to have forced his way into the bedroom of one of this pair one day, in order to ascertain whether he was really too unwell to attend to his scholastic duties, and to have found the *soi-disant* invalid under the bed-clothes, but dressed for an expedition to London.[3] Drury has been described as "a clever fellow, but needing as much *surveillance* as any of the boys, a man to command no respect" ; and Knapp, a neat versifier in Latin and in English alike, had great difficulty in maintaining any semblance of order in school.[4] In some verses printed at Windsor in 1819 we read :—

[1] Letter from the late Mr. R. Crawfurd.
[2] *Seven Years at Eton*, p. 399.
[3] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. cxlvi. p. 515.
[4] Wilkinson's *Reminiscences of Eton*, pp. 99–105.

"The school is full, not over clever,
Keate storms, and Drury drinks for ever." [1]

Another Master, William Heath, who was believed to be an opium-eater, used to behave in an extraordinary way during lessons, talking to the boys about politics and the like.[2] George Bethell, described as "a very magnificent gentleman," who was elected to a Fellowship in 1818, is stated to have made only two critical remarks during his previous career as an Assistant Master. When a boy construed *postes æratos*, "brazen gates," he interposed, "Yes; that is right; probably so called because they were made of brass." And when *duplice ficu* was construed "with a double fig," he added "Right, quite right; a kind of fig that was double." One of the questions asked by him in school is also remembered:—"Who dragged who how many times round the walls of what?" [3] With men of this calibre as his Assistants on the one hand, and a selfish, easy-going Provost on the other, the Head Master had to bear the chief burden of education and discipline. Most of the Assistants whom he himself selected proved more efficient than their predecessors, and thus prepared the way for Hawtrey's reforms. Without prejudice to the memory of others, the names of James Chapman, John Wilder, and Edward Coleridge may be specially mentioned in this connexion. Of Capel Lofft, a very able but singular man, author of *Self-Formation*, it is said that having received the offer of an Assistant Master's place, he wrote two letters, the one accepting it, the other declining it, in such a manner that their covers were indistinguishable, and then consigned the one to the post and the other to the fire, without knowing which answer he had despatched. He became a Master, but for a few months only, in 1829.

Keate always looked with favour on such associations as the

[1] *Poetry of the College Magazine*, p. 65.

[2] Information of the late Earl of Abingdon.

[3] Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 183. Some of the boys in Bethell's division did not require an advanced style of teaching. "Come," said he to one of them, "if you can do a single word of the lesson, I will let you off. What is καί?" The answer was prompt:—"Third person singular, present tense—κῶ, καΐς, καΐ." "Sit down"; —to the præpostor, "Put him in the bill."

boys formed among themselves for mutual improvement in English composition and oratory. There were several small debating societies at Eton in the early years of the nineteenth century, but they proved short-lived, with one exception, and the continuance of that one to the present time is probably due to the fact that it was never exclusively a debating society. The existing institution was founded in 1811 by Charles Fox Townshend, a young man of great promise, who died at the age of twenty-two, when he was a candidate for the representation in Parliament of the University of Cambridge. H. T. Dampier, the Captain of the School, was in the chair at the inaugural meeting, when proposals that it should be named the 'Eton Literary Society,' or the 'Eton Debating Society,' were alike rejected. The 'Eton Society,' as it was formally named, was from the very first, and is still, a social club as well as a school for oratory. It deserves notice as an institution not founded, not inspected, not patronized, by masters or other adults, flourishing for close upon a century, and apparently as durable as the Jockey Club or Brooks's. In early days, the members were known as '*Literati*,' and Keate used to make a point of calling one of them up in the *Ibam forte* satire of Horace. The boy, well aware of what was expected of him, would translate "*docti sumus*," "I belong to the *Literati*," on which Keate would remark :—"Yes ; well," or "Oh, you do, do you? I am very glad to hear it. I wish more boys belonged to it." "And then," says Dr. Jelf, "came the well-known 'Silence ! be quiet ;' with which he pretended to check the applause which his facetiousness had provoked."[1] The term *Literati* fell into disuse before long, and the club acquired the less dignified name of 'Pop,' by which it is still generally known—a name for which youthful etymologists have discovered many a far-fetched derivation. Some have said that it was meant to indicate the *pop*-ularity of the members ; others have declared that the weekly speeches were as frothy as ginger-*pop*, but there is very little doubt that the Eton Society owes its monosyllabic name to the rooms it originally occupied in the house of a Mrs. Hatton, who kept an establishment that might with equal propriety be called a *popina* in Latin, or a lolly-*pop* shop

[1] *Contemporary Review*, vol. iii. p. 562 ; *Eton of Old*, p. 77.

in English.[1] This situation was purposely chosen with a view to the provision of an ordinary for members, who bound themselves to breakfast together at least once a week.

The number of members of the Eton Society was, at the first debate, fixed at twenty-five, but it was slightly altered from time to time.[2] In 1816, it had dwindled down to fourteen or even less, and five of them "being fully convinced of the degeneracy of the School," and "in order to prevent a greater disgrace," declared it necessary "that the Eton Society should be forthwith dissolved." This evoked vigorous protests from old members at Oxford and Cambridge, and a letter from C. F. Townshend to the President, ending :—

> "I trust sincerely that, having braved the tempest and ridden out the storm, it may not founder from a leak within ; and as I appeal to you on our behalf who were your progenitors, so do I more especially on your own, lest at some future period you should repent this destructive measure, and like the Trojan Æneas, who, bewailing the fate of that Troy which he had both seen and known, burst forth into that pathetic exclamation :—
>
> '*Trojaque nunc stares, Priamique arx alta maneres!*' "

This letter was read from the chair, the motion for dissolution was withdrawn, and, within a month, the number of members was made up to twenty-five.

The weekly debates were of a historical or literary character, one of the rules being that political and polemical subjects should be excluded. When some of the members showed a disposition to air their views on questions of the day, Keate informally managed to check it. Nevertheless the merits and demerits of corporal punishment have more than once been formally discussed in 'Pop' by boys to whom the Head Master's birch was a dread reality.[3] The quality of the debates has varied very much from time to time, according to the prevailing tone among the elder boys. Thus Mr. Gladstone and some of his contemporaries devoted a good deal of trouble to the preparation of

[1] Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 207.
[2] *Eton College Magazine*, p. 45.
[3] MS. Journals of the Eton Society, *passim*.

their speeches, and so revived an interest in the proceedings which had been declining since the departure of W. M. Praed. Not content indeed with weekly debates, a few of the members used to declaim before a smaller audience in Trotman's Gardens on the Dorney Road of a summer afternoon. Sir Francis Doyle records that a Master once overheard them "sneering, shouting, and boo-hoo-ing in the most unaccountable manner," and would have had the orators flogged for drunkenness, if the future Premier had not, with some difficulty, convinced him of their sobriety.[1] 'Private business,' or discussion in Committee on the management of the Society, was often found more interesting than the formal debates, and it gave wider opportunities for the display of individual character. 'Pop' has always had a great social power. Collegers were not excluded from it, and there alone, in the days when they were generally despised, was it possible for them to make friendships with their Oppidan schoolfellows. In a lesser degree, it was a neutral meeting ground for the leaders of the 'wet-bobs' and of the 'dry-bobs.'

The Eton Society never had sufficient funds in hand to buy many books, and it was to meet an obvious want that a library was established in 1821, over the shop of Williams the bookseller, chiefly by the exertions of Winthrop Mackworth Praed. The number of subscribing members was limited to a hundred at the top of the School.[2]

For several years after the last issue of the *Miniature*, the literary talent of Eton found no expression, save in the Latin verses and themes which had to be written week after week; but in 1818 the taste for English composition asserted itself strongly, and several rival magazines were started in manuscript. Two of these, exclusively the production of Collegers, attracted little notice;[3] the third, the *College Magazine*, got as far as an eighteenth number in the course of a twelvemonth, and might perhaps have lasted longer, if John Moultrie, one of the principal contributors, had not forsaken it for a magazine of his own,

[1] *Reminiscences*, pp. 37, 38.

[2] *The Etonian* (ed. 1824), vol. ii. p. 208.

[3] One was called the *Linger*, or *Colleger*. G. B. Maturin and W. G. Cookesley were the editors. The other was called the *Lion*.

called the *Horæ Otiosæ*. A selection of poetry from the *College Magazine* and the *Horæ Otiosæ* was made by Walter Blunt, a Colleger, and fifty copies were printed for private circulation in 1819. In the following summer, Praed started another manuscript magazine, entitled the *Apis Matina*, which was so favourably received that he determined on trying his hand at something more ambitious, after the holidays. He was fortunate in numbering among his personal friends several young men of singular ability, and it was by their assistance that he won for his comparatively short-lived periodical, the *Etonian*, a unique position in English literature. It was mainly the work of schoolboys, for contributions from old Etonians were not allowed to occupy more than a limited space in each number, and several pieces which in the table of contents are credited to undergraduates, had in reality been written by them before they left Eton. Thus Moultrie's lines on *My Brother's Grave*, and *The Hall of my Fathers*, were originally composed for the *Horæ Otiosæ*, and several articles were reproduced from the pages of the *Apis Matina*.

The contents of the *Etonian* were of a miscellaneous character, although the grave element in it bore but a small proportion to the gay. Each number began with a lively account of the proceedings of a fictitious society, by whose members the magazine was supposed to be conducted under the presidency of 'Peregrine Courtenay, King of Clubs.' A rough woodcut of his Majesty, enlarged from a playing card, always appeared on the cover, to the disgust of the *savants* of the *Quarterly Review*, who rejoiced in the simplicity of their own plain drab. Blunt and Praed were the editors, the former undertaking the correction of proofs and other similar drudgery, the latter pouring forth brilliant prose, and yet more brilliant verse, with extraordinary facility. Praed was indeed the mainspring of the whole enterprise, and the most frequent contributor. As we read *The Eve of Battle*, *Laura*, *The County Ball*, *Gog*, *Surly Hall*, and other poems of his, it is difficult to realize that they were the productions of a boy in his teens. John Moultrie, William Sidney Walker, and Henry Nelson Coleridge, were but little older; and the most noteworthy point in connexion with the *Etonian* is that so many of

its contributors had at a very early age acquired an unusual refinement of ideas and happy powers of expression.

The story of the *Etonian* has been told more than once,[1] and we need not dwell on it here. Suffice it to say that the first number went out of print in the course of a few weeks, that it caused the flagging sale of the *Microcosm*, and even of the *Miniature*, to revive, that it was favourably noticed in the *Quarterly Review*, and that its principal editor went up to Cambridge with a reputation higher than that of any Etonian since the days of George Canning.[2] It might have been supposed that an important magazine like the *Etonian* would have left no room for any other literary undertaking in the School, yet we find that another periodical was being published weekly under different auspices. The *Salt-bearer*, as it was called, was started in May 1820, and its editor 'Mr. Benjamin Bookworm,' went out of his way to find fault with the *Apis Matina* on several occasions. 'Peregrine Courtenay' retaliated in the first number of the *Etonian*, and the feud was not appeased until the *Salt-bearer* came to an end, in April 1821. The article in which Praed announced to his supporters the literary decease of his rival is highly characteristic, and it gives his estimate of the quality of the four Eton magazines which had got into print :—

> "When I throw a glance over the journey which our Etonian writers have travelled, I fancy that I see three different routes leading towards the same point. In the centre, Messrs. Griffin and Grildrig are riding a couple of clever nags, at a good round trot; on one side, Mr. Bookworm is bestriding what is commonly termed 'a safe Cob for an infirm Gentleman'; which scrambles over his ground in such a manner, that the spectators imagine he will come to a dead stop every instant; on the other side is Mr. Courtenay,—whip and spur, whip and spur, the whole way ;—up hill and down hill, bush and briar, furze and fence,—it is the same thing. Mr. C. they say, never uses a curb; and the animal occasionally waxes so formidably obstinate, that he has infinite difficulty in keeping his seat."[3]

The real name of 'Mr. Benjamin Bookworm' has never been

[1] Knight's *Passages of a Working Life*, vol. i. pp. 280—294; Derwent Coleridge's *Memoir of W. Mackworth Praed*, pp. xvii—xxiii.

[2] Coleridge's *Memoir of W. M. Praed*, p. xxvi.

[3] *The Etonian* (ed. 1824), vol. ii. p. 173.

published, but, whoever he was, he can hardly escape the reproach of dullness. A continuation of the *Salt-bearer*, entitled the *Student*, was started in June 1821, by 'Solomon Sap, Esq. of the College of Eton,' but it never reached a second number.[1] The *Etonian* itself came to an end in the following month, when Praed ceased to be an Eton boy. However, it was not long before the principal writers in the *Etonian*, Praed, Moultrie, Walker, and H. Nelson Coleridge,[2] combined with Derwent Coleridge, T. Babington Macaulay, and Henry Malden, to bring out a London serial—*Knight's Quarterly Magazine*.

There is a gap of some six years in the annals of Eton literature after the abdication of 'Peregrine Courtenay, King of Clubs.' The *Eton Miscellany*, which appeared in 1827, was in every way less ambitious than the *Etonian*, though several of its contributors in after life attained greater eminence than the most successful of the staff of the earlier magazine. One of them became Prime Minister of England, a second will ever be remembered as the chief organizer of the Colonial Church, while others distinguished themselves in politics, in literature, and at the bar.[3] The *Oppidan*, an Eton publication of the year 1828, gave flashes of the old spirit, especially in some lines on the Louvre, but only two numbers were published. The *Eton College Magazine*, which went through eight numbers in 1832,[4] and its successor, the *Kaleidoscope*, issued in the following year, are interesting only in so far as they illustrate the school life of their time.[5]

[1] Several Eton Magazines which do not exist in the British Museum are to be found in the Hope collection at Oxford and in Mr. L. V. Harcourt's collection.

[2] The other writers in the *Etonian* were the Hon. W. Ashley, Edmund Beales (of Hyde Park celebrity), W. Crichton, the Hon. F. Curzon, Richard Durnford (Bishop of Chichester), C. Fursdon, H. Neech, W. H. Ord, T. P. Outram, J. L. Petit, Walter Trower (Bishop of Gibraltar), Chauncey Hare Townsend, R. Streatfield, and J. A. Kinglake.

[3] The writers were W. E. Gladsone, G. A. Selwyn, J. Milnes-Gaskell, Francis Hastings Doyle (Sir F. H. D.), John Hanmer (Lord Hanmer), Frederick Rogers (Lord Blachford), J. W. Colvile (Sir J. W. C.), W. E. Jelf, J. H. Law, Percival A. Pickering, L. H. Shadwell, W. Skirrow, Charles Wilder, and A. H. Hallam (the subject of *In Memoriam*).

[4] The writers were John Wickens, the Hon. G. W. Lyttelton (Lord Lyttelton), Thomas Phinn, A. J. Ellis, W. P. Bolland, and C. G. Wynne.

[5] The writers were A. J. Ellis, T. B. Charlton, H. Rycroft, G. Cunningham, the Hon. G. W. Lyttelton (Lord Lyttelton, Francis

The records of cricket at Eton become more abundant as we enter upon a comparatively recent period. Apart from differences in the code of rules, it is worthy of remark that ninety years ago the game was specially patronized by Collegers; an Eleven selected from their scanty number, for there were seldom more than fifty of them on the list, used annually to contend on equal



Sheep Bridge and Sixth Form Bench.

terms with an Eleven selected from the rest of the School. In one particular year, when there were no less than eight of them in the Eton Eleven, the Collegers had every reason to anticipate an easy victory over the Oppidans, but in the end they were ignominiously beaten. So mortified were they at the result of the match that they dressed their bats in black crape, and left them

Hastings Doyle (Sir F. H. D.), E. Goulburn (Dean of Norwich), J. Hamilton, J. Jermyn, R. Lloyd, James G. Lonsdale, and Alfred Mills.

fastened up against the wall in Long Chamber, until John Harding retrieved the honour of College by an innings of 74 against Epsom, which in those days was considered wonderful. Traditions of Harding's play survived for many a long year after he and his friends had left Eton, and it is stated that he hit a ball from the middle of the Upper Shooting Fields (now called Upper Club) over the chestnut-trees, into the Lower Shooting Fields. Such a feat was without precedent, and the hero of the day was carried back to College in triumph by his jubilant schoolfellows.[1] The bat, too, received special honours, and it is still in existence, having been bequeathed by its original owner to G. R. Dupuis, son of one of the Eleven of 1814, and himself a famous cricketer.[2] Until a recent time, there were several old Etonians still living who could quote by heart large portions of a poem written at the time by William Mansfield Stone, a Colleger, in which the following passage occurs :—

"It was a bat full fair to see,
And it drove the balls right lustily;
Without a flaw, without a speck,
Smooth as fair Hebe's ivory neck,
It was withal so light, so neat,
The Harding called it—'Mrs. Keate.'"[3]

Two other noted players were John Barnard, Captain of Montem in 1814, and G. W. Barnard, Captain of Montem in 1823 :—

"He who hits the balls such thumps,
King of cricket-bats and stumps."[4]

The Collegers' cricket ground was in the Playing Fields, on the left of the road which ran direct from Weston's Yard to Sheep Bridge. On the right of the road was the ground of the 'aquatics,' or 'wet-bobs,' who used to play matches amongst

[1] *Baily's Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 348; *Sporting Magazine*, vol. lxxv. p. 15; *The Etonian* (ed. 1824), vol. iii. p. 293.

[2] *Catalogue of Eton Loan Collection* (3rd edition), nos. 402 and 492.

[3] Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 113; MS. copies of the poem were lately in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Keate and Mr. Harold Perry.

[4] *Montem Ode* quoted in *English Spy*, vol. i. p. 75.

themselves and sometimes against others.[1] The Upper Shooting Fields were reserved for the better players. For others the Lower Shooting Fields near the river were available.

Lower boys, that is to say those below the Fifth Form, used to get very little enjoyment out of cricket. If summoned, it was their duty to field or to bowl by the hour for their seniors, without being allowed to handle the bat. A young Etonian of 1828 is supposed to write thus :—

> "Other fagging may be avoided by keeping out of the way of the tyrants ; but in this instance it is next to impossible ; for they station themselves at every egress, blocking up the way ; if it be at absence at the arch ; if after school in the Long Walk or the School Yard, besides dispersing in different directions numerous picquets, being lower boys who are so favoured as not to have to fag themselves, but inveigle other boys into the trap. . . . A Fifth Form's 'Name' is most useful; that is when a potent upper division boy allows you to plead whenever you are fagged by another that you are already fagging for him ; and if he is appealed to as to the truth of this statement, he is bound to affirm it."[2]

There were other grounds of exemption. If a Fifth Form boy standing beside a fag succeeded in 'catching out' the batsman, the fag was released. Members of any recognized club were also immune. The number of available victims was therefore much reduced in 1829, when a cricket club was established for lower boys only, called from the amount of the subscription 'Sixpenny.'[3] In the following year, some lower boys at one of the Dames' houses, having revolted against their elders, and being in fear of excessive fagging at cricket, betook themselves to the river and manned a long boat called the *Nelson*.[4]

In 1818, arrangements were made, almost at the last moment, for a match between Eton and Harrow, to be played on Lord's Ground at the only possible time, that is to say at the beginning of the summer holidays. The Harrovians proved fortunate in being able to bring up their full Eleven on the appointed day,

[1] Selwyn's *Eton in 1829—1830* (ed. Warre), pp. 132—140, 160, 244, 286; Wilkinson's *Reminiscences of Eton*, p. 250.

[2] *Eton College Magazine*, p. 138.

[3] Letter from Mr. A. Pryor.

[4] Selwyn's *Eton in 1829—1830*, pp. 129, 130, 147.

for only three of the normal representatives of Eton put in an appearance, and it was not without difficulty that a casual Eleven was constituted on the spot, mainly from among boys who had come to see the match, without any idea of taking part in it. Under these circumstances, it seems somewhat surprising that Harrow won by only 13 runs. "Both schools," says Mr. Tucker, who was himself unexpectedly impressed to play for Eton, "mustered strong on the ground; but other spectators there were none, save a few members in the Pavilion."[1] Harrow was again successful in a match played at the same place in 1822 under more even conditions. The tide of fortune turned after this, and the Etonians won easily in 1823, 1824, 1825, 1827, 1828, and again in 1832, when they made 249 runs in one innings against 49 and 44. Harrow won in 1833. The Wykehamists won their first match against the Etonians in 1826, and the two rival Elevens were alternately victorious in matches played at Lord's in 1829, 1830, 1832, and 1833.[2] Contests of this kind between the different Public Schools were not thought so much of then as they are nowadays, and used to take place during the summer holidays, when few boys were in London. The great events in the cricketing year at Eton were the matches played in the Upper Shooting Fields against King's College, Marylebone, and Epsom.

"Oh! who can e'er forget,
When the day fix'd for final conflict came,
How breathlessly we rush'd, from school let loose,
To view the mighty game!—how from afar,
Between the umbrageous trees of Poet's Walk,
The slim white figures of the combatants
Glanced on our eager sight! with what suspense,—
What alternations swift of hope and fear,
We watch'd the progress of the game! . . . .
. . . . . Then, if at last
The fortune of the day declared for us,—
With what a maddening shout of victory
We rent the welkin! Waterloo itself
(For Waterloo was fought in those wild days)

[1] *Eton of Old*, pp. 112—114; *The Etonian* (ed. 1824), vol. iii. p. 229.

[2] Wisden's *Public School Matches.*

Scarce seem'd a mightier triumph than some match
Won against Epsom." [1]

Whenever there was a cricket-match, Keate used to 'call absence' in the Playing Fields, instead of in the School Yard. The costume of the players on such occasions and about the year 1820, is described as "a white jean jacket, fitting easily to the figure, with the blue tie of Eton ; nankeen shorts and ribbed silk stockings, with socks tightly folded over the ankle, and the white hat jauntily put on." [2] On ordinary days, trousers were worn instead of shorts.[3]

Greatly as the dress of cricketers has changed since that period, the normal costume of Etonians has changed even more. In 1700, a boy writing to his father commends the "genteel colour" of a new suit recently sent to him.[4] George Finch, afterwards Earl of Winchilsea, going to Eton for the first time in 1761, took with him a greatcoat and a gold-laced hat.[5] At the end of the century, a little fellow of eight, in the form called 'Lower Greek,' rejoiced in "a blue jacket, with a red collar." [6] In Edward Coleridge's schooldays, 1813 to 1818, the boys generally wore blue cloth coats and trousers and yellow waistcoats. Black was regarded as a sign of mourning.[7] A coloured print of March 1824, representing the School Yard, shows Oppidans attired in coats of various hues and nether garments of various shapes. The Collegers are, however, depicted in 'shorts,' in compliance with a stringent regulation on the subject.[8] If a Colleger, ignorant of the regulation, came to Eton in trousers, the local tailor soon transformed them into 'shorts,' adding strings and gilt buttons at the knees. Even in the yearly football match at the Wall between Collegers and Oppidans, the former used to appear in knee breeches and silk stockings. Gradually the rule was relaxed. Collegers began to wear trousers on holidays, tucking them up before 'absence,' and, by the third decade of the nineteenth century, the black cloth gown was the only distinctive outward mark of a Colleger.[9]

[1] Moultrie's *Dream of Life*.
[2] *Baily's Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 346.
[3] *Eton of Old*, p. 108.
[4] *Historical MSS. Commission*, *Thirteenth Report*, App. IV. p. 365.
[5] MS. at Burley-on-the-Hill.
[6] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. C. Blake], pp. 32, 34.
[7] Cf. G. A. Denison's *Notes of my Life*, p. 10.
[8] *English Spy*, vol. i.
[9] *Eton of Old*, p. 15.

Boating was not formally recognized by the School authorities before 1840, but ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century, boys had been practically free from interference while they were on the river, although the road to it was 'out of bounds.' Keate is known to have interfered in the matter on one occasion only, when, in 1829, he had heard by chance that some of the boats intended to row up to Surly Hall before Easter. He tried to prevent this by threatening to expel any one who should take part in the expedition, but, finding that the boys paid little attention to his threats, he resolved to waylay them and catch them in the act of disobedience. Unfortunately for himself, he made no secret of his purpose, and the boys contrived to hoax him effectually. On the appointed day, a crew of watermen, dressed up to represent Etonians and wearing masks over their faces, started from the Brocas in the *St. George*, in the presence of a crowd of boys and townspeople who had come out to see what would happen. Keate caught sight of them from the bank before they had reached Upper Hope, and shouted :—"Foolish boys, I know you all." "Lord Alford, I know you." "Watt, you had better come ashore." "Come here, or you will all be expelled." The boat, however, pursued its course steadily, several of the Masters giving chase on horseback, and the *ruse* was not discovered until the crew disembarked and took off their masks with a loud "hurrah." Keate was furious, and vowed that he would keep the whole school at Eton two days beyond the time fixed for the beginning of the holidays, unless at least thirty of the boys who had hooted him and other Masters from behind the hedges gave themselves up. As this threat produced no effect, some of the Masters, instigated by Charles Yonge, asked their respective pupils to say whether or not they had shouted on the Brocas. Eighteen confessed and were accordingly flogged, and twenty-four others who would not incriminate themselves were detained two days.[1] "Most of the Masters enjoy the joke," wrote Henry Drury of Harrow, who was staying at Eton with his brother, "Keate sits in sullen retirement and eats his own soul."[2] The most important result of the affair

[1] *Sporting Magazine*, vol. lxxiv. p. 352 ; Information of the late Rev. G. Williams. MS. Diary lately in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Keate, 4 April 1829. Selwyn's *Eton in 1829—1830*, pp. 8–20.

[2] *Memoir of the Rev. F. Hodgson*, vol. ii. pp. 193, 194. In the first edition

was that the watermen and other 'cads' were thenceforth forbidden to set foot within the wall of the Long Walk at Eton.

It was formerly customary for watermen to be employed to row stroke in the 'lower boats,' but in course of time the boys found that they could manage well enough by themselves, and ever since 1829 the stroke oar has been taken by the captain of each crew. The distinction between 'upper boats' and 'lower boats' was much more strongly marked in those days than it is at present, boys in the Remove and Fourth Form being freely admitted to the 'lower boats.' The names of the boats and their order of precedence varied considerably from year to year, the ten-oared *Monarch* alone retaining its position as the first on the list, with the Captain of the Boats for its stroke. In 1811, the names of the other boats were *Dreadnought*, *Defiance*, *Rival*, *Mars*, and *Mercury*, names which have since been dropped and taken up again at pleasure. In the interval between 1811 and 1832, there were other boats called *Hibernia*, *Albion*, *Trafalgar*, *Nelson*, *Britannia*, *Etonian*, *Victory*, *St. George*, *Thetis*, *Prince George* and *Adelaide*. Previously to 1824, one or more of the 'lower boats' had always been a six-oar, but since that year all the boats, with the exception of the *Monarch*, have been eight oars. The total number of boats fluctuated between six and nine.[1]

Year after year the Fourth of June brought crowds of visitors to Eton to see the procession of boats; but even the Fourth of June has been described as "wanting in the bacchanal jubilation of Election Saturday."[2] On both these festive days, each crew wore a distinctive costume, but there was formerly no general agreement as to the style to be adopted. The crew of the ten-oared *Monarch*, for instance, then as now the first boat in order of precedence, attracted much attention on one or two occasions by appearing as galley-slaves chained to their oars.[3] About the year 1814, all such fantastic costumes were abandoned in favour of a regular uniform, practically identical with that which is worn

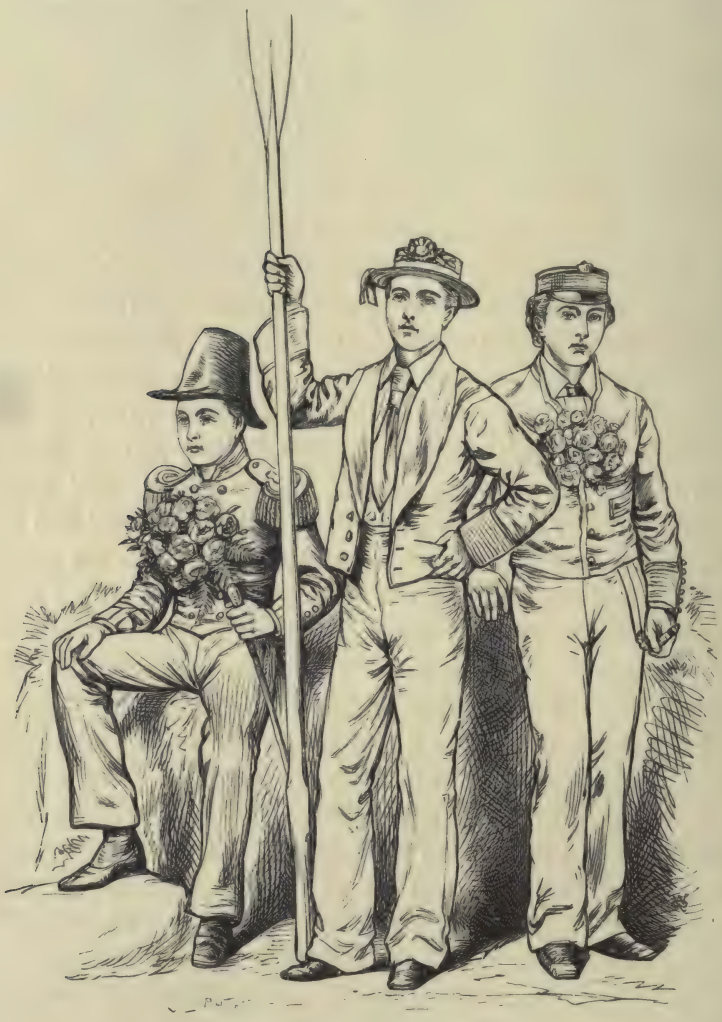
of this book, I stated in a footnote that the incident "took place about the year 1822." This error of mine has been repeated and emphasized by the author of *Seven Years at Eton*, pp. 405, 406.

[1] Blake-Humfrey's *Eton Boating Book*.

[2] *Baily's Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 350.

[3] *Reminiscences of an Etonian*, p. 57; *Eton of Old*, p. 11.

nowadays. It consisted of a dark-blue cloth jacket, a striped or checked shirt of some distinctive pattern, a straw hat bearing the name of the boat, and trousers of dark-blue cloth for the boys



Group on the Fourth of June.

in the 'upper boats,' and of white jean for those in the 'lower boats.' The steerers continued to wear fancy dresses of their own choosing until 1828, when they too adopted a regular uniform, to wit, that of officers in the Royal Navy, admirals, captains and

lieutenants, according to the precedence to which their respective boats were entitled.[1]

On all festive occasions, the ordinary tillers of the boats were replaced by ornamental ones, fashioned like serpents and garlanded with oak leaves.[2] Each boat bore a large distinctive flag. It was not unusual for a boat to carry in its stern an extra person called a 'sitter,' and it was in this capacity that Canning was rowed up the river on the Fourth of June 1824, when, notwithstanding the great breadth of the *Monarch* of the day, he is said to have been very nervous as to his own safety.[3] Prince George of Cambridge was a 'sitter' in 1831 and again in 1833, when the King and Queen were among the spectators.[4] In later times, sitters have generally provided a dozen or two of champagne, in return for the compliment paid to them. The procession has, from time immemorial, started from the Brocas soon after 'six o'clock absence,' and, in the days of Heath, Goodall and Keate, it used to be accompanied along the Buckinghamshire bank of the river by a crowd of Eton boys on horseback. An imaginary 'Henry Rashleigh' is represented as describing the scene in a letter to his sister:—

> "I could hardly recognise some of my acquaintances, metamorphosed as they were by their new equipments of spurs, top-boots, hunting-whips, and straight-cut coats. What capital fun it must be hiring a horse for a couple of hours, just to show off! . . . . You never saw such animals collected together in your life before, many of them with hardly a leg to stand on, and bones peeping through their skins; others just taken up from a common, with all their winter hair about them, as if they had never felt a curry-comb; and the best were but poor creatures. Then there was such flogging and hollowing, and riding against one another, that the Epping Hunt could never have been more ridiculous."[5]

Praed, too, laughs at the "Etonian cavalry" on Election Saturday:—

[1] *Sporting Magazine*, vol. lxxiv. p. 354.
[2] Selwyn's *Eton in 1829–1830*, pp. 178, 201.
[3] *Annual Register*, vol. lxix. p. 480; *Seven Years at Eton* (4th ed.), p. 418.
[4] *Berkshire Chronicle*, 1831 and 1833.
[5] *The Etonian* (ed. 1824), vol. iii. pp. 190, 191.

"They start in such a pretty trim,
And such sweet scorn of life and limb.
I must confess I never found
A horse much worse for being sound;
I wish my nag not wholly blind,
And like to have a tail behind;
And though he certainly may hear
Correctly with a single ear,
I think, to look genteel and neat,
He ought to have his two complete.
But these are trifles! off they go
Beside the wondering river's flow;
And if, by dint of spur and whip,
They shamble on without a trip,
Well have they done! I make no question
They're shaken into good digestion."[1]

The crews of the boats, and the members of the Fifth and Sixth Forms, had supper *al fresco* in a field opposite to Surly Hall, after which everybody returned to the Brocas, to see the fireworks, on the Fourth of June and Election Saturday alike.

On the way down, the orderly procession of boats was apt to degenerate into a 'bumping-race,' the boats pursuing each other round Piper's Eyot, on which the fireworks were exhibited, and so under Windsor Bridge, which was crowded with spectators. In 1816, the *Defiance* bumped the *Mars* after an exciting race, and the two crews afterwards came to blows in the High Street, as they were returning to College in the dark.[2]

Strange as it may appear to persons educated under a different system, these festivities went on year after year, not allowed, not forbidden. Provost Goodall used to say:—"I wonder why Mrs. Goodall always dines early on the Fourth of June, and orders her carriage at six." 'Lock up' was always later than usual that night, although Keate professed himself ignorant of the true reason of this annual indulgence,[3] and, as a matter of fact,

[1] *The Etonian* (ed. 1824), vol. iii. p. 289.

[2] *Baily's Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 355; H. J. Blake mentions an encounter between the crews of the *Defiance* and the *Dreadnought*, a few years earlier. *Reminiscences of an Etonian*, p. 57.

[3] *The Etonian*, vol. iii. p. 190.

the Masters often went to see the fireworks, knowing that they were not likely to be recognized in the dark.

A very intelligent boy in the Middle Division wrote thus to his mother with reference to the Fourth of June, 1826 :—

> "The scene was remarkably gay and animated. His Highness the Duke of York was present, and Lord Chesterfield, and several other persons of distinction. The fireworks were beautiful, and extremely well arranged. Mr. Dupuis came on purpose to see the sight, though it is not positively sanctioned. Messrs. Chapman and Hawtrey were also there. Keate was there with his family, and yet to such a pitch of ridiculous absurdity is the affected ignorance and opposition of the Masters kept up, that positively at absence, though every one knows that we are locked up at a quarter before ten on this night, purely for the celebration of this regatta, Keate thus addressed us :—'Boys, it is an old custom to have you locked up later than usual this night, that you may enjoy your game of cricket rather later than usual, and that it may be harder contested.' Was there ever such nonsense ?"[1]

That Keate himself went to see the fireworks, as stated, is very doubtful, for, five years later, he excused himself from accompanying William the Fourth to witness the procession of boats, on the score that "he did not know there was such a thing."[2] He had been careful never to notice royal carriages passing his own door on their way to the Brocas.[3] The sailor King was very regular in his attendance at the aquatic displays of the School situated near his Castle.

> "Our monarch's eye has viewed on Thames's strand
> The secret pastime of Etona's band,
> Scenes which must here remain unknown to fame,
> Scenes which the conscious muse forbids to name."

So said S. Phillipps in an address to William the Fourth, delivered in the presence of the Head Master in 1832, and under similar circumstances, two years later, William Courthope mentioned the King's interest in the "mimic squadrons"

[1] Gaskell's *Records of an Eton Schoolboy* (privately printed), p. 17.

[2] *Memoir of the Rev. F. Hodgson*, vol. ii. p. 209.

[3] *Berkshire Chronicle, 1831*, p. 331.

and "boyish pageantry" of Eton.[1] Keate of course did not ask for any explanation. Like the Provost, he used to dine at five o'clock on the Fourth of June and Election Saturday, and, when Mrs. Keate and her guests were starting, immediately after, for the Brocas, he used to say that he supposed that they were going to donkey races on Dorney Common. In the meanwhile, he had discussed all the necessary arrangements with the Captain of the Oppidans, although, even with him, he affected to ignore the existence of a Captain of the Boats.[2] Strange as these fictions now appear, they were hardly stranger than some which were then in daily use in the courts of law.

Of course, the 'wet-bobs' of that time cared for boating for its own sake, independently of the pageants of the Fourth of June and Election Saturday.

> "On the breast
> Of Thames, it was our pride in trim-built skiffs
> To shoot amain—now singly, now in crews,
> With lusty tug of war, in eager race
> Contending."[3]

'Upper Sixes,' 'Lower Sixes,' 'Sculling Sweepstakes,' 'Pulling Sweepstakes,' 'Double Sculling,' and occasional races between Fours, Sixes or Eights of different houses, were alike instituted as early as the days of Keate.[4] There was also informal racing almost daily in the summer, every crew going up the river being ambitious of bumping another boat, if not of driving it into the bank or actually disabling it. In such contests, the Collegers took no part whatever, their aquatic performances being restricted to the part of the river below Romney Lock. On days when there was a cricket match in the Upper Shooting Fields, one or two long boats manned by Oppidans would occasionally invade these lower waters and row to the *Bells of Ouseley*. Some of the Masters seem to have held that they thus went 'out of bounds.'[5] An annual race very diverting to the spectators was that known as 'Cricket Sixes,' when two crews of 'dry-bobs' rowed to Upper Hope and back. On one

[1] *Eton Addresses, 1831—1836.*
[2] Information of the late Rev. J. C. Keate.
[3] Moultrie's *Dream of Life.*
[4] Selwyn's *Eton in 1829—1830.*
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 101, 159, 161.

occasion the victorious boat was preceded by a skilled oarsman, leisurely sculling an ordinary wherry.[1]

The idea of singling out the best oarsmen in the School to row together in one boat seems to have originated about the year 1819, when four Etonians are said to have beaten four Christ Church men.[2] In the following year, arrangements were made for a more important race against Westminster; but the authorities intervened, threatening expulsion, and the scheme had to be abandoned. The names of those who were to have rowed for Eton are carved on the Head Master's desk in Upper School.[3] The first actual race between the two Schools took place at Putney on the evening of Election Monday, 1829. Both parties had been some time "in active training," but, being unfamiliar with the course, they had to be steered by local watermen. The Etonians rowed in the *Britannia*, the first of their own eight-oared boats, dressed "in broad blue-striped Guernsey frocks and dark straw hats with blue ribbon." 'Bumping' or 'fouling' appears to have been considered legitimate in those days, even on the broad reach of the Thames between Putney and Hammersmith, for we read that Brumwell of Vauxhall, the steerer of the Westminster crew, "nearly succeeded in bringing the nose of his boat on the quarter of that of the opposite party, as she was shooting by." This attempt being defeated by the "science" of the professional coxswain who took the *Britannia* "in a slanting direction," the Etonians eventually won by more than a quarter of a mile. The race, we are told, excited much interest among the relations and friends of the two crews, and was accompanied along the towpath by forty or fifty gentlemen on horseback, most of whom wore blue ribbons in their button-holes.[4] Curiously enough the crew which was thus victorious at Putney, the first Eight that ever went forth from Eton to contend for aquatic honours, consisted mainly of boys who were not members of the regular boats. Lord Waterford, Captain of the *Britannia*, had been desirous that one of the boats should be manned by Irishmen,

[1] Wilkinson's *Reminiscences of Eton*, pp. 253—255.

[2] Woodgate's *Boating* (Badminton Library), p. 208.

[3] Blake-Humfrey's *Eton Boating Book*, p. viii.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 5; *Sporting Magazine*, vol. lxxiv. p. 370.

and, on meeting with a refusal from Lord Alford, had seceded with many of his friends. Several of the crews had been reduced and the *Defiance* had been abandoned. On the other hand the Irishmen had been going out on the river in the *Erin-go-bragh* or the *Rival*, ignoring the regular boats. It was Lord Waterford who sent the challenge to Westminster, and it was he who stroked the Etonian crew at Putney. The race was ignored by the Captain of the Boats and his supporters.[1] There was no contest between Eton and Westminster in 1830; but in the following year a race took place in the middle of the summer half, the course being from Maidenhead Bridge to Queen's Eyot, below Monkey Island, and back again up stream, nearly six miles in all. Although the Westminster crew were the favourites at ten to one, and said to be "big enough to eat the Eton boys," they were signally beaten.[2] The anomalous relation then existing between the Masters and the boys is well illustrated by the fact that Keate never heard a word about the race until it was over. The first notice he received of it was at 'six o'clock absence,' when, amid loud cheers, 'Bear,' a St. Bernard dog belonging to one of the Masters, Edward Coleridge, was led up to him covered with the pale blue rosettes the boys had worn. He asked the Præpostor by his side what this demonstration meant, and when told:—"Please, sir, we've just beaten the Westminster," he smiled, and, as usual, said:—"Foolish boys!" Some of the victorious crew, however, were beaten soon afterwards by the Leander Club, in a race for 100*l.* a side, from Windsor Bridge to Surly and back.[3] It must be remembered that there was no lock at Boveney until 1840, and the distance could be accomplished, in somewhat heavy boats, in a few minutes over half an hour.[4]

"But even this,
For some adventurous spirits, was too dull
And spiritless a joy! Such burnt to win

[1] Selwyn's *Eton in 1829—1830*, pp. 25—27, 34, 85, 86, 100, 102—106; Wilkinson's *Reminiscences of Eton*, p. 304.

[2] *Sporting Magazine*, new series, vol. iii. p. 137; Blake-Humfrey, p. 10.

[3] Information of the late Bishop Abraham; *Sporting Magazine*, new series, vol. iii. p. 323; *Berkshire Chronicle*, 1831, p. 337. For 'Bear' see Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, pp. 152—155.

[4] *Sporting Magazine*, vol. lxxiv. p. 352.

The sportsman's noble fame, albeit alloy'd
By ill report of poacher ;—with the dawn,
O'erleaping the restraint of bolts and bars,
They ranged, with dog and gun, the near preserves,
Or from forbidden waters bore the lines
Rich with nocturnal spoil." [1]

Capel Lofft records how he and one of his schoolfellows kept two or three couple of harriers near Black Potts for the purpose of hunting rabbits. There was other game in abundance just across the river, and they did not long resist the temptation to go in quest of it. Their first expedition into the Little Park met with undeserved success ; but on repeating the offence a few days later, Capel Lofft narrowly escaped being caught, and, in his anxiety to get back safely over the wall, dropped his gun.[2] Another boy met with a worse misfortune close to the same spot. Having killed a hare, and hidden it away under a long coat borrowed for the occasion, he came in sight of a keeper who, after a short chase, deliberately fired at him. The bullet grazed his leg, and he was obliged to 'stay out' on the sick-list for some time, his plea being that he had met with an accident while scrambling through a hedge, for he could not well complain of the keeper without compromising himself.

There was hardly a house from which the boys could not escape with ease, for a poaching expedition of a morning, or for a visit to the *Christopher* at night. "Is all right?" enquired the future Lord Kesteven, as he was preparing to descend from his window one dark evening, to meet a friend. "Right as my left leg," answered a voice from below, and the boy dropped into the arms of Ben Drury, the Master.[3]

As far back as the schooldays of Horace Walpole, the Eton boys loved "an expedition against bargemen" and an intermittent warfare between the two classes seems to have been maintained for about a century. Capel Lofft, who had left Eton in 1824, writes :—

[1] Moultrie's *Dream of Life*.

[2] *Self-Formation*, vol. i. pp. 175—177.

[3] The hero of the story may have earned his peerage by valuable services at the Poor Law Board, but his reputation for scholarship was not high at Eton, where he translated

"In my time there was a wharf of rather late construction, between the shooting fields and river. Its surface had been laid down with stones taken from the bed of the river, smoothed, of course, and rounded, many of them by attrition, and lying there most invitingly; any of them a match for the sword and spear of Goliath. This was our *arma-mentarium*. One would have supposed that a Balearic colony had settled just at that point of the river—so continuous, and so fast and furious withal, was the storm of stones hailed down from it on every poor devoted barge that chanced to pass while we were in presence. . . . . Oaths and execrations were delicious music in our ears and occasionally even a pattering charge of small shot directed, probably *in terrorem*, over our heads, would be answered by a triumphant shout of defiance."[1]

Driving was still a fashionable, though of course a forbidden, amusement at Eton during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The names of some of the best whips are given in the *College Magazine*, and a few years later we read of one of the townspeople :—

"Savager keeps a decent nag,
But's very shy of lending,
Since she put down her tandem drag
For fear of Keate's offending."[2]

Nevertheless, gigs and tandems are enumerated together with "cricket, boating, beagles, racings, rows," in a list of Eton amusements, in a magazine printed and published almost under the eyes of the authorities in 1833.[3] There were other pastimes far less legitimate. Bull-baiting went on with vigour in Bachelor's Acre at the time of Windsor fair, and badger-baits, dog-fights, and cat and duck hunts, were organized for the special edification of the Eton boys. It was a good thing for the moral tone of the School when the 'cads,' who were the prime movers in all kinds of wickedness, and the worst possible companions for the sons of gentlemen, were, in 1829, expelled from their daily resort—the Long Walk in front of Upper School.[4]

"*Liber, liber sum*," "I am a book, I am a book." (Information of the late Mr. R. Crawfurd.)

[1] *Self-Formation*, vol. i. p. 175.

[2] *English Spy*, vol. i. p. 86.

[3] *The Kaleidoscope*, p. 205.

[4] The following definition occurs in a magazine published at Eton in

Brute beasts were not the only sufferers at the hands of boys whose feelings had become blunted by familiarity with cruel sights. Independently of the organized system of fagging, which in those days pressed heavily on lower boys, we hear of gross cases of bullying which would not be tolerated at present. To quote the eloquent words of Dr. Hawtrey :—

> "The Objects of such kind of Ill-usage are not those over whom there is any lawful or conventional Right ;—they are the Weak, the Timid, the Eccentric, and the Unsociable ; sometimes those who have none of these Failings, but who from some Peculiarity of Character are not acceptable to all, who are nevertheless capable of warm Friendship, who are even possessed of no common mental Powers, which *might* have expanded into great private and public Usefulness, but which *may* be also compressed and concentrated in a sensitive Mind, till they waste and devour it, till they lead to Misanthropy, or perhaps to the more fatal Error of doubting the Justice of Providence, because Man is unjust ; of madly imagining that Christianity itself is a Fable, because those, who call themselves Christians, have acted—in pure Recklessness—as if they were Heathens."[1]

In the lecture from which this passage is taken, Hawtrey goes on to mention two cases, known to be those of Shelley and William Sidney Walker, in which the harm "done by ill-used authorities and ill-used strength" was especially enduring and painful. Shelley, "a stripling pale and lustrous-eyed," was indifferent alike to the work and to the games of the School. He refused to fag ; this of itself led to bullying, and 'Shelley-baits,' in which he was frequently chased 'up town.' In his more peaceful hours, he was addicted to quaint books and pursuits. He is said to have charged the handle of his door with electricity, thereby inflicting a shock on his tutor,

1833 :—"CAD, a fellow *minus* coat, with ragged hat ; that administers to the pleasures of Eton boys ; cheats them before their eyes ; praises their discernment, and picks their pockets. One who is acquainted with boating, and expert in teaching the art of shirking. He is adored by the larkers, hated by the saps, and winked at by the higher powers."—*The Kaleidoscope*, p. 107. Shampo Carter, Joe Cannon, Foxey Hall, Pickey Powell, Jem Flowers, and others, are commemorated in some doggerel verses in the *English Spy*, vol. i. pp. 82—86.

[1] *Sermons and Lectures* (privately printed, 1849), pp. 111—112.

Bethell, who came to enquire as to the noise caused by the machine.

> "Strange were his studies, and his sports no less;
> Full oft, beneath the blazing summer noon,
> The sun's convergent rays with dire address,
> He turned on some old tree, and burnt it soon
> To ashes; oft at eve the fire balloon,
> Inflated by his skill, would mount on high;
> And when tempestuous clouds had veil'd the moon
> And lightning rent and thunder shook the sky
> He left his bed to gaze on Nature's revelry."[1]

The stump of a willow thus destroyed by Shelley stands at the northernmost point of South Meadow.

Walker was a studious lad of extraordinary knowledge, but in some respects not less eccentric than Shelley, and not less bullied. Yet he wrote of Eton as one of the

> "Goshen spots
> Aye bright with spiritual sunshine."

It has been stated that he knew Homer, Horace and Virgil by heart, and could quote, translate, or parse any passage in them from memory. A poem on Gustavus Vasa, written by him while still at Eton, attracted considerable attention elsewhere.[2]

Practical joking of a more harmless kind than that to which Shelley and Sidney Walker were exposed was rife in those days. Keate's peculiar costume was a temptation in itself. The Assistants had exchanged their cocked hats for trenchers about a century ago, but Keate continued until the end of his reign to wear the form of hat known at Westminster as a "windcutter."[3] His ordinary attire was the gown of a Doctor of Divinity worn over a black cassock. Kinglake describes the *tout ensemble* as "a fancy dress partly resembling the costume of Napoleon, partly that of a widow-woman."[4] In 1816, some young officers took down

[1] Moultrie's Stanzas, in the Eton edition of *Gray's Poems*. See Hogg's *Life of Shelley*, vol. i. pp. 27, 40—42.

[2] Memoir by Moultrie prefixed to the *Poetical Works of W. S. Walker*. See also *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 3720. *Eton of Old*, p. 170.

[3] Mr. Tucker states that the three-cornered hat formed part of the official costume of the Lower Master, no less than of the Head Master, and that Thackeray wore one in Keate's time. *Eton of Old*, p. 157. See, however, page 375 above.

[4] *Eōthen*, chapter xviii.

a huge tin hat, which hung as a sign over the shop of Devereux, the Windsor hatter, and sent it in a box to Keate, with a note to the effect that the Prince Regent begged that he would appear in it on the following Election Monday. At the same time a note was sent to Devereux telling him that Keate admired the hat so much that he had taken it for his own use.[1]

It was not difficult to personate Keate, especially in the dusk, and Lord Norreys, afterwards Earl of Abingdon, used to amuse himself by prowling about of an evening in a cocked hat and gown, to the terror of other boys, who, like himself, had no business to be out. One night, he took a pot of red paint and therewith bedaubed the door of William Heath, one of the Assistant Masters, no one daring to interfere. On another occasion he went so far as to 'call absence' at one of the dames' houses; every one was taken in except the captain of the house, who was in the secret, and the housemaid, who, on recognizing him, gave him a quiet hint to go. Some years afterwards, when Lord Norreys was lunching with his old master in the Cloisters at Windsor, he was requested by him to give those present a specimen of his powers of mimicry, by appearing once more in his favourite character of 'Dr. Keate,' but his courage did not prove equal to such an ordeal.[2]

Mrs. Keate disliked any attempt to caricature her husband, and once bought up a whole tray of plaster casts of him from an Italian in the street, quite unconscious that the mould remained available for future use. One George Edwards, who gave the Government the first warning of the Cato Street Conspiracy, made and sold similar statuettes at his little shop in the High Street of Eton. Few of these are still in existence, boys who bought them having in many instances treated them as targets, rather than as household gods.[3] Beer jugs caricaturing Keate's well-known form, the three-cornered hat serving as a lip, are even rarer.[4]

Although Keate habitually carried an umbrella in his hand, he

[1] MS. lately in the possession of Mr. G. F. Luttrell.

[2] Information of the late Rev. J. C. Keate.

[3] Knight's *Passages of a Working Life*, vol. i. p. 228.

[4] *Catalogue of Eton Loan Collection* (3rd edition), no. 489.

would not allow the boys to follow his example, and on one occasion he publicly denounced the use of umbrellas, saying that those who used them ought to be regarded as "school girls" rather than Eton boys. Thus taunted, some of his hearers went by night to the neighbouring village of Upton, removed a large board inscribed—"Seminary for Young Ladies," and fixed it above the great gateway of Upper School. Keate's rage at seeing it there the following morning was aggravated by his failure to detect the perpetrators of the joke.[1] Long afterwards, Lord Douro, in order to amuse the guests at a dinner party at Stratfieldsaye or Windsor, reminded his old Head Master of the incident, but the laugh was at his expense, when Keate, resuming for a minute his Eton manner, turned upon him sharply and asked what he knew about the matter.

During the earlier years of Keate's administration, the regular work of the School was often interrupted by holidays granted in honour of victories won by the greatest of Eton's generals. On receipt of good news from the Peninsula, the townsmen would illuminate their houses, and even Long Chamber would be made bright by a double row of tallow dips.[2]

The Eton boys also came in for a considerable part in any festivities in the neighbourhood. Thus they went to Frogmore on the fiftieth anniversary of the accession of their special patron, George the Third.[3] On two occasions, Queen Charlotte invited the first hundred of them to spend a long day there, and it is related that, at the second of these *fêtes*, when a cricket match had been going on for some little while, the Princess Augusta enquired innocently :—"When are the boys going to begin ?"[4]

On the 10th of June 1814, a considerable number of Etonians went to Frogmore, to see the sovereigns and generals who had recently dictated terms to the defeated Napoleon. The Prince Regent introduced his illustrious guests one by one to a great assemblage of boys, saying that the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and he himself, each intended to procure an extra holiday for the School. The boys cheered lustily, and every-

[1] Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 102.
[2] *Eton of Old*, pp. 89, 189.
[3] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. J. Blake], p. 146.
[4] *Eton of Old*, pp. 136, 137.

body was delighted.[1] William Sidney Walker wrote to his friends :—

> "I have shaken hands with the King of Prussia, and touched the flap of Blucher's coat. I shall have it engraved on my tombstone." [2]

Some time later, Praed wrote :—

> "It was a proud evening for Eton, but a troublesome one for those who made it so. The warmth of an English welcome is enough to overpower anyone but an Englishman. Platoff swore he was more pestered by the Etonians than he had ever been by the French, and the kind old Blucher had his hand so cordially wrung that he was unable to lift his bottle for a week afterwards." [3]

Blucher, not content with shaking hands, caught up some of the little boys in his arms, and embraced them in true German fashion.

According to a tradition long popular at Eton, the King of Prussia was so struck by the beauty of Mrs. Keate, that he kissed her in public, pleading in excuse that she reminded him of his Queen.[4] The fact was that he recognized her as the pretty Fanny Brown, daughter of Sir Charles Brown, court physician at Berlin.[5]

In the following year, many Etonians fought bravely at Waterloo. Keate announced the glorious victory publicly in the Upper School, ending with the touching allusion to the deaths of Lord Hay and another young soldier who had been sitting on the benches before him only a few weeks previously.[6]

In November 1817, a certain number of young noblemen and other Etonians were invited to the funeral of the Princess Charlotte.[7] On the death of George the Third, the boys in the upper part of the School were set to compose Latin verses suitable to the occasion. So extensive and ancient, however, were some of the collections of 'old copies' preserved in the

[1] *The Etonian* (ed. 1824), vol. iii. pp. 72—73.
[2] *Poetical Works of W. S. Walker*, p. xxxi.
[3] *The Etonian* (ed. 1824), vol. iii. p. 73.
[4] Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 113.
[5] Sir Charles Brown was an illegitimate son of the Young Pretender.
[6] *Baily's Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 74.
[7] *Eton of Old*, p. 139.

boarding-houses, that one boy is said to have unearthed two different sets of verses written by Etonians of a former generation, on the death of George the Second.[1] Under special arrangements, the Fellows, Masters and boys, alike clad in black and wearing crape bands round their hats, were admitted to the lying-in-state of their deceased patron, and a considerable number of the boys were allowed to stand in the nave of St. George's Chapel at the funeral ceremony. Throughout the long period of public mourning for George the Third, all the Eton boys wore black, some of them having their blue coats and trousers dyed to the proper colour.[2]

George the Fourth was never very popular at Eton, and at one time there was an idea of presenting an address of sympathy from the School to Queen Caroline, but it met with scant support,[3] and Praed thus relates what eventually took place :—

> "On the night of the Coronation, when the mob said 'Queen!' the boys said 'King!' and many, forthwith, risked their crowns on behalf of his Majesty's. But whether this proceeded from the love of Loyalty, or the love of Blows, must remain a question." [4]

A Sixth Form boy, writing to an old schoolfellow, in March 1824, says of the reigning King :—

> "No one sees him but when he hurries through the town in his phaeton into the Park. The Terrace is closed, except on Sundays—sentries at all the Castle gates—and he lives there in solitary grandeur, admitting only the cabinet ministers and a few of his private friends or attendants. . . . We hear no more of him than if he was at the North Pole." [5]

William the Fourth, on the other hand, was quite as partial to Eton as George the Third had been, and used to make a point of attending speeches in Upper School on the Fourth of June, or on Election Monday, year after year.[6] On the second

[1] *Confessions of an Etonian*, by J. E. M. p. 56.

[2] *Annual Register* (ed. Rivington), vol. lxii. pp. 22, 23; *Eton of Old*, pp. 140, 141; *The Etonian* (ed. 1824), vol. iii. p. 73; *Life of M. J. Lady Stanley* by Miss Adeane, p. 420.

[3] *Baily's Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 352; *The Etonian*, vol. iii. p. 194.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 368.

[5] Letter from R. A. Hornby to C. W. Puller, at Youngsbury.

[6] See the collection of *Eton Addresses* and *Berkshire Chronicle.*

of these visits, in 1832, he promised the reversion of the Provostship to Dr. Keate in a strange way. Pointing to Dr. Goodall he said :—"When he goes, I'll make you him." Keate was wisely silent, but the Provost, who was first a gentleman and then a courtier, said with one of his most gracious



Dr. Goodall. Dr. Keate.

*From Silhouettes by Aug. Edouart*, A.D. 1828.

bows :—"Sire, I could never think of *going* before your Majesty." Some years later, when asked whether he had really used these words, he replied :—"Yes, and I meant to show the King how rude he was."[1]

Goodall was in many respects the model of what a Provost of

[1] Information of the late Bishop Abraham.

Eton should be. He excelled in all the charms of hospitality. Tall and stately, he had a delightful manner, dignified without pomposity, and joyous without levity.[1] Up to the very end of his life, he continued to wear the costume of an ecclesiastical dignitary of the eighteenth century, the barber bringing a newly dressed wig to the Provost's Lodge every morning, and taking away that worn on the previous day. A ripe classical scholar, Goodall did not confine his reading to Latin and Greek authors, and at different times in his life he took up the study of botany, of entomology, of numismatics, of modern languages, and of the antiquities and history of the great College over which he presided for upwards of thirty years. In 1816, he writes to his former pupil, Charles T. Metcalfe :—

> "At fifty-six a man may be indulged with a hobby ; and what nag do you imagine that I have mounted ? Oriental literature I have disclaimed ; Nimrod's propensities are not mine. To the black-lettered bibliomaniacs I own no fellowship. My limbs are not supple enough to become an active lepidopterist. I adorn my garden and my greenhouse in moderation, but my rage is an accumulation of calcareous matter, generally known by the name of shells."[2]

In his sixty-first year, he writes to say that he is learning Hebrew and Spanish with some friends :—

> "If you wish to know in what part of the school I am, know by these presents that I am in the Second Form in Hebrew, and in the Fourth in Spanish."[3]

Goodall's uniform courtesy to boys and masters alike made him very popular, and after his death a fund amounting to no less than 2000*l.* was raised for the purpose of erecting in the 'ante-chapel' a colossal statue of him executed in marble by H. Weeks.[4] The surplus, amounting to about 800*l.* was invested for the establishment of a 'Goodall Exhibition,' to be awarded triennially to an

[1] Disraeli's *Coningsby*, chapter xi. The lively representation of Eton life in this novel is remarkable as the work of a writer who had not been educated at Eton. It is said to have been written under the roof of W. G. Cookesley, an Assistant Master.

[2] Kaye's *Life of Lord Metcalfe* (ed. 1854), vol. ii. p. 101.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 104.

[4] *Ecclesiologist*, vol. iv. p. 248.

Eton Scholar, and tenable at any college except King's College, Cambridge. This Exhibition must not be confounded with the more valuable 'Goodall Scholarship' endowed by Goodall himself with 2000*l.* for the benefit of superannuated Eton Scholars.

Goodall's weak side was the persistence with which he clung to old abuses. Intensely conservative by nature, his dread of innovations increased with his years. The phrase which styled him 'the Incarnation of Eton' was not intended to be altogether complimentary. He cut a sorry figure, when examined by a Committee of the House of Commons under Brougham in 1818, and he is said to have destroyed, on his return to Eton, the extracts he had made from the muniments, lest they should be found to tell unfavourably against existing practices. A few years before this, the Kingsmen had made an attempt to compel the Fellows of Eton to resign their places on accepting livings, and the question was formally argued by lawyers at Doctors Commons before the Bishop of Lincoln as Visitor, one party relying on the statutes of Henry the Sixth, the other on the dispensation of Elizabeth and the custom of more than two centuries. Judgment was given in favour of the Eton Fellows in 1815, the Bishop having as his assessors Sir William Grant, Master of the Rolls, and Sir William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell.[1]

After twenty-five years of hard work as Head Master, Dr. Keate, in 1834, announced his intention of retiring to a country living near Basingstoke. Shortly before his departure, the boys combined to buy for him three pieces of silver, costing little less than 600*l.* and at the formal presentation of this plate, he was for once fairly overcome: too much affected to return thanks, he gave vent to his feelings by taking off his cocked hat, the only occasion on which that symbol of authority was ever known to have been raised to any one. When at last he took leave of the Assistant Masters in Chambers, he threw his hat down, saying, "This will not be used again." Having been picked up by Edward Coleridge and preserved as a historical relic, it afterwards passed into the possession of Dr. Warre.[2] In spite of all his roughness and severity,

[1] P. Williams's *Report of Proceedings*, &c.

[2] *Catalogue of Eton Loan Collection* (3rd edition), no. 474.

Keate was really loved and honoured, and he was warmly received whenever he visited Eton in subsequent years.[1] He attended the Speeches in Upper School on Election Saturday, 1840, and drove up to Surly in the evening with his son-in-law, Edward Coleridge. No sooner was the well-known face of the ex-Head Master seen looking down upon the boats in Boveney Lock, than all the crews stood up and cheered with one accord.[2] The official residence which he occupied as a canon of Windsor long continued to be frequented by Etonian guests. He died at Hartley Westpall in 1852.

[1] *Quarterly Review*, vol. lii. p. 133.

[2] MS. Diary lately in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Keate.




Exterior of the Upper School.




## 1834—1852.

Appointment of Dr. Hawtrey—Educational Reform—Provost Hodgson—Improvement in the Condition of the Collegers—The Sanatorium—The '*Christopher*' — Restoration of the Church — Eton and King's — Mathematics — Modern Languages — Swimming — Boating — Cricket—Royal Patronage.

DR. KEATE was not allowed to close his long administration without hearing some murmurs of discontent at the unsatisfactory system which he had found in force, and which had been retained almost unaltered for so many years. The *Edinburgh Review* was, perhaps, the first to point out to the public the utter inadequacy of the school-books in use at Eton, and the very imperfect manner in which even those books were taught;[1] and although the subject was dropped for a while, amid the national excitement about Parliamentary Reform, it was taken up with renewed energy in 1834 by a host of pamphleteers.[2] Many extravagant statements were made on both sides of the question, but an unprecedentedly rapid decline in the number of boys on the school-list of that year showed pretty plainly that the vindicators of the old system had not been able to convince

[1] Vol. li. pp. 65—80.

[2] *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii. pp. 128—175.

parents that everything was as it should be.[1] The main hope for the future in the minds of all who had the real interests of Eton at heart lay in the fact that the senior Assistant, Edward Craven Hawtrey, who was appointed to succeed Keate as Head Master, was known to be a scholar of liberal views, as well as a refined and courteous gentleman.

The correspondent whose remarks on the state of education under Keate were given in the last chapter[2] continues thus :—

"If the affairs of mankind were transacted regularly, as young men often conceive they can be, our school, on the accession of a new ruler in 1834, must needs have altered much more than it did, in conformity with the maxims by that time established in England. Looking merely to what was going on at Cambridge, to the geometry of Whewell, to the algebra of Peacock, to the double studies even then required for the Classical Tripos, to the universal acknowledgment of the doctrine that mathematics were indispensable, to the fact that even Eton men studied mathematics at the university,[3] it seems strange that Dr. Hawtrey, who was intimate with real scholars and philosophers, should not at once have made mathematics an integral and necessary part of the school-work. In a less degree it seems strange also that he should not have insisted on Greek and Latin being taught properly in school, that is to say, taught in a way that would have satisfied a Thirlwall or a Milman. Reform he did ; and it has been deliberately said by one who loved Keate that it was Hawtrey who more than any man left his mark on the School. His reform was important, although he founded neither a complete system of liberal education —adjusting the claims of the modern and of the ancient lore, of the humanities and the severe arts—nor a system of pure grammatical instruction that would duly prepare students for the philology of Oxford and Cambridge.

"Very soon after his appointment he wrote to his predecessor, submitting to him for critical examination a plan of school organisation. Keate approved of it unreservedly,

[1] Dr. Keate found about 500 names on the list when he took office in 1809, and this was the average number for the next fourteen years. Between 1823 and 1833 the number rose from 510 to 627 ; yet in 1834 it fell to 486.

[2] Pages 382—386 above.

[3] Stapylton's *Eton School Lists* show the names of a considerable number of *double*-first class men.

and, with that perfect freedom from egotism which was perhaps not known to the Eton world (for he was *multis pervulgatus, paucis notus*), made the modest remark that there was much in the plan that he would himself have wished to establish had he been able. Now the question naturally arises, how could Keate have been unable to do what he thought expedient, unable to do what his successor, a man of weaker will, could effect? The answer to this question may be new to many who fancy that they know the School familiarly and intimately. There was a power above and behind the Head Master—the power of the Provost.[1] This power bent for a time before a new Head Master. Even so lofty and fine a Provost as Goodall was obliged to abate his majesty for a season. There is in human nature, just as strongly as conservatism and *inertia* and jealousy are in it, a willingness to let a new broom sweep clean; unluckily the broom soon ceases to be new.

"Hawtrey began his administration by withdrawing from a position which Keate had held with extravagant vigour, the position of sole teacher for the 'Upper Division' of the Fifth Form, besides the twenty boys of the Sixth Form.[2] He ceased from that occupancy of the great *estrade* at the end of the Upper School, which implied personal supervision of the four Assistant Masters teaching from the four smaller desks. From that fortress Keate had stormed at as many as 190 big boys, all supposed to be his listeners, of whom only a few wished, and perhaps still fewer were able, to profit by his sound and spirited teaching; to that awful presence had been summoned, for fifteen minutes' sharp inspection on every whole-school-day, the many scores of Fourth Form boys, who were kept from making any very great noise by a Sixth Form præpostor, while Keate was busy with his division, and the four Assistants were looking over the exercises of the Fifth Form boys summoned for that purpose from their construing lessons in the other class-rooms. Hawtrey

[1] In August 1834, Hawtrey wrote to Butler of Shrewsbury:—"I am here in great embarrassment. A large body of malcontents who have no responsibility abuse our whole system, and advise all sorts of absurd changes. On the other hand, I am checked by an attachment to the old course of things in the ruling power of Eton, which it is very difficult indeed to make any impression upon." *Life of Dr. Butler*, vol. ii. p. 91.

[2] The limitation of the Sixth Form to twenty, ten Collegers and ten Oppidans, was not made until the middle of the century. (H.C.M.L.)

used the Head Master's desk as his tribune for a speech to the whole School or to the whole Fifth Form ; he used it also as a place from which to set the theme for the Upper Division and Sixth Form ; but thus far only did he retain that combination which had given Keate an unwieldy class. He did not go through construing lessons in the Upper School : for them he retired into the adjoining room—the 'library'—



Interior of the Upper School.

where he found empty book-shelves, the block, and the birch-cupboard. This library he turned into his class-room for all purposes that required decorous silence.

"Leaving the Sixth Form in its old dimensions—ten Collegers and ten Oppidans[1]—Hawtrey incorporated with it, for most practical purposes, the first six Collegers and the first six Oppidans of the Fifth Form, thus making up the 'Head Master's Division' to thirty-two boys.[2] He then divided the rest of the Fifth Form numerically among the four or five senior Assistants, making no distinction between them in their books ; so that each of these Masters had a class of his

[1] See note on the previous page.

[2] Hawtrey wrote in September 1834 :—"I have gained one great point from the Provost. He has permitted me to make a subdivision which will reduce my class to thirty." *Life of Dr. Butler*, vol. ii.

own for a whole school-time, and was singly and solely entrusted with their lessons, both construing and saying by heart, and with their exercises after correction by tutors. This principle of assigning a certain set of boys to one teacher had in Keate's time been applied to the Remove only; by Hawtrey it was applied to the whole School. In 1833, every Fourth Form boy 'sent up for good' had to get affixed to the document which was the symbol of that distinction the names of no less than five teachers; a Fifth Form boy might have been required to get three. After Hawtrey's change, this number fell to two; the tutor's approval sanctioned the judgement of the division-master. This change did good, for it gave a teacher more control over the boys, and made it simpler for him to send in a report to the Head Master at the end of every school-time.

"All the Assistants under Hawtrey were intended and supposed to work in separate class-rooms, except the Fourth Form Masters, who continued to use the Upper School. The retirement of the Head Master from his great desk involved the surrender of an old principle—the superintendence of many teachers by one; and it was probably part of Hawtrey's deliberate policy, as it undoubtedly was in keeping with his character, to place an unusual amount of trust in his juniors, or, as he always called them, his 'colleagues.' After ten or twelve years, if not sooner, he perceived that the freedom conceded, whilst it increased zeal, diminished rigour. The severity of drill in the 'rules for the formation of tenses' was relaxed, and he took alarm; he made a vehement effort to restore the tyranny of the *Eton Greek Grammar*, but he could not force back into the old routine a set of young men who had somehow discovered that the formation of tenses could be effected, like the formation of moods, without '*præponendo*' or '*elidendo*.' Finding that verbal discipline had been relaxed, he once undertook for six weeks the sole charge of 'library'—that is to say, the drill of Fourth Form recruits. It was a gallant struggle against what he considered degeneracy, but it was wholly ineffectual as a substitute for that constant personal examination of the boys which Keate had kept up. Human nature prevailed over the old faith. Eton scholars grew up to write Greek correctly, without being able to manufacture a '*paulo-post* future' either from the perfect passive or from the future active; and in due time even Hawtrey, the last heredi-

tary champion of the Eton formula, acquiesced in the existence at Eton of Masters who could not go through the list of twenty-two kinds of verbs which govern a genitive. That this seemingly modern scholar should have been an earnest believer in the old books, which the real moderns laughed at, was an interesting anomaly; but it was not altogether good for the School that many of the teachers should without permission let drop a system which they dared not denounce before their ruler's face. It was an awkward and indecorous thing that his young colleagues, who had cast off the Eton yoke and learned true Greek at Cambridge from Shrewsbury men, should be charged with the training of boys by parents who expressly said that they knew Dr. Hawtrey to be an unsound scholar.[1] In the teaching of Greek, in a less degree of Latin also, Eton for many years presented the curious phenomenon of modern anarchy. Fitful displays of energy on the part of conservative Assistants, such as the introduction of a few changes in the old accidence, the binding in one volume of the Eton accidence and the accurate but painful syntax composed by Mr. Wordsworth of Winchester; the printing of one sheet of a new accidence devised by Hawtrey himself, in which he luxuriated in palæographical dissertations on the alphabet; the engrafting of Dr. Kennedy's elegant syntax on the reformed accidence, and attempts at private manuscript grammars, based on Kühner, for use at 'private business,' are some of the many signs of discord and confusion which troubled some honest men for a whole generation, and gave Hawtrey a taste of the pains endured by Popes and Primates in ages of transition or reformation.

[1] In two ways the Head Master was especially exposed to the criticism of the Provost and Fellows. He sent into the College to obtain a half-holiday in a regular week a boy's exercise (Latin or Greek verse) which was expected to be correct, and it was noticed by one Fellow that these exercises 'for play' were less accurate under Hawtrey than they had been under Keate. He was bound to have eight Latin Declamations delivered every year in the presence of the College authorities, copies of which were given to them. These were learnt by heart and recited by the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Collegers, but they were for the most part written by Assistant Masters who had to bring the MSS. to Hawtrey and to submit them to a minute though very courteous inspection, for fear he should be chidden by his superiors for bad Latin. It is a proof, good as far as it goes, of progress in schooling, that these admirable *devoirs* were in later years performed mainly by the boys, giving less trouble to the Assistants. Declamations justly survived after most of the peculiar exercises and practices became obsolete, but it was generally forgotten that they constituted a sort of grand-serjeanty due from the Head Master to the College.

"Meanwhile, in spite of his own precarious tenure of Attic scholarship, and the disloyalty of many of his colleagues to the old Eton traditions, year after year Hawtrey's beloved young men went to the Universities better read and better trained than their predecessors, even if not so well read or well trained as many representatives of less fashionable schools. To put the case broadly, he lived to see (if he had eyes to see it) whole tribes of Eton men seasoned with the accurate philology which he had never himself acquired—men who knew his defects, and were, notwithstanding, indebted to him, and consciously grateful to him for their better schooling. For although he had not improved the school-books materially, and had only unintentionally relaxed the grammatical discipline, he had made it possible for his Assistants to teach in a leisurely and tranquil manner. He practically added theme-writing to verse-writing as an exercise of some importance; he greatly improved 'trials' by the introduction of printed examination papers; he added new examinations from time to time; and above all, he established a standard of attainment and a kernel of industry in that part of the School which before his time was the least satisfactory—the King's Scholars or Collegers.

"To state the case in another way, for there are more ways than one of elucidating even so slight a thing as the history of schooling, Hawtrey may be said to have done by encouraging what Keate tried to do by threatening. If there is any truth in that melancholy caricature by which Keate is known to most men, if his battle-cry really was 'I'll flog you,' it is no less true, though it is by no means well known, that Hawtrey's characteristic utterance was 'Very well, very good exercise,' said with a gracious emphasis which never lost its charm. Keate's mission was to keep down mannishness and swagger; Hawtrey delighted to give boys the sweet pride of authorship.[1] Men have almost grown old who still feel thankful that they once lived with a man who, though quite

[1] Mr. Gladstone, who was under him as an Assistant Master, describes him as "always on the look-out for any bud which he could warm with a little sunshine." (*Life* by Morley, vol. i. p. 30.) Hawtrey founded the English Essay, which at once took rank as a distinction of considerable importance. He used to read over the prize essay in the presence of the author, correcting the language a little. When re-written, he had it nicely bound. They were generally long narratives but there was often literary spirit in them, and Henry Fitzmaurice Hallam may be named as one of Hawtrey's young authors.

at home in the most brilliant circles, did, as truly as Lacordaire, 'love young people.' When he was at the height of prosperity, he said publicly :—'Living here, I cannot feel the sadness of growing old, for this place supplies me with an unfailing succession of young friends.' Other men have been even more kind, more charitable, more tender ; but he had a poetical enthusiasm which burnt through vanities and feeblenesses, and fell in light and warmth on shy boys, on proud and ungainly lads, on homely and ordinary teachers, not less than on brilliant and noble students.

"A school cannot be managed by sympathy with boys alone. It must now be shown how Dr. Hawtrey's singular generosity told on the government of Eton. He was better supplied with Assistants than Keate had been, though his field of choice was strictly limited to King's College. But when he had selected a man, there were two ways of dealing with him. One was the way of repression, the other was that of encouragement. Hawtrey adopted the latter. To a very young man he was as respectful as to a man of mature age, bearing with those crudities and eccentricities by which young men often estrange themselves from their superiors. Therefore his colleagues worked for him, though not in his own groove, as the Marquess Wellesley's young men had worked for him at Calcutta ; nay, there were some among them who were to him what young warriors had been to King David and to Admiral Nelson.

"Besides this universal generosity bearing on all varieties of character, Dr. Hawtrey displayed a special liberality in dealing with that which of all things most shapes the character, religion. He was not a theologian, though he could deliver short sermons that were at once orthodox and eloquent. He could no more fathom the controversies of the age in which men were swayed by Newman or by Arnold, than he could take the measure of the new philosophies growing up by the side of the new theologies. Had he been suspicious, narrow-minded, or cold-hearted, he would certainly have quarrelled with three or four of the best of his Assistants in the first ten years of his government. As it was, he became the faithful friend and moderate supporter of several Anglo-Catholic colleagues. Had he set his authority against them, had he even let them be thwarted, more than they were thwarted, by the alarmed Protestantism of Eton College,

he would have lost the services of men who could not be replaced. But it must be understood that nothing could be further from his mind than a cool calculation of such results. He obeyed his good heart; he knew by a heavenly instinct when he had a truly good man at his side; he was sagacious enough to perceive that certain tastes might lead to Rome, but he was not to be scared by such a danger; he stuck to his friend, he backed up his colleague, because he knew and cherished goodness.

"Such was the man; not an accurate scholar, though versed in many tongues; not thoroughly well informed, though he had spent thirty thousand pounds on books; not able to estimate correctly the intellectual development of younger men, though he corresponded with the leaders of England and France; not qualified to train school-boys in competition with a Vaughan or a Kennedy possessing the advanced knowledge of a later generation, for he had never even been a University man, only a Kingsman; not one that could be said to organise well, for from first to last he dealt in make-shift and patchwork; yet, for all that, a hero among school-masters, for he was beyond his fellows candid, fearless, and bountiful; passionate in his indignation against cruelty, ardent in admiring all virtue and all show of genius; so forgiving, that for fifty years he seized every chance of doing kindness to a man who had tormented him at school; and so ingenuous, that when he had misunderstood a boy's character and then found himself wrong, he suddenly grasped his hand, and owned his error magnanimously. Many men have laughed at his rhetoric, and made themselves a reputation for wit by telling stories of his behaviour. Such men have probably never read the second part of *Don Quixote*. The knight was, after all, a true gentleman of fine mind, and his death was pathetic. Our Head Master was worthy of a high-souled poetical nation in its best age; and old men who had been his compeers in society wept at his funeral with younger men who had been only his humble yoke-fellows."

The writer of the foregoing, an Assistant Master under Hawtrey, had opportunities of appreciating his character which were not shared by the boys. To them, the successor of the redoubtable Keate was often the subject of merriment, the victim of practical jokes. His lisp and his mannerisms were provocative of mimicry.

"He had an odd weakness for fine clothes, perfumes, and gold chains; one of the school beliefs was that 'Hawtrey stood up in 700*l.*,' the stiff figure at which we assessed his studs, sleeve-links, watch and chains, gold pencil and rings. His velvet collars were a costly item in the general get-up. We laughed at, and caricatured, and imitated him remorselessly, but we loved him well."[1]

Several of Hawtrey's reforms in the educational system of the School were effected during the first six years of his administration; but the real regeneration of Eton can scarcely be said to have begun before the death of Dr. Goodall in 1840,[2] the very year in which the 400th anniversary of the foundation ought to have been celebrated. The Provost, under whose auspices so many improvements, moral and material, were made, did not obtain his place without some difficulty. When the vacancy occurred, Lord Melbourne mentioned the Hon. William Herbert (an old Oppidan, and afterwards Dean of Manchester) as specially fitted by his graceful scholarship to preside over the College; but when it was found that, according to the statutes, the Provost must of necessity have been a member of one of the foundations of Henry the Sixth, Mr. Herbert's name was withdrawn, and that of Archdeacon Hodgson substituted. It is strange that the Prime Minister, himself an old Etonian, should not have perceived that Hodgson was little better qualified than Herbert, not being either a Doctor or a Bachelor of Divinity. The Fellows on the other hand were not sorry to have an excuse for taking the matter into their own hands, and so obtaining for themselves electoral rights analogous to those enjoyed by their brethren of King's College.

On the very day of Goodall's death, the Vice-Provost called upon Dr. Keate at his residence in the Cloisters at Windsor, and sounded him informally as to his willingness to accept the Provostship. The ex-Head Master replied that he was reluctant to go into harness again, and that he could hardly afford to take a place in which an economical style of living was practically impossible. Failing in this quarter, the Vice-Provost next applied

[1] Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, pp. 372, 373.

[2] 25 March 1840.

to John Lonsdale, one of the seven other persons who were then statutably eligible, and he received from him an encouraging answer. On the 4th of April, the Marquess Wellesley, who was often consulted about Eton affairs, and who had in fact obtained the Provostship for Goodall some thirty years previously, wrote to Keate :—

> "In my judgment, you are the most proper person to fill that high station, and I have already, in the strongest terms, expressed that opinion to Lord Melbourne, whom I believe to be personally most favorably disposed to you. But I fear that some political considerations, with which I have no concern, may interfere."

The Visitor of the College, the Head Master, and Hodgson himself, seem alike to have considered Keate the fittest man for the post, and, although the Fellows knew his determination, they thought it right to pay him the compliment of offering to elect him. The Vice-Provost and Bethell accordingly called on him on the 6th of April, and it was not until he had given a formal refusal in writing that they took any further action in the matter.

Upon the same day, a letter was received from the Secretary of State, Lord Normanby, stating that the Queen had nominated Francis Hodgson, but on the following morning the assembled Fellows declared this canditate to be ineligible, and proceeded to elect John Lonsdale. The Provost-elect came to Eton on the 8th, and on the 10th three of the Fellows, Carter, Bethell, and Briggs, went up to London to be present at his institution by the Bishop of Lincoln. They returned, however, with the unwelcome news that Lonsdale required yet further time for consideration. Finally, after long hesitation, Lonsdale declined the proffered honour. According to his son-in-law, he "would rather have been Provost of Eton than Archbishop of Canterbury," and his refusal was prompted partly by a reluctance to cause disappointment to his old friend Hodgson, partly by a fear of embroiling the College with the Court and the Government, and partly, though in a lesser degree, by an unwillingness to sever his own connexion with King's College, London.

The Fellows, though very sore at being thus unexpectedly deserted by their champion, after they had fulfilled their part of

the agreement, felt that further resistance was useless, especially after the issue of a royal mandate for the admission of Archdeacon Hodgson to the degree of B.D. at Cambridge. Upon the receipt therefore of another formal letter from the Queen, they elected her nominee on the 5th of May 1840. Lonsdale was soon afterwards appointed Bishop of Lichfield.[1]

The new Provost was well known in the political and literary world as the son-in-law of Lord Denman, as the translator of Juvenal into English verse, and as an intimate friend of Lord Byron.[2] He had been an Assistant Master at Eton for a few months in 1809, since which time he had dropped his connexion with the School, and he had been unsuccessful in an attempt to obtain a Fellowship. He was therefore much surprised when one morning he received a letter from the Duke of Devonshire hailing him as Provost of Eton. On the next day, or the next but one, came another letter to tell him that difficulties had arisen, and that he was not to be Provost. But the difficulties were surmounted, as has been seen, and, through powerful Whig influence, he became Provost of Eton. He at once resigned his preferments, and gave himself up to his new duties.

One of Hodgson's chief reasons for accepting the Provostship was a desire to amend the condition of the Collegers, whose hard lot he had himself shared for about five years when a boy.

According to the statutes of Henry the Sixth, the seventy Scholars of Eton should have been lodged in a series of rooms on the ground floor of a spacious quadrangle, but this quadrangle was never built, and, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were huddled together in Long Chamber, a room 172 feet long, 27 wide and 15 feet 6 inches high.[3] An important change was made in the early part of the eighteenth

[1] MS. Diary lately in the possession of the Rev. J. C. Keate; Denison's *Memoir of Bishop Lonsdale*, p. 34; Arnould's *Memoir of Lord Denman*, vol. ii. pp. 104, 105; *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 7877.

[2] There are many notices of Hodgson in Moore's *Life of Lord Byron*, and Arnould's *Memoir of Lord Denman*, as well as a *Memoir of the Rev. F. Hodgson*, by his son.

[3] Radclyffe's *Memorials of Eton*. See pages 252, 274, above. Considerable skill was necessary to throw a ball from one end of Long Chamber to the other, without touching ceiling, walls, or floor. Wilkinson's *Reminiscences of Eton*, p. 317.

century, when the Usher, or Lower Master, betook himself to a private residence, giving up his room at the eastern end of Long Chamber, called 'Carter's Chamber' after Thomas Carter, who was Usher from 1705 to 1716, and presumably the last person to occupy it in that capacity.[1] The room thus vacated was turned into a supplementary dormitory for the Collegers, and Lower Chamber, a room on the ground floor, immediately opposite to the main entrance of Lower School, was also assigned to the same purpose. By the transfer of eighteen boys into Carter's Chamber and Lower Chamber, the maximum number in Long Chamber was reduced to fifty-two, and each of them was thus enabled to have a separate bed. Even this concession, however, was not made without a stipulation that every boy sleeping in either of these smaller rooms should pay a yearly rent of a guinea to the Lower Master, and this rent was not abolished until 1834.[2]

Some time after the increase in the sleeping accommodation for the Collegers, two fireplaces were constructed in Long Chamber.[3] In 1746, the Provost and Fellows resolved "that the windows on the north side of the Long Chamber should be glazed with two casements to each window";[4] but, as late as the year 1788, there was not much glass in the windows, and a boy might awake to find his bed covered with snow that had drifted under the ill-fitting shutters.[5] The two 'private' or 'special' rooms, receiving no more attention than Long Chamber, soon rivalled it in dirt and discomfort. John Lonsdale, writing to Hodgson in 1812, says:—"Eton looks all lovely, always excepting Carter's Chamber, which is more beastly than ever,"[6] and Lower Chamber was regarded by some as "the nethermost hell."[7]

By way of furniture there was little in Long Chamber but a series of heavy wooden bedsteads, 4 feet 6 inches wide, and a

[1] 'Upper Carter's Chamber' was a sort of loft, accommodating about five boys, and approached by a short staircase from 'Lower Carter's Chamber,' which adjoined Long Chamber.

[2] Information of the late Rev. G. J. Dupuis; *Eton of Old*, p. 17.

[3] *Third Report of House of Commons Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders*, 1818, p. 72.

[4] Minute Book.

[5] *Nineteenth Century*, vol. xxxii. p. 596, confirmed by information of the late Rev. W. A. Carter.

[6] *Memoir of the Rev. F. Hodgson*, vol. i. p. 264.

[7] Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 48.

corresponding number of bureaus, or upright desks, for books and clothes. The few chairs and tables provided were monopolized by members of the Sixth Form and 'Liberty,' and these privileged seniors were the only boys who had basins for their morning ablutions. For the Captain of the School, there was a small 'study,' on the first floor of a tower looking into Weston's Yard; two other boys in the Sixth Form had a 'study' apiece on the ground floor, immediately below his, "dangerously damp"; and there were several other 'studies' close to the windows of Carter's Chamber and Lower Chamber, wooden cupboards containing a writing-shelf, a seat and a few shelves. These, although allotted for the exclusive use of certain seniors, were sometimes let by them to younger boys more desirous of comparative quiet.[1] As the Collegers were not required to go to bed at sunset, the authorities supplied them daily with a tallow dip apiece; the normal candlestick was the cover of a school-book bent in half, with a hole to receive the candle and a piece of string to prevent it from collapsing.[2]

A servant was supposed to sweep the dormitories daily, and in winter to light certain fires, but he did not sleep on the premises. The lower boys had to make the beds of the members of the Sixth Form and 'Liberty,' and to fetch water for them from the pump in Weston's Yard.[3] They themselves, and even members of the Fifth Form, had no opportunity of washing in College, where there were no basins available for them. A deputation which waited upon the authorities about the year 1838, with a request that a supply of water might be laid on in College, was dismissed with the rebuff:—"You will be wanting gas and turkey carpets next!"

The Provost and Fellows had wisely ordered, in 1661, that the Schoolmaster and the Usher should "lodge in their chambers at the ends of the Long Chamber, to prevent disorders" therein,[4] and so long as the latter had to pass through that great dormitory whenever he entered or quitted his own room, the boys were under

[1] Parkin's *Life of Edward Thring*, vol. i. p. 24; Information of the late Rev. W. A. Carter.

[2] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. J. Blake], p. 69; *Eton of Old*, p. 47; Lofft's *Self-Formation*, vol. i. p. 81.

[3] Creasy's *Historical Account of Eton College*, p. 22; *Eton of Old*, p. 44.

[4] Page 252 above.

some sort of supervision. But, after the conversion of Carter's Chamber into an additional dormitory, as mentioned above, they were left without any restraint whatever, save during the brief visits of the Head Master, who came every evening for 'absence' and prayers in Lower School. Of course the little community had its own rules, and the lower boys were practically servants :—

"To each his task
Duly prescribed, as academic rank
Defined his office ; some, the upper mess,
(So named) above the rest pre-eminent,
Brought from the neighbouring buttery meat and bread,
With foaming cans of beer ; to some 'twas given
To tend the nightly fire, and in their gowns
(Ne'er meant for such base service) to bring home
A ponderous load of coals upon their backs
Artistically piled ; some, clerkly wise,
Noted on tablets fair with pen and ink
The mandates of their lords, by one, who watch'd
Outside our prison bars, to be conveyed
Into the farthest town, and thence evoke
Luxurious freightage of nocturnal cheer." [1]

The gates of the School Yard were never closed at night, and at 9.30 P.M. regularly, a messenger came to the window of Lower Chamber, bringing not only suppers from the boys' private rooms in Eton and from the *Christopher*, but also corrected exercises from the tutors. At one time there was, it is said, a secret subterranean exit into Weston's Yard, for the benefit of those who were too big to get out through the window of Lower Chamber.

Sporting dogs, ducks, and other animals were sometimes kept in, and above, Long Chamber. On one occasion, a live donkey was taken there for a masquerade and kept until the next day.[2]

Edward Thring, Master of Uppingham, thus characterizes the manners of his former schoolfellows :—

"Rough and ready was the life they led. Cruel, at times, the suffering and wrong ; wild the profligacy. For after eight o'clock at night no prying eye came near till the

[1] Moultrie's *Dream of Life.*

[2] *The Legacy of an Etonian,* p. 110; Wilkinson's *Reminiscences of Eton; Reminiscences* by John Joel, p. 9.

following morning; no one lived in the same building; cries of joy or pain were equally unheard; and excepting a code of laws of their own, there was no help or redress for any one."[1]

The Sixth Form had immense powers, and the more limited authority of the Fifth Form was exercised by the older members of it over the younger, whenever, as was usually the case, there was a scarcity of legitimate fags. New-comers went by the



Gateway into the School Yard.

name of 'Jews,' and had to submit to a terrible amount of bullying.[2] A custom of tossing them in blankets to the line—

"*Ibis ab excusso, missus ad astra, sago,*"

was given up about the year 1832, in consequence of an accident which nearly proved fatal to Rowland Williams. An apologist would have us believe that the tossees used to enjoy the fun.[3]

[1] Parkin's *Life of E. Thring*, vol. i. p. 23.

[2] *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 1475, 4819, 5839; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, pp. 45–51.

[3] *Life of Rowland Williams*, vol. i. p. 7; Wilkinson's *Reminiscences of Eton*, pp. 322–329. Blanket-tossing is mentioned in 1738. *Catalogue of Eton Loan Collection* (3rd ed.), no. 381.

If the menial services enforced were incompatible with the position, and unfavourable to the training, of a gentleman, the want of privacy was quite as injurious to the moral feelings. A boy who passed unscathed the ordeal of a Colleger's life must have been gifted in no common degree with purity of mind and strength of will. Without dwelling longer on this painful topic, it should be recorded that, in 1834, the writer of a pamplet entitled '*The Eton System of Education Vindicated*' was obliged to admit that, wherever the fame of Eton had spread, the name of Long Chamber was "a proverb and reproach."

The food which the College provided was in its way as bad as the accommodation. In the early part of the reign of George the Third, the daily dinner in the Hall was limited to mutton, bread, and beer. Plum pudding on Sunday was added after 1785, out of a special fund provided by Lord Godolphin's bequest, and, in 1818, Dr. Goodall claimed credit for the College for having, since he went to Eton, supplied vegetables at a cost, as he said, of nearly 100*l.* a year.[1] It was at some later discussion on this subject that a Fellow named Roberts asked—"But who is to peel the potatoes?" a question which obtained for him the lasting nickname of 'Peelipo'. On the Fourth of June and Election Saturday, the fare was somewhat more liberal, and during the reign of William the Fourth, the King provided turkeys on Founder's Day; throughout the rest of the year mutton was the only meat. Every one carved for himself, and those who were entitled to lead the attack fared pretty well, as the quality of the meat was generally good. There were, however, strict limitations upon the quantity supplied. Even after an increase in the second or third decade of the nineteenth century, a leg or a shoulder of small Southdown mutton had to suffice for eight hungry boys, a loin for six, and a neck for four. After several had helped themselves, there was little or nothing left for the juniors, and "an old Colleger" describes himself as often dining on dry bread, or bread dipped into cold gravy and some

[1] *Third Report of House of Commons Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders*, p. 72. Potatoes and butter were first supplied in 1773. The cost was at the rate of about 30*l.* a year. In 1817, it was slightly under 60*l.* Audit Books.

mashed potatoes.[1] He expresses doubts too whether any beverage was ever so "villainous and detestable" as the beer provided for him and his schoolfellows.[2]

At six o'clock, the scrags of the necks of mutton which had been served for dinner were put upon one of the tables, by way of supper for those few, mostly lower boys, who would, or could, attend at that hour.[3] A cold loin of muton was supplied for the members of the Sixth Form, who supped together in Lower Chamber at ten o'clock. There three juniors waited on them and cleaned their plates, knives, and forks, with surplices or anything else that came handy.[4] The relics of the food were used as bait for the numerous rats that infested the College, and so it was that when the floor of Long Chamber was taken up in 1858, two large cart-loads of mutton-bones were removed. Rat-catching was in fact one of the favourite pastimes of the place.[5] The members of 'Liberty' generally supped in Long Chamber, near the lower fireplace.[6]

The College did not provide any morning meal, and tea was unrecognized. "In 1834," wrote a critic, not untruly, "the inmates of a workhouse or a gaol are better fed and lodged than the scholars of Eton; the clothing supplied by the College is limited to a stuff gown."[7] All these boys were theoretically under the charge of a dame, at whose house they could, after morning school, wash their faces and hands, and snatch a hasty breakfast duly paid for by their parents. There, too, they could 'stay out,' when prevented by illness from attending school, in consideration of further payment.[8]

[1] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. J. Blake], p. 79; *Eton of Old*, pp. 31, 32, 44.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 28.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 34, 47.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 45, 51; Creasy's *Historical Account of Eton*, p. 23; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 48.

[5] *Nineteenth Century*, vol. xxxii. p. 597; *Eton of Old*, p. 54; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 8.

[6] *Eton of Old*, p. 54.

[7] *Quarterly Journal of Education*, vol. viii. p. 279.

[8] *Eton of Old*, pp. 19, 25. The leases of such of the domines' and dames' houses as belonged to the College used to contain a proviso that the tenant should admit a certain number of King's Scholars according to the discretion of the Head Master for the time being, and take care that they were properly attended in time of sickness, according to the ancient usage of the place. Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, p. 9.

In point of fact most of the Collegers had some better haven of rest during the daytime, where they could have their breakfast and tea and prepare their lessons. Those who had no relations living at Eton or Windsor used to hire rooms in the town, technically 'out of bounds,' and consequently ignored by the Masters.[1] Altogether the expenses of a Colleger decently maintained were seldom less than 80*l.* a year, and Dr. Goodall was fain to admit that they were "nearly equal with those of many of the Oppidans."[2] The only countervailing advantage was the prospect of a Scholarship and Fellowship at King's. Boys whose parents could not, or would not, provide them with a private room, underwent "privations that might have broken down a cabin-boy, and would be thought inhuman if inflicted on a galley-slave." Such at least is the testimony of an ardent Etonian, the first Colleger who obtained the Newcastle Scholarship, afterwards well known as an author and as a judge.[3]

The following short description of a Colleger's life, contributed by an old Etonian, confirms and supplements some of the statements made above :—

> "In the year 1824, on the nomination of a late Vice-Provost, I was admitted to College, being at that time little more than ten years of age, and having had no previous school training whatever, except about three months at a day-school near London. The Long Chamber was then in its prime—that is to say, it had attained its maximum of age, dirt, squalor, neglect, and desolation. My father was entirely unacquainted with the character and arrangements of the School, and naturally presumed that, with such an introduction as he had procured for me, there was no need for him to make any inquiries as to the treatment which a boy, almost fresh from the nursery, would be likely to receive. After a short examination, which consisted of half-a-dozen questions in Latin, of which a copy had already been furnished to me by my tutor, and a few questions as to my name, age, &c., the Provost, Dr. Goodall, admitted me a Scholar of Eton. I was placed at the bottom of the First Form in the Lower School,

[1] *Eton of Old*, p. 37 ; Parkin's *Life of Edward Thring*, vol. i. p. 24 ; Creasy's *Historical Account of Eton College.*

[2] *Third Report of House of Commons Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders*, p. 72.

[3] Creasy, p. 24.

and was consequently considered the 'lag of the School.' I then went home for a time.

"The hour having at length come for my return, I was on the 2nd of September, shipped outside one of Thumwood's or Moody's coaches from the *Swan with Two Necks* to my destination. On arriving at my dame's, I was told that I must go into College at once, and that I should find my sheets and bedding in Long Chamber, and that as 'lag of the School' my bedstead was at the bottom. On entering that renowned dormitory, a scene of indescribable confusion greeted me. It was nearly dark, and there were no lights except a few tallow candles carried about here and there by the boys. The floor was covered with the bedding, each bundle being wrapped in a coarse horse-rug, far inferior to what would now be used in a gentleman's stable. This was intended to serve as a counterpane. The noise and hooting of nearly fifty boys, each trying to identify his scanty stock of bedding, combined with the shouts of the elder boys calling their fags, gave me a foretaste of my future lot. There were no servants, nor was there anyone to give us assistance. At 8 P.M. after prayers in the Lower School, the doors were closed and we were left prisoners for the night, to settle down as best we could. At 7 A.M. Dr. Keate's servant set us free, and after pacing the Long Chamber twice, armed with a lantern in winter, left us to our morning duties. A person styled a 'bed-maker' came to put the clothes straight, but he did little more, and, at nightfall we had to make the beds of our fag-masters as well as our own. A tallow candle was allowed to each boy, and this had to be fetched from a dame's house.

"I was appointed fag to a member of the Sixth Form, and I had *inter alia* to count his linen, to make lists for the laundress, and to fetch water for his basin from the out-door pump. When I wished to obtain water for my own use, I was told that the Sixth Form and the 'Liberty' only had this privilege in College, and that any ablutions of mine must take place at my dame's. On arriving there, I found a room of the barest description, with a sanded floor, called 'the Collegers' room,' which was set apart for such of us as required it. In this room I had my breakfast, which consisted of a couple of rolls, some butter, and a cup of milk. There was no table-cloth, neither was there any servant to attend to me, though I believe I was entitled to some attention from my dame's servant. Most Collegers had rooms of their own

in the town for which they paid separately. My parents were not aware of the custom, and consequently I had no such room.

"The condition of a junior Colleger's life at that period was very hard indeed. The practice of fagging had become an organized system of brutality and cruelty. I was frequently kept up until one or two o'clock in the morning waiting on my masters at supper, and undergoing every sort of bullying at their hands. I have been beaten on my palms with the back of a brush, or struck on both sides of my face, because I had not closed the shutter near my master's bed tight enough, or because in making his bed I had left the seam of the lower sheet uppermost. When I was kept up fagging late at night, I had to look forward to the probability of a flogging on the next day for not knowing my lessons. I say nothing of the minor discomforts of having the tassel of one's nightcap set on fire in the night, or having one's bed turned up on end and finding one's heels in the air. Notwithstanding the frequent obstacles to study, my tutor, who had himself been a Colleger, would listen to no excuses, and Dr. Keate was always ready with the birch on complaint of idleness. The rioting, masquerading, and drinking that took place in College after the doors were closed at night can scarcely be credited. I do not think that there was even an alarm-bell, although I have seen many a blaze that seemed to threaten destruction to the whole building. In winter, the Collegers assembled at dusk and remained in their chambers until after the Latin prayers, which were said in the Lower School. During the intermediate hours, the doors into the School Yard and into Weston's Yard, were open, and a boy shrouded in a blanket stood in the entrance to give timely notice of the Head Master's approach, so that the boys might open their bureaus, light their candles, and put on an appearance of severe study. Having called over the names and taken a list of any absentees, Dr. Keate would return to his house as if nothing could go wrong later in the night.

"In Hall there was mutton for dinner daily. The boys helped themselves in rotation, and my share, when I was at the bottom of the school, was the last cut of the invariable shoulder. By the time the joint reached me, there was little left but bone, and my dinner generally consisted of the excellent hot new bread, of which there was an abundant supply. I used to put some of it in the pocket of my gown

and eat it in the Playing Fields. Most of the bread supplied was wasted, as the elder boys used to pelt each other with it directly after dinner, leaving very little for the almswomen, who were allowed by the College all the meat and bread that remained over."

The Fellows might speciously demonstrate that the amount yearly expended on food for the Collegers was larger than that authorized by Henry the Sixth ; they might, like Goodall, claim credit for having provided plates, knives, and other such luxuries not specified in the statutes ; and they might urge that Scholarships on the Foundation were not intended for the sons of gentlemen ; but they could hardly convince any fair-minded enquirer that they and their predecessors had not grossly neglected the interests of the boys whom it was their duty to protect. Considering the great change in the value of money since the fifteenth century, nobody could reasonably maintain that salaries and allowances ought to be limited to the particular amounts fixed by the statutes ; a large increase would have been justifiable if made proportionably, in accordance with the intentions of the Founder.[1] In point of fact, however, those who administered the common property had, for generations, acted as if the establishment and its revenues existed mainly for their own benefit. The Clerks, the Choristers and the Conducts had alike been ejected from their rooms within the precincts of the College, while the Head Master and the Lower Master had been encouraged to migrate into private houses. Thus the whole of the Cloister had been monopolized by the Provost and Fellows ; a costly Library had been built for their exclusive use ; and an extra storey had been added on two sides of the Cloister, in order to provide ampler accommodation for the Fellows, during their comparatively short periods of residence. All this was patent to the eye.

The very worst feature of the old system was the traditional method of dealing with the estates of the College. Instead of letting lands and houses to the different tenants at their approximate values, the Provost and Fellows had for a long time been in the habit of granting leases at inadequate rents, in

[1] *Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 1591–1610.

consideration of fines in ready money, which were virtually prepayments of rent. If these fines had been brought into account and credited as receipts, the most hostile critic could only have said that leases at rack rents would have been more profitable. Most of the Fellows of Eton had in their day been Fellows of King's, where all surplus revenue arising from fines or other sources was divided in certain proportions between the senior and junior members of the College. At Eton on the other hand, although the greatest care was taken to record an even distribution of such articles as faggots and candles, the large sums received under the name of 'fines' were altogether excluded from the accounts submitted for yearly audit. Divided into nine portions, two portions went to the Provost, and one apiece to each of the seven Fellows, whose receipts from this source were two or three times as large as those derived by them from the ordinary funds of the College.[1] Altogether, the position and emoluments of a Fellow of Eton were more analogous to those of a Canon of a Cathedral Church than to those of a Fellow of a College in either University.

The Head Master and the Lower Master, debarred from access to the statutes, and having no voice in the administration of the property of the College, were ignored in the distribution of the income arising from fines, and were left free to enrich themselves by levying fees on the boys entrusted to their care. The Scholars of course were perfectly helpless. Year after year, the accounts, as audited, showed no balance available for improvements, and occasionally part of the profits from fines had to be surrendered, in order to avoid an actual deficit.

It must not be supposed that the Fellows of 1840 were personally responsible for the introduction of such a financial system; they had simply followed the example of their predecessors, never

[1] *Third Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the education of the Lower Orders; Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence. A private account-book of William Hayward Roberts shows that his average emoluments as Fellow and Bursar from 1771 to 1781 amounted to 345*l.* a year, out of which 221*l.* came from fines. Under 1774, there is an entry characteristic of the old system:—"The College agreed this year to divide the interest of the money in the funds." The proceeds of the fines increased very considerably at a later period.

condemned by competent authority. To have suggested any change to Goodall would have been perfectly useless, although even in his time there were some who desired that justice should be done to the younger members of the community. It is for instance remembered that in a speech on Founder's day, one of the Fellows, George Bethell, said in a perfectly modest way :—"I have always stood up for the statutable rights of the Scholars."

Francis Hodgson was scarcely the man to remodel the whole College, but he was no sooner Provost than he began to take measures for improving the condition of the King's Scholars. His son records that "as the carriage which conveyed him from Derbyshire passed, on the third evening of its journey, through the Eton Playing Fields into Weston's Yard, and the College buildings came into sight, the Provost exclaimed with characteristic earnestness :—'Please God, I will do something for those poor boys.'"[1] The disgrace of Long Chamber was already beginning to be realized, and on a visit of the King of Prussia, in January 1842, his request to be allowed to see the dormitories was refused, on the plea that that portion of the College was never shown to strangers, a plea which could not truthfully have been put forward a few years earlier.

The first improvement was in the fare, beef being substituted for mutton twice a week. Then the hour of supper was postponed from six o'clock to eight, and the character of the meal was altered. Soon afterwards a fund was started for increasing the accommodation for the Collegers, by building a new wing on the eastern side of Weston's Yard, on the site of the former stables. Lord Lyttelton became the chairman of the committee for collecting money, with J. L. Dampier as a very active colleague. Whilst the College in its corporate capacity could not contribute more than 2000*l.* the Provost, Fellows and Head Master subscribed 2100*l.* between them.[2] A promise by Dr.

[1] *Memoir of the Rev. F. Hodgson*, vol. ii. p. 261.

[2] Among others, Queen Victoria gave 500*l.*, the Queen Dowager, 100*l.*, Prince Albert, 100*l.*, King's College, Cambridge, 500*l.*, the Duke of Northumberland, 1,200*l.*, Bishop Sumner, 200*l.*, the Duke of Buccleuch, 200*l.*, Mr. Hallam, 200*l.*, Sir J. T. Coleridge, 100*l.*, Lord Melbourne, 100*l.*, Dr. Keate, 100*l.*, and Mr. Gladstone, 50*l.* The Marquess Wellesley's promised donation of 200*l.* was lost by his death.



The Lower School and Long Chamber

Hawtrey to hand over to the fund all his own receipts from the Collegers may seem strange, considering that he was forbidden by the statutes to demand any money from boys entrusted to his charge. Successive Masters had, however, been accustomed to receive 4*l.* a year from each Colleger, and this fee had been raised to 6*l.* in the early part of the nineteenth century, with the approval of the higher authorities, who at any rate were supposed to be familiar with the statutes. Dr. Goodall, indeed, had the effrontery to tell a Committee of the House of Commons that, although the statutes forbade the Head Master to exact payment from the Scholars, they did not forbid him to receive money from them, the bills not being actually sent in by him. In 1841, Hawtrey's contribution from this source was only 189*l.*, College being half empty. Three years later, the subscriptions towards the projected improvements amounted to 14,000*l.* and on the 20th of June 1844, Prince Albert laid the foundation-stone of the New Buildings.

Soon after the completion of the work in 1846, separate rooms were assigned to the first forty-nine Collegers, the western part of Long Chamber being retained as a dormitory for twenty-one others. Arrangements were made for warming the whole building in winter ; water was laid on ; and lavatories and studies were provided. The upper storeys of the old tower containing the staircase and the tower at the northern end of the New Buildings were fitted up as sick rooms. One remarkable innovation was the provision of tea-rooms, the College having resolved to supply the King's Scholars with breakfast and tea, similar to the corresponding meals in the boarding-houses of the Oppidans.[1] The cumbrous old bedsteads were broken up, and suitable furniture was provided for all the rooms.[2] A proper staff of servants was also engaged to do all menial work, under the supervision of a resident matron.

The south-eastern end of Long Chamber, Carter's Chamber, Lower Master's Chamber, and a ground-floor room to the east of

[1] Green's *Memories of Eton and Kings*, p. 48.

[2] A round table, which now stands in front of the fireplace of the truncated Long Chamber, was made out of some of the old bedsteads, and several models of them were also constructed out of the original material. *Catalogue of Eton Loan Collection* (3rd edition), nos. 471, 486.

this last were at the same time remodelled, and converted into a house for a Master who should, sleeping under the same roof as the Collegers, maintain order among them.[1]

It might have been anticipated that the novel post of 'Assistant



Entrance to Weston's Yard.

Master in College,' worth about 200*l.* a year, would have fallen to the lot of some young man comparatively inexperienced in the management of boys. Every one therefore appreciated the noble self-sacrifice of C. J. Abraham, one of the Assistant Masters, who relinquished a very popular boarding-house in order to under-

[1] The bow-window of Lower Carter's Chamber, looking into the School Yard, was added at a later date.

take a difficult and unremunerative task. To his personal influence must in great measure be ascribed the great improvement in the moral tone of the King's Scholars which soon became evident. Without intruding on any one, he went about among them of an evening, and made them his friends ; by a judicious policy, he caused the old system of fagging to be considerably modified.

Hitherto, the number of Collegers had generally been short of the normal seventy, and the examination supposed to regulate their admission had been a mere form. No humane parent of moderate means would knowingly allow his son to undergo the rough treatment to which lower boys were subjected in Long Chamber, and, as the expenses of a Colleger were scarcely less than those of an Oppidan, boys desirous of a scholarship at King's used to postpone the assumption of the black cloth gown at Eton until a few days before their attainment of the maximum age allowed by the statutes. Consequently almost all the Collegers were members either of the Sixth Form or the Fifth, and in some years there were not more than forty altogether on the list. At the election of 1841, when some thirty-five places were vacant, there were only two candidates, one of whom, C. H. Branwell, came up without the necessary certificate of baptism, and was unable to declare that he had ever been baptized. Provost Hodgson at once took him into the Election Hall, sent for a basin of water, and then and there administered the sacrament, the two 'posers' standing as godfathers. As soon as the scheme of improvements was made public, the number of Collegers began to increase rapidly, and in one year there were sixty candidates for a few vacancies.

In early times, the Provost of King's and the two Fellows who were to act as 'posers' used to ride on horseback from Cambridge to Eton, with a suitable number of servants; at a later period, when the roads were better, they found it more convenient to travel in a yellow coach drawn by four horses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, they availed themselves of the railway as far as Slough, but, as before, slept a night at Botham's famous inn at Salt Hill. Thence they proceeded in the yellow coach to Eton on the following day, known as 'Election

Saturday.' On arrival about two o'clock, they were informally received in the Lower School, and they walked across the School Yard to the gateway under Lupton's Tower, where the Provost of Eton saluted his brother of Cambridge with a kiss of peace, and the Captain of the School delivered a Latin oration known as the 'Cloister Speech,' reviewing the principal events of the previous year. The Kingsmen were accommodated in the south-western part of the Provost's Lodge, and two of the Collegers appointed to wait on the 'posers' in Hall were styled their 'children,' receiving certain privileges in consequence.[1] There were Speeches in Upper School at five o'clock and again on Monday at eleven, after which the Oppidans went away for the summer holidays. Then began the real business of the election, the choice of suitable Scholars for Eton and King's by the Provost, the Vice-Provost and the Head Master of Eton and the three representatives of the sister College. Some changes were made in 1850 or 1851, the Kingsmen arriving on the Friday, the Speeches on Election Saturday, being fixed for eleven o'clock, and those on the Monday abolished.[2]

The division of Long Chamber put an end not only to the crying evils of physical discomfort and moral disorder, but also to several customs interesting to the antiquary. By the introduction of servants, much of the elaborate code of unwritten law, which fixed the relations of master and fag, was abrogated, and the younger boys were relieved from the weight of a traditional discipline most hurtful to individual development. So long as it continued intact, Long Chamber used to be furbished up annually during the week before Election Saturday. Rugs were stripped from the beds of lower boys, and with a bolster or two were folded into a kind of sledge seat for an upper boy, who was dragged swiftly up and down by a team of six or eight others yoked to a rope. This peculiar process, known as 'rug-riding,' was adopted in order to polish the oak floor, which at other times was begrimed with dirt. The green rugs, adorned with the College Arms, given by the Duke of Cumberland, were then produced and spread on the beds, and boughs of

[1] Cust's *History of Eton College*, p. 184.

[2] Austen Leigh's *List of Eton Collegers*, pp. xiii, xiv; Green's *Memories of Eton and King's*, pp. 50, 51.

beech, brought from Hedgerley and Burnham, were fastened round the windows, fireplaces, and beds. Lower School too was decorated with boughs—a custom dating at least from the time when this was the only schoolroom.[1] The seats of the Masters were made into bowers, popularity and unpopularity being marked respectively by leafy boughs and dry sticks. A small room on the north side of Long Chamber, known as the Captain's study, was also cleaned up at Electiontide and its empty shelves furnished with calf-bound books, borrowed by the Captain from his Oppidan friends. Of course much of this was a miserable imposture, intended to conceal from strangers the normal squalor and wretchedness of Long Chamber.

The Collegers were not the only boys who benefited by the erection of the New Buildings, for a spacious Library was created on the ground floor of the tower, for the use of Collegers and Oppidans alike. Some books presented to the School by Dr. Newborough in the seventeenth century, were brought out from the cupboard in which they had lain ever since their removal from the Library at the end of Upper School. To these were added the Delphin edition of the Classics, presented by George the Fourth—"the useless gift of a royal rake"—and the books belonging to the collection founded by Winthrop Mackworth Praed. Private persons came forward with donations of books, especially Dr. Hawtrey. In 1850, Dr. Thackeray, Provost of King's, gave some cases of stuffed birds, and other donors added artistic and interesting objects, making the room a kind of museum. A heraldic window was put up by the Head Master and the Lower Master. The School Library, sometimes remembered as 'Hawtrey's Library,' has been justly praised as "the sanctuary of learning, and the refuge of quiet to many a boy for whom a public school would else afford small opportunity of satisfying a desire for knowledge, beyond the mere routine of school life."[2]

Another great improvement was the foundation of a Sanatorium

[1] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. J. Blake], pp. 112, 113; *The Legacy of an Etonian*, p. 105; *Eton of Old*, p. 68; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 3.

[2] Coleridge's *Memoir of W. M. Praed*, vol. i. p. xxv; Thackeray's *Memoir of Dr. Hawtrey*, p. 110; Browning's *Memories*, p. 24.

at a little distance from the College, on the Dorney Road, in which accommodation was provided for twenty-four cases of infectious illness. It may seem strange that this building, which cost 6000*l.*, was not erected by the College, and was placed on land not even belonging to the College. The Head Master made himself responsible to the builder for interest at 5 per cent. on the cost of the work, and by a yearly charge on every Oppidan of 1*l.* 4*s.* money was gradually raised for paying off the whole debt, and acquiring the property for the School.[1]

The general health of Eton was greatly improved in a 1846, by the adoption of an excellent system of drainage, at a cost to the College of little less than 4000*l.* A constant stream of water was made to run through a large new sewer into the great sewer built by Henry the Sixth, and thence into the Thames, which flows at the rate of about three miles an hour.[2] A new outlet was also provided, somewhat earlier, for the foul water under Baldwin's Bridge.

> "Barne's-Pool, seduced by classic dreams,
> Courts Thames with subterranean streams;
> Forcing, Alpheus-like, its way,
> To screen its loves from eye of day."[3]

By exchange with the Crown, the College became possessed of various tenements in the heart of Eton, most of which were forthwith pulled down and replaced by substantial houses for Masters.[4] Among the houses thus acquired was the old *Christopher* Inn, situated opposite to the Churchyard, in the midst of the boarding-houses.[5] Etonians of the present day can hardly realize the former importance of this establishment.

> "To the Christopher came many times a day coaches and post-chaises from all parts of the compass; on Fridays, which were market days at Eton, the farmers held their ordinary there; and squires, drovers, pedlars, recruiting sergeants, and occasional village wenches who came in to be hired as servants,

[1] *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 1450–1474, 4780–4790.

[2] *Ibid.* 227–229.

[3] *Eton Bureau*, pp. 7, 165.

[4] See the cut in Tighe and Davis's *Annals of Windsor*, vol. i. p. 131, of some picturesque buildings that formerly stood at the northern corner of Keate's Lane.

[5] See the cut on page 295 above.

clustered under the porch. . . . Boys were always slinking into the Inn for drink. If caught, they had been to see friends from London, or to enquire about parcels sent down by coach. Masters shrank from provoking these ready lies, and a great deal had to be winked at." [1]

A select club of Oppidans, known at one time as the *Estaminet*, used to meet at half-past-two to discuss bread and cheese and ale, in one of the cellars of the *Christopher*.[2] There too tradesmen's signs and door-knockers, carried off for sport, were kept until reclaimed by their owners.[3]

The evils connected with the *Christopher* were in no way mitigated by the change of ownership, and Dr. Hawtrey urged upon the College that the lease should not be renewed. His request was refused on the score of the loss of income which would ensue if it were acted upon, for the landlord paid well. Before undertaking a second crusade against the *Christopher*, Hawtrey resolved to ascertain the opinion of the Assistant Masters on the subject, and accordingly summoned them to discuss it in 'Chambers.' Most of them took his view, but a few argued that it was desirable to leave some temptation within reach of the boys, as a means of bracing their moral nature. At last the youngest of the number, William Johnson, a man of considerable energy, was heard to retort :—"Oh, the Devil will do that for you without your help." [4] Thus fortified, the Head Master wrote to the Provost :—

"I should be guilty of a grave Dereliction of Duty, if I did not again in the most earnest Manner call the Attention of the College now assembled to the great Evil of the Christopher Inn ; and I should be more to blame because my own Opinion has now the almost unanimous Support of all who are united with me in the Government of the School. There was a Time when there were no good Inns in the Vicinity of the School at which the Parents and Friends of Boys could be received ; when the Houses of the Masters were small and inconvenient ; when a Room was actually

[1] *Seven Years at Eton* (4th ed.), pp. 394, 395.

[2] *Eton of Old*, p. 36 ; *Poetry of the College Magazine*.

[3] See the coloured print by R. Cruikshank in the *English Spy*, vol. i.

[4] Information of the late Bishop Abraham.

retained at the Christopher for the weekly Meetings (I believe I may add more than weekly Meetings) of the Assistants."

Hawtrey then proceeded to show how all this was changed. The opening of the railway had enabled parents to visit their sons and return to London on the same day ; the inns at Windsor had become better ; and few people stayed at the *Christopher*, save riotous parties of undergraduates, who exercised a most demoralizing influence on the School. Nine-tenths of the profits of the innkeeper were derived from Eton boys, who were in the habit of going there directly after dinner, and also of an evening on their way home from their tutors. In connexion with this last point, Hawtrey wrote :—

"I have long complained and long borne with this Evil. Every Vigilance is exercised to check it, but it is too much for me. It is really the only Mischief for which there is but one Remedy. The Remedy rests with yourself and the Fellows.

"I do therefore most earnestly appeal to you in the Name of those who are laboriously occupied with myself in preserving as well as we can the Discipline of the School, in the Name of several hundred Parents who have strongly expressed to me the same Opinions to which I have now given Words, in the Name of more than the usual Number of Boys, who will heartily thank you in After-Life for thus consulting their best Interests, not to retain in the Centre of us a source of undeniable Evil without any countervailing Good. Your Opinion, I know, wholly coincides with mine. . . . . I have not hitherto proposed any Change which, when consented to, has been found to fail. . . . . Every Year's increasing Experience has convinced me that this Change is more and more called for, and that the Delay will each succeeding Year be more pernicious to the School : a Site for a new Chapel of Ease is sought for, and the Building of so great an Addition to the spiritual Comfort of the Town is delayed while the Site is still to be found. Why not displace for a holier Purpose a notorious School of Self-Indulgence and Intemperance ? . . . . Here is a glorious Opportunity of turning unmixed Evil into unmixed Good. . . . . My Heart is deeply interested in what I have written, and I could not leave one Stone unturned to gain so great an Advantage to the School."[1]

[1] MS. Correspondence of Provost Hodgson. 1 December 1845.

This letter sealed the fate of the *Christopher*, the landlord received notice to quit, and the lease of the greater part of the premises was assigned to one of the Masters. Little now remains to show the original purpose of the building, save the balustraded galleries on two sides of the court-yard.

The sign of the old *Christopher* was removed to a house on the western side of the High Street, occasionally patronized by Etonians. Here the two elevens of footballers who had contended at the Wall on the 30th of November used to have a 'lush' a few days later, "one of the few occasions on which Collegers and Oppidans met convivially" in the middle of the nineteenth century. As such it was condoned by Hawtrey in 1849, and his prohibition of it in the following year proved ineffectual. The 'lush,' however, was rudely interrupted by three of the Assistant Masters, who insisted on admission, and the partakers of it were mulcted of a day's holiday and made to write out a book of Milton.[1]

Jack Knight of the old *Christopher* opened a licensed house known as 'Tap' a few doors beyond Barnes Pool Bridge, in order to supply Etonians with bread and cheese and beer, better than that to be got in the boarding houses. To his premises were transferred the meetings of 'Cellar,' which may fairly be identified with the *Estaminet* of an earlier period. On admission to this select society, the neophyte had to drain the 'long glass,' a tube with a bulb at the end, full of beer. Some dexterity was needful to accomplish the feat without spilling any of the contents. It is characteristic of Eton in the middle of the nineteenth century that 'Tap' was neither recognized nor proscribed by the authorities of the School.[2]

After the closure of the old *Christopher*, the scene of the yearly Oppidan Dinner, which will be mentioned hereafter, was transferred to the *White Hart* at Windsor.[3]

During Hodgson's tenure of the Provostship, the dreary appearance of the interior of Upper School was greatly relieved by

[1] *Parry's Annals of an Eton House*, pp. 76, 81.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 80; *Seven Years at Eton*, pp. 325–327; M. Williams's *Leaves of a Life*, vol. i.; [Gordon's] *Fifty Years of Failure*, p. 315; *Report of Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 8222–8244.

[3] Selwyn's *Eton in 1829–1830*, pp. 92, 97, 290.

the addition of a series of marble busts of eminent Etonians, some of them presented by the individuals themselves, some by their descendants or admirers. The Marquess Wellesley gave his own bust to the College in 1840, and his example was followed by his illustrious brother, the Duke of Wellington, shortly afterwards.[1] About the same time, a picturesque lodge, designed by



The Long Walk.

Shaw, was put up at the end of the Long Walk, for the use of the Head Master's trusty servant, who had hitherto occupied one of the rooms under the Upper School.

[1] *Memoir of Hodgson*, vol. ii. p. 259. The other busts of Etonians, put up from time to time, are those of Bishop Pearson, Dr. Hammond, Lord Camden, Lord Chatham, Lord North (all by Behnes), Lord Grey (by Campbell), Lord Grenville (by Nollekens), Walpole, Fielding, Gray, Porson, Fox, Lord Howe, Lord Denman, and Hallam. At the south end are busts of George III. (by Wood), William IV. (by Chantrey), and of Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort. Shelley and Mr. Gladstone have been more recently added.

Amid all these changes, the most prominent building at Eton was not neglected. The great religious revival which emanated from Oxford in 1833 had given an impulse to church-building and church-restoration unprecedented since the fifteenth century, and many old Etonians had turned their attention to Gothic architecture as a subject worthy of study. The first complaint of the unsightly condition of the interior of the Collegiate Church came from one of the most eminent members of the High Church party, Sir J. T. Coleridge, in a letter written to Provost Hodgson in September 1840. The main object of the letter was to recommend that the whole School should in future be summoned to a daily service at 7 or 7.30 A.M. in lieu of the services hitherto held on such holidays and half-holidays as were not marked as holy days or the eves of holy days in the Church Calendar ; but he also took the opportunity of denouncing the internal fittings of the building as wasteful of space, ugly, and in every way objectionable.[1] It must be remembered that in those days the Sixth Form and the young noblemen, or 'nobs' as they were called, used to occupy an upper row of seats ranged along the walls ;[2] that there was a great box near the east end for the male servants of the College, and another for the female servants ; that many of the parishioners sat in the choir ; and that all the old stonework up to a considerable height was hidden by wooden panelling.

The process by which the interior underwent a complete transformation was gradual. The first improvement, in 1842, was simple enough, and consisted in removing the pompous wooden reredos which concealed the original stone panelling at the east end. A new altar, altar-rails, and pulpit, of carved stone, and Gothic in design, were next provided.

In 1844, a subscription was set on foot among the boys for the purpose of substituting stained glass for the plain quarries in the great east window, and the work was entrusted to Willement, the leading man of his profession. As time went on, enthusiasm died away, and members of the Sixth Form came to hate the duty of going to the different boarding-houses in the evening

[1] MS. Correspondence of Provost Hodgson.

[2] For 'Church sock,' see Appendix B.

to collect 'window money.'[1] "That East window," says Mr. Coleridge, "was a terror of long standing, a running sore to generations of boys."[2] As the necessary funds came in, one light after another was filled with stained glass that hardly gave pleasure to anybody except the maker, and the whole window was not completed until July 1849, when the Provost gave public thanks to the unwilling contributors. It was considered the greatest work of the kind that had been executed for many generations, and it was certainly very costly. Unfortunately the art of painting on glass had been but lately revived, and the general effect of the window is unsatisfactory. The gigantic figures of the twelve Apostles in the side lights are heavy and out of character with the building, while the subjects of the Crucifixion and Ascension which occupy the three central lights are theatrical in treatment and garish in colour. The eastern-most windows on either side of the choir were treated by Willement in a similar style, that on the north side being paid for by the Assistant Masters, and that on the south side by Mr. W. A. Carter.[3]

While these windows were in course of execution, it was resolved to restore the interior of the Church as far as possible in accordance with the style of architecture which prevailed in England in the fifteenth century. For this purpose a limited number of architects were invited to send in designs, the competitors being Buckler, Butterfield, Elmslie, Derrick, and Deeson, and of these the last named was chosen by the unanimous vote of the judges, Shaw, Ferrey, and Nesfield.[4] A fund being started to obtain the necessary money, the College eventually contributed about 3600*l.*, and John Wilder, one of the Fellows, no less than 5000*l.* For some time there was an idea of vaulting the whole building with stone, as probably contemplated by Henry the Sixth. Some of the authorities, however, took alarm, and expressed their conviction that the weight of such a roof would imperil the safety of the whole structure, oblivious

[1] *The Miseries of Etonians* [by A. H. A. Morton], p. 15.

[2] *Eton in the Forties*, p. 169.

[3] Each of these windows cost no less than 800*l.*; the east window over 2000*l.*

[4] *The Builder*, 7 June and 26 July 1845.

of the fact that the buttresses of the Collegiate Church of Eton are the most massive in England, except those of the sister College at Cambridge. The idea was accordingly given up, and nothing was done to the roof beyond removing the paint and plaster, and adding some flimsy cusping to the old principals. The great 'classical' organ-loft which had hitherto blocked up the west window of the choir was pulled down, and Edward Coleridge at once undertook to have the window filled with stained glass. A proposal to place the organ in Lupton's Chapel was happily negatived,[1] and a new organ, purchased at a cost of 800 guineas, was, after some experiments, placed half-way up the choir on the south side. The old organ was sold to Mr. Spode, and removed to Hawkesyard Park, near Rugeley.

When all the old panelling and seats were cleared away in 1847, it was discovered that the walls of the five western bays of the church on both sides were covered with mediæval paintings.[2] Some of them had been defaced by memorial tablets affixed in the seventeenth century, and others by the erection of a staircase leading to the organ-loft, but enough remained to render the discovery the most important of the kind that had been made in England during the nineteenth century.[3] Unfortunately the number of persons who appreciated the merit of the paintings was small, and when it had been ascertained that the subjects were derived from superstitious legends, so little attention was paid to them that the clerk of the works took it for granted that they were to be obliterated, and gave orders to that effect. Mr. John Wilder came in while the work of destruction was going on, and immediately put a stop to it, but not before the upper row of figures had almost entirely disappeared. The Provost declared himself quite willing that the remainder should be preserved as historical curiosities, for the benefit of a future generation, but, considering them unfit to be seen in a building dedicated to the use of the Church of England, he insisted that they should once more be covered over. Prince Albert, whose Protestantism was quite as unimpeachable as Hodgson's, entreated

[1] *The Builder*, 4 October 1845.
[2] See pages 83–90, and 163 above.
[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, new series, vol. xxviii. pp. 187, 188.

in vain that by some mechanical contrivance, such as hinged or sliding panels, it might still be possible for lovers of art to examine the paintings at will, without any danger to the religious principles of the ordinary congregation. A suggestion of transferring the paintings from the walls to canvas, proved impracticable on account of the great cost it would have entailed. Nowadays we can judge of these paintings only from two or three sets of drawings which were made while the wood-work which conceals them was in course of construction. Thirty-two oak stalls with carved canopies were erected on each side of the Church, in 1849 and 1850, as memorials of Etonians, living and deceased, with their names and coats of arms on brass tablets.

In the meanwhile the whole choir was fitted up with oak seats ; an altar, altar-rail, and pulpit of the same material being also substituted for the comparatively new works in stone, which had been universally condemned as heavy and cold in appearance. The pulpit was tried first in one place, and then in another, and was finally fixed near the door leading into the northern vestibule. The mediæval brass lectern, after being taken into use for a time, was again relegated to the 'ante-chapel.' By the removal of the steps near the western end of the choir, the general level of the floor was considerably lowered, and stone flags were laid all over it, in place of the checked pavement of black and white marble, except within the altar-rails, where encaustic tiles of special design were used. Hodgson, in his intense dread of Romanism, refused his consent to a scheme for decorating the east end elaborately, and would only allow the Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes to be painted there by Willement, in a style more befitting the walls of a village school.

The 'ante-chapel' was the last part of the building that was taken in hand in 1852. Some old Etonians supplied the stained glass by O'Connor for the central window, while that by Wailes in the window to the north of it was put up in memory of T. G. Farquhar, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Aliwal in 1846. A new font was given in 1850 by the Collegers, as a tribute of regard for Mr. C. J. Abraham, who had done so much for them. While the Church was undergoing



INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL,
A.D. 1875.

restoration, the boys attended service in a temporary building nicknamed 'the Tabernacle,' erected for the purpose in a field near Barnes Pool.[1] In 1846, a new cemetery, with a neat chapel, was opened on the Dorney Road.

Such were the chief material improvements carried out at Eton between 1840 and 1852. Many alterations in the studies and discipline of the School were made during the same period. Hawtrey had, as we have already seen, induced Goodall to sanction some important reforms in these respects, but much more remained to be done. The pleasure with which he had hailed the appointment of Hodgson, in 1840, was therefore enhanced by his receipt of a letter from the Provost suggesting certain administrative changes. He at once replied:—

> "I am delighted to find that in almost every Point which your Letter touches upon we entirely agree. In many I have already anticipated your Views; in some I have been restrained as yet from doing so only by the Veto of superior Authority. . . . . Whatever be done, I know we have the same Object; and I have no doubt of our discussing these deeply interesting Matters in a Spirit which will lead to co-operative Reform."[2]

The friendly relations between Hodgson and Hawtrey continued undisturbed until the death of the former, although questions arose from time to time on which there was a difference of opinion between them. Sometimes, as with regard to 'Montem' and the matter of 'bounds,' the Provost was more zealous for reform than the Head Master; at other times, like a good constitutional King, he gave his indispensable assent to measures which he would not himself have proposed. On one point only is Hodgson known to have stood in the way of a real reform, and that was with regard to the appointment of Assistant Masters. It had for a long time been customary for the Masters to be members of King's College, which has been justly stigmatized as "the grave of talent."[3] The

[1] Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 171.

[2] *Memoir of the Rev. F. Hodgson*, vol. ii. p. 262.

[3] Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 385.

evils of this system have been thus pointed out by Sir John Taylor Coleridge :—

> "Boys were nominated to college in the first instance by the electors, in the exercise of simple patronage; and when elected, they maintained their places and order of succession through the School without any consideration of relative—even of absolute merit, ability, or application. They succeeded to King's College in the same way, the electors on both occasions going through the solemn farce of a free election, and having been sworn to an honest, impartial, and strict performance of their duty as electors. When the lads were thus floated to King's, they came to a college locally in the University, but scarcely of it in any true sense. It had no independent members; its undergraduates took no part in the exercises or examinations of the University; very few of its honours were open to them; they mixed very little with the members of other colleges; and in their own, they only found their old, and generally speaking unimproved, school-fellows living under the laxest discipline. From young men sometimes only in their third year, and thus unpromisingly trained, the Head and Lower Master of Eton, with whom the selection practically rests, each for his own School, exclusively appointed their Assistants."[1]

Another writer justly describes the system as a "*circulus vitiosus*."[2] Since the failure of an attempt, in the days of Dr. Heath, to secure a situation as Assistant Master for an old Oppidan—Henry Vincent Bayley—only two Masters had been appointed who were not Kingsmen, Edward Coleridge and Edward H. Pickering, and both of them had been Collegers. Hawtrey wished to go further than this, and with some difficulty obtained Hodgson's permission to engage as Assistant Masters two old Etonians who had not been educated on the foundation of either of the Colleges of Henry the Sixth. Both the young men in question had taken the highest honours at Oxford; one of them has since made his mark on the literature of the Victorian age; the other eventually attained eminence among the members of the Society of Jesus; so that Hawtrey's favourable

[1] *Lecture delivered at the Tiverton Athenæum*, 1860.

[2] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. li. p. 67.

opinion of their abilities was not unwarranted. Mr. Goldwin Smith and Mr. Henry James Coleridge would have been for a time at least secured for Eton, for they both accepted the invitation, if the Provost had not withdrawn his sanction at the last moment, falling back on his old argument that the places of the Masters at Eton formed part of the *peculium* of the Kingsmen. In this view he was warmly supported by several of the Fellows, one of whom wrote to predict that the appointment of an Oppidan as Master would, if allowed, prove to be the first step towards the admission of Oppidans to the New Buildings in Weston's Yard.[1]

Although it is impossible to endorse Hodgson's opinion in this matter, it is equally impossible to doubt his integrity of purpose. With him all personal considerations were lost in the earnest desire to promote the welfare of Eton. No Provost has ever more thoroughly realized the duties and responsibilities attaching to his high office, and the manifold improvements in the condition of school and town alike effected during his administration testify abundantly to his energy and prudence. By his tact and courtesy he conciliated all who came in contact with him, and even those who were most opposed to him on public questions could not but acknowledge his exceeding gentleness and goodness of heart.

In 1841, the Provost gladly accepted Prince Albert's noble offer of founding annual prizes for modern languages, open to the whole School, an offer doubtless due in part to the suggestion of the Head Master, who was as conversant with French, German, and Italian, as with Latin and Greek.[2] Permanent evidence of Hawtrey's refined tastes may be found in his privately-printed book, *Il Trifoglio*, and those who were under him at Eton remember his readiness in illustrating passages in the ordinary school-books, by quotations from modern writers of other countries. In this respect the contrast between him and his predecessor was very striking, Keate's system aiming at

[1] MS. Correspondence of Provost Hodgson.

[2] After the death of the Prince Consort, the prizes were continued by Queen Victoria. Since the accession of the late King, the title has been altered to 'the King's Prizes.'

nothing beyond accuracy and elegance in Latin and Greek. Nevertheless, scholarship, in the stricter sense of the word, was not neglected under Hawtrey, and measures were taken to raise the standard of proficiency among the Collegers. Persons familiar with the present organization of our public schools must dismiss all idea that, in the first four decades of the nineteenth century, the Eton Collegers were superior to the Oppidans in learning or in industry. The distinction between the two classes was purely social in those days, the entrance examination for the Foundation was an empty form, every candidate knowing beforehand the exact passages which he would be called upon to translate. There was but one instance of a break-down, and it was that of a boy who proved unable to decline the word *bonus*.[1] Under Hodgson and Hawtrey, the examination became competitive; and, as a safeguard against subsequent idleness, an 'intermediate examination' was made compulsory on all Collegers in their seventeenth year.[2] The full effect of the change was not visible for some time. Out of the first thirteen winners of the Newcastle Scholarship, established in 1829, no less than ten were Oppidans. In 1842, Hawtrey sent a brief but joyous note across Weston's Yard:—"Rice, Scholar; Joynes, Medallist. Both in College! Keep it there." Nevertheless the list of Newcastle Scholars for the next thirteen years shows six Collegers to seven Oppidans. In the whole period between 1856 and 1910 inclusive, only five Oppidans appear at intervals.

An important step in the direction of educational reform which affected the whole School was taken in 1839 or 1840. To quote the words of the Royal Commissioners:—

> "Before the year 1836 there appears to have been no mathematical teaching of any kind at Eton. There was a titular teacher of writing, arithmetic, and mathematics, who had been originally styled teacher of writing and arithmetic only. 'I have heard it reported,' says Mr. S. Hawtrey, 'that he went away for a little while, and came back as mathematical master.' He does not appear, however, after this accession of

[1] *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 1228—1241, 8889—8895, 8972.

[2] *Ibid.* 8897, 8898, 8965—8970, 8654—8692.

dignity, to have taught, or been competent to teach, anything but writing and arithmetic, and he was an old man when Mr. Hawtrey came to Eton. Mr. Hawtrey, who had lately graduated as eleventh wrangler at Cambridge, received permission to give mathematical instruction as an extra to those boys whose parents wished them to learn ; but 'in order not to trench on the interests of Mr. Hexter,' the only boys permitted to learn of Mr. Hawtrey were those in the Head Master's division, which contained about 30, or any others who had obtained a certificate from Mr. Hexter that they had attended his class and were competent to attend Mr. Hawtrey's. . . . This arrangement did not prove satisfactory, . . . and after about three years Mr. Hawtrey was allowed by the authorities of the College to disembarrass himself and the school of Mr. Hexter, by undertaking to pay him a pension of 200*l.* a year."

Stephen Hawtrey thus became free to take mathematical pupils from any part of the School, and obtained a position analogous to that of the Drawing Master and the Fencing Master. He built a circular Mathematical School at considerable expense, on a piece of ground adjoining South Meadow Lane, leased to him by the College, and by degrees he engaged several Assistants.

"In 1851 mathematics were for the first time incorporated into the regular work of the School, and Mr. Hawtrey was made Mathematical Assistant Master, which placed him on the same level as the Classical Assistants. His own Assistants, however, did not share his elevation ; they became, or remained, only 'Assistants in the Mathematical School' ; . . . they had not a share, as every Assistant Master has, in the right and duty of maintaining discipline out of school ; they were not allowed to wear the academical dress, and could not send in complaints to the Head Master, unless previously signed by Mr. Hawtrey." [1]

The restriction on the use of caps and gowns was removed soon after the death of Provost Hodgson, but in other respects this anomalous state of things continued unaltered for many years. A mathematical prize consisting of books of the value of 30*l.* was instituted in 1846 by Col. George Tomline, who conveyed

[1] *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, vol. i. p. 81.

1000*l.* to the College in trust for this purpose. At the inauguration of the new system in the autumn of 1851, six Mathematical Masters were provided, and arrangements were made whereby every boy should go to one or other of them three times a week for an hour's lesson.[1]

When mathematics were made compulsory, it was arranged that, in regular weeks, Tuesday should be a half-holiday instead of a holiday as heretofore, and Thursday was reduced to a 'play at four,' while on the other hand Saturday was made an inviolable half-holiday.

A few years before this, a rule had been made that those sons of noblemen who brought private tutors with them to Eton should not thereby be exempted from the necessity of frequenting the pupil-room of some Assistant Master, at the same hours and under the same conditions as their schoolfellows. In the earlier years of Hawtrey's administration, there had usually been some twenty private tutors at Eton, in close attendance upon boys of rank and fortune. "They formed a little world of their own, many living in private houses in the town, and others in the Dames' houses, dining with the family."[2] The most illustrious of the whole number was George Augustus Selwyn, afterwards Bishop of New Zealand and of Lichfield.[3] Hawtrey's rule tended obviously to the abolition of private tutors.

Dr. E. C. Hawtrey had, while still an Assistant Master, done something to improve the manner in which geography was taught in the lower part of the School, but he did not prosecute his reforms in this direction after his promotion to the Head Mastership. The rule that every boy in the Remove should once a week draw, or fill up, a map of part of the ancient world, was at least as old as the middle of the eighteenth century, and good enough in theory, but in practice it was absurd.[4] Boys who did

[1] Letter from the Hon. R. Marsham, 8 October 1851.

[2] Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, p. 30.

[3] *Life* by Tucker.

[4] Boys were free to decorate the margins of their maps with flags, figures, &c. There is a story of a boy drawing a picture of an eight-oar on the Mediterranean, manned by the Masters and steered by Keate, and, lest there should be any mistake as to their identity, inscribing under the boat:—"*Gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat æquor.*"

not know the locality of St. Petersburg or Washington, were expected to give the names of modern villages occupying the sites of towns mentioned by classical writers, and, week after week, Hawtrey flogged boys for not knowing such places as Ramadan Oglu or Kissovo.[1] Nevertheless, there was less flogging altogether under Hawtrey than there had been under Keate.

It is indeed recorded that on one occasion Hawtrey flogged all the boarders at a dame's house, a feat which might seem to rival his predecessor's performance on a whole division of the School, but on closer enquiry it appears that the house held only twelve boys. Their offence was a boating expedition in summer before early school; but this would have been forgiven by their dame, Mrs. Rishton, if they had not invaded the privacy of her sitting-room, in order to make their exit through the unbarred window.

On the morning of the 13th of May 1836, the day after a boat-race against Westminster, an unusually large number of boys were sent up to the 'Library' to be flogged, but lo, block and birches had alike disappeared! Hawtrey was very indignant, and the whole truth came out before long. A trio of old Etonians, Lord Waterford, Lord Alford, and J. H. Jesse, had been giving a dinner at the *Christopher* to a party of boys after the boat-race, and had resolved to do something remarkable in the evening, before driving back to town. They accordingly effected an entrance into Upper School by removing a panel of one of the great doors at the south end, and then made for the 'Library,' "that scene of terror and punishment, where, as if in mockery, of the culprits below, have been affixed the figures of festive maidens and triumphant heroes."[2] The door was closed, and proved too strong to be forced from without, but the window near it was open. Lord Waterford and Mr. Jesse got out, and, at some peril to their lives, crept along the narrow ledge over the colonnade, and so climbed in at the next window, leaving their companion to cover their retreat. Once in the 'Library,' it was a comparatively easy matter for them to open the door, to carry off the familiar instruments of torture, and to place them in the drag which was waiting below. The block was conveyed to

[1] See an amusing *Vale* by J. H. Arkwright (privately printed).

[2] *Eton Bureau*, p. 4.

London, and for a time formed the official seat of the President of the 'Eton Block Club,' a club for which no one was eligible who had not been flogged three times at school. Two snuff-boxes were made of the wood, with silver mountings, and sent



Statue of Henry VI. in bronze,
by Francis Bird.

to Eton, one to the Provost, and the other to the Head Master. The block is now at Curraghmore.

Soon after this, during the Ascot week of 1837, Mr. Jesse, encouraged by the success of the escapade, carried off the sceptre

from Bird's statue of Henry the Sixth in the middle of the School Yard. This was very differently viewed by the boys, who were indignant at the insult to the memory of the Founder, as well as sorry for the injury to a work of art. The sceptre had been taken to the mess-room of the 1st Battalion of Grenadier Guards at Windsor, and it was found there under a seat on the following morning. The officers, of whom several were old Etonians, lost little time in restoring it to the Provost, deputing one of their number to explain the circumstances, and on their behalf to disclaim any complicity in the proceedings. The offender was treated with great forbearance, being merely required to tender a private apology.

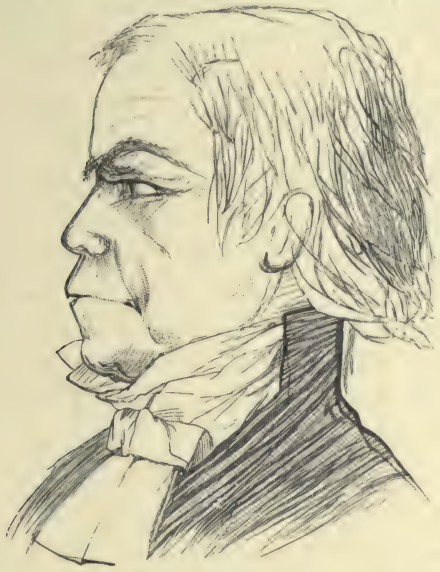
G. W. Money, who was Captain of Montem in 1835, could personate Dr. Hawtrey to perfection. One evening, he went to Horsford's house, accompanied by another Colleger named Long, representing the Head Master's servant, Finmore, and, on pretence of the discovery of some irregularity, ordered the bell to be rung and 'absence' to be called by the Captain of the house. The imposture was not discovered by the boys, but Miss Horsford's suspicions were aroused by the pseudo-Hawtrey's hurry to depart, instead of lingering to say a few polite words to her. Nevertheless, she was beguiled into a promise of secrecy.[1] On another occasion, there was a grand masquerade in Long Chamber, and the Head Master found it necessary to go there in person in order to put an end to the uproar; but the Collegers had so often been taken in that they greeted him with cries of "That won't do, Money. We know *you* well enough!" Several minutes elapsed before they realized their mistake.[2]

In the early part of his administration, Hawtrey had a great deal of trouble year after year on the Fifth of November and following days, when the boys used to indulge in fireworks on a small scale, throwing lighted Greek Grammars about in the School Yard, and letting off squibs behind the Masters as they came into five o'clock school. The measures by which he ordinarily managed to rule the School proved unavailing, and at last, in 1839, he very injudiciously announced that he would

[1] Information of the late Mr. T. Thring.

[2] Cf. *Eton Bureau*, p. 304.

expel any Etonians who should attempt to celebrate the anniversary in the accustomed manner. Two small boys, Farmer and Spottiswoode, the second of whom was destined to attain the highest distinction as a man of science, were caught walking on the Brocas, with squibs in their pockets, and were summarily expelled. This severity was much criticized in London ; the two offenders were welcomed at Harrow ;[1] and the affair somewhat marred Hawtrey's early success. However, he lived down all



Dr. Hawtrey.[2]

temporary unpopularity, and boys and parents alike came to recognize the nobleness of his character. In his second year, the number of names on the School-list was only 444, but in the course of the next ten years he raised it gradually up to the unprecedented total of 777. Mr. Gladstone remembered "the over-boiling" of the Head Master's pleasure, and that "he almost danced for joy," when this figure was reached.[3]

The relations between Masters and boys became more satisfactory as some of the old fictions were given up. One consequence

[1] *Harrow School Register*, p. 124 ; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 376.

[2] From a drawing taken in school by Herbert Herries, lately in the possession of Mr. J. H. Patteson.

[3] Thackeray's *Memoir of Dr. Hawtrey*, p. 102.

of the ridiculous system by which the authorities ignored boating was that boys who had no idea of swimming risked their lives on the river daily, and casualties were not unfrequent. A specially sad case was that of young Angerstein, who was drowned in 1820, near Surly Hall, under the very eyes of his companions, who did not know how to rescue him. In the month of May 1840, directly after Charles F. Montagu had been drowned close to Windsor Bridge, G. A. Selwyn, a private tutor at Eton, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield,[1] and William Evans, the Drawing Master, made an energetic remonstrance against the policy which had been pursued from time immemorial. At their suggestion, boating was specificially recognized as a legitimate amusement, and a stringent rule was made to the effect that no boy should be allowed to set foot in a boat who had not passed an examination in swimming.[2] Bathing-places were established at 'Athens,' Upper Hope, and Cuckoo Weir, and skilled watermen were engaged to give lessons in swimming, and to watch the river. Thenceforth it was impossible for boys to carry guns or forbidden luxuries in their boats, as they had often done before. The Collegers, who had hitherto kept their boats at a wharf in the Lower Shooting Fields, and had been in the habit of rowing to Datchet and the *Bells of Ouseley* were put on the same footing as the Oppidans, and forbidden to go below Romney Lock without special leave. Hawtrey's important pronouncement on the subject of boating was made publicly in Upper School on the 22nd of May 1840. Seven years later, he attended a boat-race on the Thames, for the first time since his own schooldays.[3]

The boat-race against Westminster, to which allusion has already been made, was rowed at Staines in the middle of the summer half of 1836, and was won by the Etonians after several intentional 'fouls.' Both crews were steered by professional watermen.[4] A great number of boys had come over in every describable and indescribable vehicle that could be procured, and

[1] Selwyn was enthusiastic about the Thames, considering it almost a sacred stream. Being once in a punt with an Eton Master, Harry Dupuis, who spat into the water, he exclaimed: "If you must spit, why don't you spit into the punt?"

[2] Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, pp. 46, 47.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 111, 113.

[4] Blake-Humfrey's *Eton Boating Book*, pp. 23, 24.

they drove back through Windsor "holloaing and hurrahing all the way like mad fellows." On their return, they found themselves more than half-an-hour late for 'absence,' and were greeted with the news that they must all answer to their names at one o'clock, in the middle of their playtime, for the next week.[1]

On the 4th of May in the following year, the Westminster crew came in first at Datchet, to the great mortification of William the Fourth, who had been watching the contest with keen interest; he instantly pulled up his carriage window and drove home. He died a few weeks afterwards.[2] According to a contemporary memorandum, "the defeat of the School was generally considered by the Eton boys to have been the immediate cause of the King's fatal illness."[3] There was to have been a race between the rival Eights at Putney in 1838, during the Eton holidays, but, at the last moment, the Westminster authorities managed to detain the boys who were to have rowed. Westminster won in 1842; Eton in 1843. There was no race in the following year. In 1845, the Westminster crew surprised their opponents by appearing in an outrigged boat, fifty-five feet long and about two and a half in the beam, which made it easy for them to win the race.[4] Not to be outdone in this way, the Etonians, in the following year, ordered a very similar boat from Searle of London, and the novel craft excited a good deal of curiosity as it was conveyed on a timber-wagon from Slough to the Brocas.[5] Westminster, however, won the race from Putney to Mortlake. In 1847, both crews rowed in new outrigged boats, sixty-two feet and sixty feet respectively in length. This time the Etonians were successful against their old antagonists, but they were beaten by the Thames Rowing Club in a race for the Gold Cup at the Putney Regatta.[6]

A four-oared race was rowed at Eton between selected representatives of the Dames' and Tutors' houses in 1834, and three

[1] *Life of Rowland Williams*, vol i. p. 26; Parry, p. 110.

[2] *Reminiscences of William Rogers*, pp. 14, 15; Blake-Humfrey, pp. 27, 28; *Sporting Magazine*, new series, vol. xv. p. 138.

[3] Parry, p. 110; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 228.

[4] Blake-Humfrey's *Eton Boating Book*, p. 56; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 140.

[5] Information of the late Mr. G. F. Luttrell.

[6] Blake-Humfrey, p. 64.

years later a similar race was rowed between those boarding on the North and those boarding on the South side of College. Both these races soon became annual, and greater importance was attached to them, as the number of oars in each boat was increased to six, and again, in 1846, to eight.[1] During the summer of the last mentioned year, a few pair-oared outriggers were hired by Etonians ; and Dr. Hawtrey, although assured by the Captain of the Boats that they were not dangerous, sent his butler to the Brocas to make an independent report upon the subject.[2] Punting races, at one time popular, were discontinued after 1851.[3]

> "In most boat races the victory is soon decided ; but in punting accidents will occur which change the features of the race. It was considered the correct style in those days to run the whole length of the punt with your pole, and then back again ; and the result was that eager competitors were apt in their zeal to be carried beyond the end of the punt and plunged in the stream." [4]

Punting was forbidden by Hawtrey, not because of occasional mishaps, but because of the facilities which it afforded for smoking and drinking beer in the back-waters of the Thames.

The formal recognition already accorded to boating was, in 1847, extended to the unpretending game of 'fives,' hitherto played exclusively in the School Yard. At the instigation of Mr. E. H. Pickering and Mr. J. G. Mountain, Dr. Hawtrey laid the foundation-stone of some new fives courts in Trotman's Garden, on the Dorney Road, on the 4th of December in that year, and declared the site to be within 'bounds.' As soon as the ceremony was over, the Lower Master, Richard Okes, stepped forward and delivered a Latin oration, containing many puns and some good-humoured banter on the Head Master's unfamiliarity with athletic sports. Some verses and epigrams in five languages, Greek, Latin, French, German and Italian, by different Assistant Masters, were printed as a memorial of the occasion. It is worthy of observation that the builders of the

[1] Blake-Humfrey, pp. 18, 33, 47, 58, 233, 235.

[2] Information of the late Mr. G. F. Luttrell.

[3] Blake-Humfrey ; Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, p. 117 ; Selwyn's *Eton in 1829–1830*, p. 235.

[4] Stone's *Eton*, pp. 157, 158.

new courts copied, with minute fidelity, the peculiarities of the platform on which the four-handed game of fives was played between two buttresses of the Collegiate Church. "The end of the stone balustrade of the staircase, which forms the 'pepper-box'; the step between the 'upper' and 'lower' courts; the ledges round the walls—are all carefully reproduced, and with the necessary addition of side walls to the lower court, we get the modern fives court," as known to Etonians.[1]

Hockey, which is mentioned by name in 1832, as one of the favourite games in the winter, remained in vogue for some years. It used to be played in a field near the new Sanatorium, but being forbidden by the authorities, it was given up at some unspecified date between September 1847 and October 1850.[2] The peculiar variety of the game of football, which could only be played on a narrow strip of ground adjoining the wall of the Slough Road, continued popular, especially with the Collegers. Since 1841, there is a consecutive record of the matches on St. Andrew's Day between eleven selected Collegers and as many selected Oppidans. Quoits, hoops, and marbles had disappeared in Keate's days, and tops ere long followed them into oblivion.[3] Leaping-poles were specifically proscribed in consequence of an accident.[4]

Cricket matches were played at Lord's every year, in the first week of the summer holidays, against Harrow and against Winchester. On the 2nd of August 1834, Eton was playing against both schools simultaneously, the match against Winchester being begun when there were still six Eton wickets to go down in the match against Harrow. The results were curious; for whereas Winchester beat Harrow, and Harrow beat Eton, Eton in its turn beat Winchester. Each of the three schools therefore won a match and lost another. In the match of 1836 between Eton and Winchester, no less than a hundred 'wides' were bowled, and the whole number of 'extras' formed about a third of the total scores. The match against Harrow in 1841 deserves notice on account of Emilius Bayley's score of 152 runs, which

[1] Hornby's *Walks round about Eton*, p. 70.

[2] *Eton College Magazine*, pp. 221, 252, 282; *Eton Bureau*, pp. 45, 84; Letters from the Hon. Robert Marsham.

[3] *Eton College Magazine*, pp. 218, 285.

[4] Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 302.

until 1904 remained the largest ever obtained in this series of contests. The Harrow batsmen put together only 65 runs in the first innings and 25 in the second, and, even with the addition of 43 'extras,' fell short of his score by 19 runs. Another remarkable match was that of 1845, when Eton obtained 261 runs against 32 and 55. The match of that year against Winchester ended in an absolute tie, not due to any limitation of time. In 1847, E. W. Blore, bowling against Harrow, took 15 out of 20 wickets, and J. Aitken hit two consecutive balls for six and seven runs apiece, there being then no artificial 'boundaries' at Lord's.[1]

The tyrannical system under which lower boys were made to 'fag' at cricket was finally abolished in the early part of Hawtrey's reign.

Mr. Green, who was at Eton from 1843 to 1851, says :—

> "In play dress there was not the liberty or the variety of the present day. The boys generally had no distinctive play dress ; only the great ones, *e.g.* the eleven in cricket, issued forth fully equipped in flannels, &c. The Boats had indeed their regular uniforms ; and regular wet-bobs had boating jackets, but they kept them in rooms just out of bounds, and donned and doffed them there. Ordinarily for cricket your younger boy (starting indeed with straw hat) when he came to the ground threw off jacket and waistcoat and there he was. . . . In the football season, however, we dressed completely for football, and Collegers' gowns were a convenient wrap to and from the field. Collegers, be it noted, then always wore their gowns about College ; left them, when going beyond bounds, at certain established places on the limits." [2]

Etonian cricketers of the period gradually discarded their tall hats in favour of shady straw hats ; but about sixty years ago the Wykehamists used to appear at Lord's in tall white beavers, survivals of a time when scarcely any variety in head-gear was permissible.[3] About the same time, an unwritten, though lasting,

[1] Wisden's *Public School Matches*, *passim*. Eton won the matches against Harrow in 1835, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847 and 1850 ; and against Winchester in 1834, 1835, 1836, 1839, 1841, 1842, 1844, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849 and 1850.

[2] Green's *Memories of Eton and King's*, pp. 53, 54 ; Joel's *Reminiscences*, p. 19.

[3] Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 271 ; Sir Algernon West's *Recollections*, vol. i. p. 50.

law came into operation with regard to ordinary costume, that the bigger boys should wear black coats and white ties, and the smaller boys, black jackets and black sailors' knots. The shape of the coats and the style of the ties have of course altered much from time to time.

Reverting for a moment to cricket, it should be noted that the



Fellows' Pond and Sheep Bridge.

Lower Shooting Fields were considerably enlarged in 1840, by the demolition of a house and a wharf which had proved very useful in bygone days, when goods were mostly conveyed to Eton by water.

In 1846, the Eton Society migrated from Mrs. Hatton's house to a room in the yard of the former *Christopher* Inn, and thereby lost the doubtful advantages of close proximity to an

eating-house. This change gave rise to a clever parody on Byron's *Maid of Athens*, beginning :—

> "Maid of Hatton's! ere we part,
> Warm me one more currant-tart;
> Or, since that is left undressed,
> Give no change, but keep the rest.
> Hark! a cheer before we go,
> *βοὴ κόρῃ ἀγάμῳ*!" [1]

The new rooms being in want of furniture, the Society launched out into lavish expenditure, and thereby incurred a large debt, which a sinking-fund did not materially reduce. By 1850, the creditors had become clamorous, and the institution was saved from insolvency only by the generous help of old members. R. E. Welby, the 'chairman' who canvassed them one by one, and thus guided the Society safely through a serious financial crisis, afterwards became Secretary to the Treasury.

There were several performances of amateur theatricals in Long Chamber during Hawtrey's time, but the young actors seldom aspired to more than farces and burlesques.[2] William Evans, having an unusually large dining-room in his house in Keate's Lane, used to allow his boarders to act there, with some assistance from without, and the Head Master occasionally honoured their performances with his presence.[3] In April 1848, *His Last Legs*, *Bombastes Furioso*, and *Box and Cox*, were produced at Turnock's Rooms in the High Street, under the management of A. D. Coleridge and F. Tarver.

The magazines of the period were the *Eton Classical Casket* of 1840, edited by A. F. Westmacott and H. Kirwan, and the *Eton School Magazine* of 1847 and the following year. The *Eton Bureau* of 1842 can scarcely be accounted a school magazine, as the editor, J. F. Mackarness, was an undergraduate of Merton College, and most of the contributors were old Etonians at Oxford or Cambridge.[4]

[1] "Barbaro-Etonian expression of tenderness .... It means 'one cheer for the unmarried lady.'" *Eton School Magazine*, p. 155.

[2] Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, 76—79.

[3] Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, p. 51.

[4] C. W. Johnson (Furse), W. Johnson (Cory), W. B. Marriott, H. A. Simonds, H. J. Coleridge, G. H. Money, and J. D. Coleridge. *Life of Lord Coleridge*, vol. i. pp. 73, 105–110.

In 1841, the boys had an extra week's holiday in honour of the 400th anniversary of the foundation of the College, erroneously supposed to have taken place in 1441,[1] and there was a greater gathering than usual at the yearly dinner of old Etonians in London. The Marquess Wellesley was invited to preside, but he excused himself on the score of his great age, and Lord Denman took the chair instead.[2] Mr. Gladstone retained a vivid recollection of a scene at one of these anniversaries :—

> "In those days at public dinners, cheering was marked by gradations. As the Queen was suspected of sympathy with the Liberal government of Lord Melbourne which advised her, the toast of the Sovereign was naturally received with a moderate amount of acclamation, decently and thriftily doled out. On the other hand, the Queen Dowager either was, or was believed to be, Conservative ; and her health consequently figured as the toast of the evening, and drew forth, as a matter of course, by far its loudest acclamations."

The vast majority of those present had, Mr. Gladstone says, been flogged by Dr. Keate, and had duly professed to hate him.

> "But upon this occasion, when his name had been mentioned, the scene was indescribable. Queen and Queen Dowager alike vanished into insignificance. The roar of cheering had a beginning, but never knew satiety or end. Like the huge waves at Biarritz, the floods of cheering continually recommenced ; the whole process was such that we seemed all to have lost our self-possession and to be hardly able to keep our seats. When at length it became possible, Keate rose ; that is to say, his head was projected slightly over the heads of his two neighbours. He struggled to speak. I will not say I heard every syllable, for there were no syllables ; speak he could not. He tried in vain to mumble a word or two, but wholly failed, recommenced the vain struggle, and sat down.

[1] The Charter of Foundation is dated 11 October, 19 Henry VI., which was certainly 11 October 1440. Yet the Royal Commissioners of 1861, the authors of the *Annals of Windsor*, and even the author of *Etoniana*, give the date of the Charter as 1441 ; and this latter year is quoted in most books as the date of the foundation. Again, it has often been stated that the foundation-stone of the Church was laid on the 3rd of July 1441, simply because the Building Accounts begin on that day.

[2] Arnould's *Memoir of Lord Denman*, vol. ii. pp. 127–9.

It was certainly one of the most moving spectacles that in my whole life I have witnessed."[1]

Some seven years previously, William the Fourth had presented to the College a large silver-gilt model of the Chapel, made by Bridge of Ludgate Hill, to serve as an ornament at these dinners and on other festive occasions.[2]

William the Fourth was very popular at Eton. In one of the best of the annual addresses delivered before him in Upper School, George Smythe, the hero of Disraeli's *Coningsby*, greeted him with genuine enthusiasm :—

"Thou (like thy Sire) on us art pleased to bend
The gracious looks of Patron—Father—Friend,
Till in thy cheering smile consoled we see
Another George—our loved—our lost, in thee."

The Queen, too, received her due meed of praise :—

"Inspired by thee, oh, long may England's fair
Look to the throne, and find example there ;
And copying thee, and thus resistless made,
Still reign o'er subject hearts, like Adelaide."[3]

In May 1834, the sailor King invited all the boys to witness the launch of a miniature frigate at Virginia Water ; and when he returned to Windsor the next year, after an absence of some months, about four hundred of them went up to the Long Walk to meet him, and ran along beside his carriage up to the Castle, cheering all the way.[4] His last appearance in public was at the Eton and Westminster boat-race of 1837, already noticed.[5] On the day following his death, not a wicket was pitched in the Playing Fields; not a boat went up the river.

The grandest illuminations ever known at Eton were those which took place on the occasion of the marriage of Queen Victoria, in February 1840. A huge structure, 60 feet wide and 30 feet high, hung with upwards of 5000 lamps, was erected in the wide space opposite the entrance of Weston's Yard, but by a strange incongruity the design selected was that of a misshapen

[1] Morley's *Life*, vol. i. pp. 45, 46. The writer gives the date as '1840' and mentions Lord Morpeth as the chairman, but confounds the dinner with the more important one of 1841.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1834.

[3] *Eton Addresses.*

[4] *Life of Rowland Williams*, vol. i. pp. 12, 19.

[5] Page 485 above.

Grecian temple surmounted by the royal arms, with flags cutting through the top of the pediment. Another temporary structure covered with laurel, and hung with lamps, spanned the road opposite to the *Christopher*. The School Yard and the western front of the Upper School were also brilliantly lighted up.[1]

The King of Prussia visited the College in 1842, and remarked on the fact that its foundation was as nearly as possible coeval with the invention of movable types in printing. Perhaps it was on this account that he presented to the Eton Library one of the two sumptuous copies of the *Niebelungen* which were printed on vellum, in honour of the fourth centenary of Gutenberg, the other copy being reserved for the Library at Berlin.[2] Louis Philippe also came to Eton when he was in England in October 1844, accompanied by the Queen and Prince Albert.[3] The Duke of Wellington, who was in attendance on the royal party, happened to lag behind in the School Yard, and received an unexpected ovation, masters and boys alike waving their hats and cheering the great Etonian warrior with all their might.[4]

The Etonian custom, encouraged by William the Fourth, of "bawling at the royal carriage," whenever it passed the College on its way to Slough or Windsor, is said to have considerably astonished the decorous Prince Albert, before he was told that the boys claimed a "traditionary privilege" in this respect.[5] When the Pasha of Egypt drove through Eton during Ascot week in 1846, the boys cheered him loudly; but he sat still, resting his chin on the door of the carriage, and staring at them with true oriental impassiveness. Four months later, the Princess of Prussia was somewhat frightened by the demonstrations with which she was received at Eton, a number of boys

[1] Grey's *Early Years of the Prince Consort*, p. 465; Yonge's *Life of Bishop Patteson*, vol. i. p. 23. A lithograph of the Greek temple was published by Day & Haghe.

[2] "To Eton School, the guardian of the hope of the rising generation, the promoter of the old Saxon intellect, this hero-poem of the German people, and memorial of the jubilee of a German invention, is presented in memory of his visit in January 1842, and in gratitude for his affectionate reception, by Frederick William, King of Prussia, Berlin, 18 June 1844."

[3] A French account of Eton written in connexion with this visit is preserved as a literary curiosity, on account of its errors, in Knight's *Pictorial Half-hours*, vol. iv. p. 127.

[4] Yonge's *Life of Bishop Patteson*, vol. i. pp. 43, 44.

[5] Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, pp. 25, 27.

running alongside the carriage and cheering lustily all the way to Windsor Castle.[1] In the large *Phraseological Dictionary* compiled by a former French Master at Eton, the following occurs, under the word 'shout':—"*Je n'ai jamais entendu rien qui puisse se comparer aux vivats des élèves d'Eton.*"[2]

In 1842, the Duke of Wellington came to Eton to attend the funeral of his elder brother, who was buried with great pomp in the Collegiate Church. During a long and eventful life, the Marquess Wellesley had retained the warmest love for the scene of his early triumphs, and, a short time before his death, he had caused six 'willows of Babylon' to be planted by the waterside in the Lower Shooting Fields, soon after the removal of the wharf. It was by his express desire that he was buried at Eton, and he composed his own epitaph :—

"*Fortunæ rerumque vagis exercitus undis,*
*In gremium redeo serus, Etona, tuum.*
*Magna sequi, et summæ mirari culmina famæ,*
*Et purum antiquæ lucis adire jubar,*
*Auspice te didici puer, atque in limine vitæ*
*Ingenuas veræ laudis amare vias.*
*Si qua meum vitæ decursu gloria nomen*
*Auxerit, aut si quis nobilitarit honos,*
*Muneris, Alma, tui est. Altrix da terra sepulchrum,*
*Supremam lacrymam da, memoremque mei.*"[3]

The following translation is by another Etonian statesman, the fourteenth Earl of Derby :—

"Long tost on Fortune's waves, I come to rest,
Eton, once more on thy maternal breast.
On loftiest deeds to fix the aspiring gaze,
To seek the purer lights of ancient days,
To love the simple paths of manly truth,—
These were thy lessons to my opening youth.
If on my later life some glory shine,
Some honours grace my name, the meed is thine.
My boyhood's nurse, my aged dust receive,
And one last tear of kind remembrance give!"

[1] Letters from the Hon. Robert Marsham.

[2] Tarver, quoted by Coleridge, p. 27.

[3] *Annual Register*, vol. lxxxiv. pp. 159, 160, 518; *Memoir of the Rev. F. Hodgson*, vol. ii. p. 271; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, pp. 214, 216, 224, 225.




## ETON MONTEM.

### 1561—1847.

LITTLE less than seventy years have elapsed since the last celebration of the famous 'Eton Montem,' and the number of persons who can remember it is now very small. A ceremony so ancient and so singular has naturally attracted the notice of curious antiquaries, but their speculations as to its origin and meaning are more ingenious than convincing. A theory once popular sought to connect the 'Captain of Montem' with the proscribed Boy-Bishop of the middle ages, the Salt-bearers with the Deacons, and the banner with the pastoral-staff,[1] although it is certain that in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, the yearly procession of Etonians *ad Montem* took place a full month later than the day on which, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, the Boy-Bishop used to be stripped of his dignities. William Malim makes separate mention of the two anniversaries in his *Consuetudinarium*.[2]

According to the latest theory, "the origin of 'Montem' is to be found in 'Hills' at Winchester."[3] Except in name, however,

[1] Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (ed. 1813), vol. i. p. 338.

[2] See pages 146, 152, 153 above.

[3] *V. C. H., Buckinghamshire*, vol. ii. p. 192. Mr. Leach would have us believe that the Playing Fields were not available for games until the reign of Henry VIII., and that the annual procession to Salt Hill in the reign of Elizabeth was a memorial of

there was very little resemblance between the daily procession of Wykehamists to their breezy playground on St. Catherine's Hill and the longer annual march of Etonians to an insignificant mound called Salt Hill, near Slough.

Leaving the realm of conjecture, we read as follows in Malim's treatise of 1561 :—

> "About the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, at nine o'clock on a day chosen by the Master, the boys go to the Hill (*ad montem*), in the customary manner in which they go to gather nuts in the month of September. The Hill is a sacred spot in the boyish religion of Etonians : on account of the beauty of the country, the charm of the greensward, the coolness of the shade, the harmonious song of the birds, they dedicate the retreat to Apollo and the Muses, they celebrate it in verses, they call it Tempe, and they extol it above Helicon. Here the novices, or freshmen, who have not yet manfully and stoutly stood up to the lash for a whole year in the Etonian ranks, are first seasoned with salt, and then deftly portrayed in little verses having as much wit (*salem*) and humour as possible. Then they make epigrams on the freshmen, vying with one another in pleasantry and jest. They may say whatever comes uppermost, provided it be in Latin, courteously expressed, and free from offensive buffoonery. Finally they bedew their faces and cheeks with salt tears, and then at last are initiated into the rites of veterans. Ovations follow, and little triumphs, and the novices rejoice in good earnest that their toils are ended and that they are admitted into the fellowship of such merry fellow-soldiers. When all is over, the boys return about five o'clock,[1] and after supper play until eight."

This is the earliest account of Montem, and in it we find at least four of the features which characterized the ceremony in the nineteenth century, that is to say, the procession to Salt Hill, the affectation of military discipline,[2] the exaction of some sort of tribute from freshmen, and a constant allusion to salt.

the time when the boys used to march thither daily—some three miles altogether. In point of fact the site of the Playing Fields was conveyed to the College as far back as 1443, and the Founder directed that it should be enclosed with a wall.

[1] "*Ad horam quintam.*" At the end of January, sunset was about 4.45 p.m.

[2] This is not so clear in a translation as in the Latin, where we find several words and phrases connected with warfare, as—"*ad verbera steterunt*," "*in acie Etonensi*," "*veterani*," "*ovationes et parvi triumphi*," "*commilitones.*"

From the remotest times, salt has borne a mystic sense, and, without entering upon the history of its symbolism, it may be remarked that in the middle ages, salt was used in baptism, the sacrament by which candidates were admitted into the privileges of the Christian Church. Hence, probably, the origin of its use in the rites by which novices were admitted into the privileges of Eton freemasonry.[1] We have no means of ascertaining the exact date at which these rites were discontinued ; but in the middle of the eighteenth century real salt was still employed at Eton Montem, a pinch of it being presented to all strangers who gave money towards the expenses of the day. It has been very ingeniously suggested that this was intended to symbolize the admission, for the time being, to these festivities, of those who had duly paid their footing.[2] However this may be, it seems clear that when the more business-like plan was adopted of giving tickets rather than salt in exchange for contributions, the money thus received was in its turn called 'salt.' In other words, the traditional cry—"Salt, Salt," of the young toll-gatherers, which in modern times meant "Give us salt (money)," was originally intended to mean "We will give you salt in exchange for your money."

Roger Huggett, one of the Conducts, thus describes the practice of his own day, in the middle of the eighteenth century :—

> "Two of the scholars called Salt-bearers, dressed in white, with a handkerchief of salt in their hands, and attended each with some sturdy young fellow hired for the occasion, go round the College and through the town, and from thence up into the highroad, and offering salt to all, but scarce leaving it to their choice whether they will give or not ; for money they will have, if possible, and that even from servants."

That the claim of a right to enforce payment was of long standing is shown by the audacity of the Salt-bearers in stopping the carriage of William the Third, to the great surprise of the Dutch Guards, who took them for highwaymen and would have cut them down if the King had not interfered.[3]

[1] See Appendix B, on Rites of Initiation at Eton.

[2] Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 151.

[3] The authority for this statement is a tradition in the Hawtrey family, which was seldom without a representative at Eton for upwards of two centuries.

There is a still more emphatic statement of the claim in a magazine published in 1712 :—

"When Boys at *Eton* once a Year
In Military Pomp appear,
He who just trembled at the Rod
Treads it a *Heroe*, talks a *God*,
And in an instant can create
A *Dozen Officers* of State.
His little Legion All assail,
Arrest without Release, or Bail ;
Each passing Traveller must halt,
Must pay the *Tax*, and eat the *Salt*.
You don't love *Salt* you say—and storm—
Look o' these *Staves*, Sir—and *conform*." [1]

At this period, Montem was still celebrated once a year, but by the middle of the eighteenth century the observance of the festival had become less regular, a winter, or even two winters, being often allowed to pass without any procession of Etonians to Salt Hill. Richard Cust, a Colleger, writes thus on the 3rd of February 1745 to a brother, who had, at very short notice, procured a uniform for him in London :—

"It was never Mr. Cook's intention to let us have a Montem this year, as being but the second, though I cannot tell you why. But Dr. Graham, having some acquaintance with Horace Walpole, wrote to him, who got it granted of the Provost, so that we did not know of it till the Wednesday before it was to be. . . . As I am but 5th boy of the 5th Form, I had no thoughts of being an officer. But the Captain, perceiving there were not boys enough of a right size, desired me to dress, but this did not happen till Thursday night, too late to send you a letter by that post."

With regard to Montem day itself, the boy says :—

"At 6, I rose and went to my Dame's to dress me. The cloaths, after having the waste-coat taken up a little, fitted me exactly, and tho' they did not answer my expectations in finiry, did very well for the post I was in, which I will presently tell you.

"About 8 o'clock, I went into the School Yard, and to my

[1] *The Tunbridge Miscellany*, 1712, p. 29.

great sorrow perceived it to look very cloudy and to rain a little. At 9, the Captain, finding it to clear up a little, was resolved to lose no time, but set forward immediateley to the *Windmill*, where I marched in the capacity of a Corporal, as stiff as a broomstick, for I am sure I never went so upright these seven years. The remainder of the day turned out very pleasant.

"After dinner we marched back to absence at the Hill, when Mr. Cook ordered Corporal Cust and his companion to take care and put the boys in order, after which noble exploit we went home, and I for my part, with the little rest I had the night before and weight of the holbert I bore the whole day, was as well tired as ever I was in my life."

From this letter it appears, firstly, that the Captain of the School had no right to demand a celebration of Montem, and, secondly, that very few of the boys required any special costume for the occasion. On the other hand, the date of the festival, formerly left to the discretion of the Schoolmaster, was at this period definitely fixed for the first Tuesday in Hilary term, that is to say the first Tuesday after the 23rd of January. An important change was made in 1759, by the postponement of Montem until the Tuesday in Whitsun week, which continued to be the date of the ceremony until its abolition.[1] Dr. Jonathan Davies remembered a year in which it had been necessary to cut a path *ad montem* through deep snow; and the Captain of 1759, Benjamin Heath, was amply justified in saying :—

"*Lætior æstivo tempore pompa nitet.*"[2]

Two years later, the next Captain of Montem, David Stevenson, expressed himself yet more clearly in lines addressed to the sacred mount :—

"*Antehac brumali sonuerunt sidere nimbi,*
*Sæpe tuum texit cana pruina jugum,*
*Sæpe nives clausere viam, vel turbidus imber,*
*Aut vanam irati spem rapuere Noti.*
*Nunc levis aura favet, nunc formosissimus annus,*
*Surgit et e gremio fertilis herba tuo.*"[3]

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4839, f. 85.

[2] *Musæ Etonenses* (1795), vol. i. p. 60.

[3] MS. book belonging to Sir Willoughby Jones. Nevertheless, in 1775, the proceedings at Salt Hill

In 1775, a definite rule was made that the interruption of the ordinary routine of the School, caused by a celebration of Montem, should be tolerated only once in three years.

The glories of Salt Hill have often been extolled in Latin, for on the day preceding the observance of Montem, the senior Colleger had to present to the Head Master a copy of verses, *Pro more et monte*, which may be regarded as the quasi-feudal service by the performance of which he, as Captain of the School, enjoyed the right of being 'Captain of Montem.' To attain this office has been the highest ambition of many a Colleger, partly on account of the honour conferred thereby, partly on account of the pecuniary advantages resulting from it. As far back as 1730, we find William Cooke, the Captain, writing :—

"*Aureus ut spero Mons erit ille mihi.*"[1]

This is more explicitly stated in a curious notice in the *Public Advertiser* of 23 May 1759, the first year in which Montem was celebrated at Whitsuntide :—

> "On Tuesday the 5th of June, the young gentlemen of Eton College will proceed according to ancient ceremony *ad montem*, under the direction of Mr. Heath, the senior scholar, a gentleman equally respected for his good behaviour and abilities ; and it is hoped that the friends of that Royal Foundation will honour the procession with their company, as the advantages arising from the day will fall into such worthy and deserving hands."[2]

Yet the appointment depended largely on chance. It might at first sight appear that the rule by which the senior Colleger became 'Captain of Montem' was simple enough, but it sometimes happened that the boy who stood first on the School-list at the beginning of the summer lost his claim through no fault of his own ; for in the event of a death or resignation among the seventy members of King's College, he was certain to be ordered to repair to Cambridge, to fill the vacant place.[3] A grace of

were interrupted by "the most remarkable storm of hail and rain ever remembered in that part of the country."—*Annual Register*, vol. xviii. p. 128.

[1] *Musæ Etonenses*, vol. ii. p. 114.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, vol. xii. p. 377.

[3] The summons was addressed simply to "the Captain of Eton College," *History of the Hawtrey Family*, vol. i. p. 190.

twenty days only was allowed, and if it expired on the very eve of Montem Day, the right of being Captain lapsed to the next Colleger on the list. Thus the two persons most interested in the matter were kept in suspense until the close of the twentieth day before Tuesday in Whitsun-week. In the nineteenth century, they generally protected themselves to some extent by entering into a mutual agreement that whichever of them should become Captain of Montem should pay 50*l.* to the other.[1] On the night of the critical day, all the Collegers sat up later than usual in Long Chamber, awaiting the possible arrival of a messenger from Cambridge. Just before midnight, they all took up their appointed places. Some raised the ends of their beds high in the air; others stood by the windows; and as the clock in Lupton's Tower gave out the last stroke of twelve, they slammed the heavy wooden shutters, and dropped the beds on the floor with a crash that could be heard in distant Windsor. Then arose a deafening shout of "Montem sure!" The right of being 'Captain of Montem' vested absolutely in the senior Colleger, and feasting and revelry were prolonged into the small hours of the morning.[2]

From that time forward, the boys occupied themselves in making preparations for Montem, such as ordering, and trying on, the gorgeous clothes in which they were to appear, and practising their respective parts. The 'tasting-dinners' given at Salt Hill by the Captain to the Sixth Form formed a very objectionable part of the system in the nineteenth century. On the eventful day, twelve boys whose duty it was to assist the Salt-bearers by collecting money on different highroads, started at dawn, some on foot and some in gigs, for their respective stations. Two were generally posted at Maidenhead Bridge, two at Windsor Bridge, two at Datchet Bridge, two at Colnbrook, one at Iver, one at Gerard's Cross, one at Slough, and one at Salt Hill. Those who were fortunate obtained breakfast at country houses in the neighbourhood, such as Dropmore. Whichever of them had 'the long run' to Gerard's Cross, was absent nearly

[1] *Eton of Old*, p. 9; Parkin's *Life of Edward Thring*, vol. i. p. 35.

[2] *Eton of Old*, p. 8; Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 153; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 63.

the whole day.[1] These twelve Servitors, or Runners, as they were commonly styled, were the lower Collegers in the Sixth Form, and certain Collegers in Upper Division, all of them exercising in the county of Buckingham powers analogous to those exercised in Eton itself by the Salt-bearers, and, like them, wearing fancy costumes. They carried satin money-bags and painted staves with mushroom-shaped tops on which were



A Salt-bearer.[2]

inscribed Latin or Greek texts, such as "*Parcentes ego dexteras odi*," "*Quando ita majores*," "*Nullum jus sine sale*," and "Ἐξ ἁλὸς ἄγρα." As receipts for the money begged, or exacted, from everybody they met, they gave little printed tickets bearing the date of the year and an explanatory motto, "*Mos pro lege*" and "*Pro more et monte*," being used at alternate celebrations of the festival. Each of them was accompanied by a hired attendant, who was not unfrequently armed with pistols, to protect the 'salt' from real highwaymen. Rowland Williams, who was one of the Runners on the 9th of June 1835, wrote shortly after-

[1] Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 330.

[2] From a drawing by S. H. Grimm in the British Museum.

wards :—"We got saluted by beggars on Montem Day as brothers of the profession. Working at Colnbrook from 7 A.M. to noon, we gathered 77*l.*"[1] The two Salt-bearers, that is to say a Sixth Form Colleger and the Captain of the Oppidans, collected money in Eton, and always obtained liberal contributions from members of the royal family. George the Third and Queen Charlotte used to give fifty guineas apiece, and in later times there were single gifts of double that sum. The total amount collected on the day varied from 450*l.* to 1270*l.*, the average at the last few Montems being about 1000*l.*

All the money collected was given to the Captain, to help him in his university career; but the expenses of the day, which devolved on him, were always great. In addition to heavy bills for entertainments at Salt Hill and at Eton, he had to pay the Salt-bearers, Runners, and others, for the trouble they had taken on his behalf; and there were many minor items which diminished the profits. One of the smallest customary charges was one of the most characteristic—the Captain had to provide new supper-tables for Lower Chamber, the accumulated filth rendering them intolerable after three years' use. In 1784, 'Captain' Dyson's total expenses amounted to about 205*l.* as against about 451*l.* collected;[2] in 1841, the 'salt' brought in about 1269*l.*, out of which the Captain had to settle professional bills to the extent of about 640*l.*, and to make other considerable payments to certain of his schoolfellows. Lavish as were the expenses in 1841, it is at least satisfactory to note that Edward Thring had sufficient strength of character to withstand temptations which proved too strong for several Captains of Montem, mere boys suddenly enriched and surrounded by parasites.[3]

[1] *Life of Rowland Williams*, vol. i. pp. 20–21.

[2] The following items occur in the account :—"To salt-bearers, 21*l.*; to twelve servitors, 18*l.* 18*s.*; to marshal, 5*l.* 5*s.*; to steward, 3*l.* 3*s.*; eight musicians, 8*l.* 8*s.*; drums and fifes, 12th Regiment, 4*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*; drums and fifes, Guards, 8*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*; twelve pole-men, 3*s.* 6*d.* each, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Binfield, for painting flag and truncheon, 2*l.* 2*s.*; to Kendall for supper, 25*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; claret from London, 9*l.*; 5½ yards of crimsom silk, ½ yard of blue silk, and white riband for flag, 2*l.* 14*s.*; Pitt and March for salt-bearers' men's dresses, 4*l.* 11*s.*; Larder for dinner, etc. 23*l.* 19*s.*; Mr. March for Salt Hill expenses, 45*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*"

[3] Many details are given in Parkin's *Life of Edward Thring*, vol. i. pp. 29–39; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, pp. 319–345.

The programme of Montem Day varied slightly on different occasions, but the main incidents were always alike in comparatively recent times. The Captain gave a great breakfast in Hall to the members of the Sixth and Fifth Forms, after which 'absence' was called in the School Yard. All the boys wore gala dresses, and held a titular rank depending upon their position in school. The senior King's Scholar, as has already been mentioned, was Captain, and the next six King's Scholars arranged among themselves which of them should act as College Salt-bearer, Marshal, Ensign, Lieutenant, Serjeant-Major, and Steward. The remaining King's Scholars in the Sixth Form were either Serjeants or Runners. The Captain of the Oppidans was always a Salt-bearer, and the next to him on the School-list was Colonel. In the nineteenth century, the other Oppidans in the Sixth Form ranked as Serjeants, and those in the Fifth Form as Corporals. All who bore military titles figured in red tail-coats, with sash and sword, white trousers, cocked hats with white feathers, and regimental boots, with the distinctive details of uniform betokening their titular rank. The Steward wore the ordinary full dress of the period. The lower boys and most of the Fifth Form Collegers (who by a curious anomaly occupied a lower rank than Oppidans of the same standing in school) wore blue coats with brass buttons, and white waistcoats and trousers, and carried thin white poles, from which they derived the name of Polemen. The trousers and boots were first substituted for knee-breeches, silk stockings and pumps, in 1826.[1] Fifteen years later, a rule was made that the Collegers should wear the uniform of lieutenants in the Royal Navy.[2]

In the early part of the eighteenth century, the number of officers bearing military titles was apparently smaller, halberts were carried instead of swords, and the rest of the boys used to hire theatrical dresses from *costumiers* in London, but in Dr. Barnard's time a rule was made by which only the two Salt-bearers, the twelve Servitors or Runners, and a limited number of 'Servants,' were allowed to indulge their own tastes, or those of their masters, in the matter of costume. These Servants

[1] Gaskell's *Records of an Eton Schoolboy* (privately printed), p. 14.

[2] *Berkshire Chronicle*, 8 May 1841.

were Oppidans in the Remove or Fourth Form, selected from such as could afford a costly dress and were likely to look well in it, to wait on the principal officers and to follow them in the procession. It was a matter of faith with Etonians of 1841 that Henry Smyth Pigott, the Oppidan Salt-bearer of that year, wore the family diamonds, to embellish his costume as a Spanish officer of the olden time."[1]

As soon as 'absence' had been called, the boys fell into their appointed order, and marched twice round the School Yard, and thence into Weston's Yard, where the Ensign waved the great emblazoned flag, a feat requiring many previous rehearsals.[2] Then the Corporals drew their swords, and cut the staves of the Polemen asunder. After this, they all proceeded through the Playing Fields and Shooting Fields to Salt Hill in a long line, accompanied by two or three regimental bands.[3] Thither also went the numerous visitors who had come from all parts of England to witness a ceremony which has been aptly called a "Protestant Carnival."[4] Sheridan alludes to people driving to Salt Hill "to see the Montem," armed with loaded pistols, wherewith to defend themselves against highwaymen.[5]

George the Third was present at almost every celebration of Eton Montem during the brighter years of his long reign; sometimes, as in 1778, driving Queen Charlotte in an unpretending chaise;[6] sometimes, as in 1796 and 1799, riding on horseback, and personally marshalling the crowd. The Duke of Cumberland was one of the royal party in 1799, and rode about with so

[1] Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 341.

[2] In and after 1832, the procession went three times round the School Yard, the flag being waved there instead of in Weston's Yard.

[3] The order of procession was generally more or less as follows:—Marshal followed by six Servants, first Band of musicians, Captain followed by eight Servants, Serjeant-Major followed by two Servants, twelve Serjeants, two and two, each followed by a Servant, Colonel followed by six Servants and four Polemen, Corporals, two and two followed by two Polemen apiece, second Band of musicians, Ensign with flag, followed by six Servants, and four Polemen, Corporals, two and two, followed by one or two Polemen apiece, Lieutenant followed by four Servants, Salt-bearers, twelve Servitors or Runners, Steward followed by a Poleman. The number of servants allotted to the superior officers varied from time to time.

[4] Disraeli's *Coningsby*, chap. xi.

[5] *School for Scandal*, act v. sc. 2.

[6] Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 338, 346.

little formality that nobody could have guessed his exalted station. A boy named Beckett actually said to him, "I should recommend you, my friend, not to let your horse tread upon *me*."[1] George the Fourth, William the Fourth, and Queen Victoria, successively graced the Eton triennial festival with their presence.

On arriving at Salt Hill, the Ensign waved the flag for the second time, at the top of the Mount, and with this the ceremony ended at each of the last twenty-two celebrations of Montem. In earlier times, two of the Collegers, dressed to represent a Parson and a Clerk, used, immediately after the waving of the flag, to gabble some mock prayers in Latin. They were of course restricted to black clothes, but even these admitted of considerable variety; and on some occasions the Parson caused a great deal of amusement by appearing in the antiquated clerical costume of a past generation, or in that of a high dignitary of the Church, with cassock and bands, bushy wig and broad beaver, amusement which reached its height when, according to immemorial custom, he proceeded to kick the Clerk from the top of the hill to the bottom.[2] Queen Charlotte was so much shocked at witnessing this performance in 1778, that, at her request, it was never repeated, and the Parson and Clerk disappeared from the Montem procession, being relegated to Long Chamber, where, on 'Montem-sure-night,' the Clerk, the dirtiest of the lower boys, was made to stand up on one shoulder of the fireplace, and was pelted with bread or anything else, harder or softer, that came to hand.[3]

'Absence' was called at Salt Hill in the middle of the day, after which the royal party usually returned to Windsor, and the visitors and the boys adjourned to the two local inns, the *Windmill* and the *Castle*, to dine. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the Head Master entertained the Assistant Masters and his own friends, and the Captain gave a dinner (cooked in the College kitchen) to the Fifth and Sixth Forms, and to any lower boys who chose to pay 10*s*. 6*d*. for it, and

[1] *Annual Register*, vol. xxxviii. p. 20; Hone's *Year Book*.

[2] Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 147.

[3] *Historical MSS. Commission*, *Fifteenth Report*, Appendix vi. p. 492; *Montem Lists*, *1773–1832*.



GEORGE III. AND QUEEN CHARLOTTE AT ETON MONTEM, A.D. 1778,
*from a drawing by S. H. Grimm in the British Museum.*

2*s*. 6*d*. for 'salt money.' It was then customary for every boy to pay at least a shilling for salt; and a special tax called 'recent-money' was also levied on all who had not completed their first year at Eton.[1] Con O'Neil, son of the Earl of Tyrone, received a shilling "upon salting day" in 1617.[2] In later times, these payments were discontinued, and the entertainments at Salt Hill proved a source of great expense to the Captain, especially when there was an unusual breakage of plates and glasses. After dinner, a general promenade took place in the gardens of the inns, where a wholesale destruction was quickly effected. Originating in a desire to injure some unpopular Captain by swelling the bills against him, this wanton practice was a regular feature of Montem in its later phases.[3]

> "The boys along the garden strayed,
> With short curved dirk high brandished
> Smote off the towering onion's head,
> And made e'en doughty cabbage feel
> The vengeance of their polished steel."

Albert Smith thus describes the childish proceedings of Etonians attired as military officers, in 1841 :—

> "The first onset took place against a hollow square of cabbages, which they charged as furiously as did the Cuirassiers against our own human parallelograms at Waterloo, and in two minutes nothing but stumps remained. Potatoes, lettuces and asparagus followed, without appeasing their fury; on the contrary the taste of sap seemed to have given fresh edge to their swords; and when not even a currant or gooseberry bush was left, half a dozen of the most stalwart warriors directed their attack upon a large apple-tree, which after being much hacked about, tumbled to the ground admidst the cheers of the bystanders. In another quarter of an hour, the blooming Eden was converted into a blank desert." [4]

Later in the afternoon, the procession returned in the order in which it had come. When Barnard was Provost, the Captain, accompanied by the young noblemen, used to call on him with

[1] *Sloane MS.* 4839, f. 85. See Appendix B, on Rites of Initiation at Eton.

[2] *Historical MSS. Commission, Third Report*, p. 265.

[3] Hone's *Year Book*.

[4] *Wild Oats and Dead Leaves*, p. 293.

a request that the next day should be a holiday for the whole School.[1] In the nineteenth century, the day before Montem and the day after it were holidays, the latter being styled 'Montem-rest Day.' Windsor Terrace presented an animated scene in the evening of Montem Day, the boys in their fantastic costumes mingling with the crowd of visitors.

The members of the Fifth Form were allowed to wear their red coats until the end of the summer half, and were in consequence nicknamed 'Lobsters.'[2] When the holidays came, some gave their coats to the boys' maid, some took theirs home for use in the hunting field, or at fancy balls, while a few, economically minded, had theirs dyed black for ordinary wear.[3] In the Provost's Lodge, and in private houses in different parts of England are many portraits of Etonians attired in Montem dresses; and a considerable number of relics of this curious pageant, ranging in date from 1749 to 1844, were brought together in Upper School for the Loan Exhibition of 1891.[4]

No account of Montem Day would be complete without some notice of the *Ode*, which was composed for the occasion, and which, irrespectively of its merits or demerits, always had a large sale among visitors and Etonians. It was a broadside of doggerel punning rhymes, giving the names of the chief personages in the procession, and alluding to their individual characteristics. It professed to be written by a worthy styled the 'Montem Poet,' but in reality it was the production of some

[1] Diary of Dr. Jonathan Davies. This MS. contains notices of several Montems.—1775. "Doors opened quarter before six, absence in the yard half an hour after 10. Master calls on the Lower Master at breakfast and to see the company. The uppermost Colleger of the not accepted calls absence at the Hill at three o'clock . . . . come to absence at sixe. The Captain missed an exercise for his *Pro more et monte*, but it ought not to be so."

1778. "Montem as before, except that the Captain Hayes had more musick than usual, which is not to be a precedent."

1784. "The Captain's company at the supper too noisy and riotous—to be ordered to break up at 8 and by ¼ after."

Contemporary notices of subsequent Montems may be found in the *Annual Register*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Courier*, the *Mirror*, the *World*, the *Berkshire Chronicle*, and other periodicals and newspapers. See also *The Cockneys at Montem*, by W. M. Stone, in the *Sporting Magazine*, vol. lxxv., and Collins's *Etoniana*, pp. 226–230.

[2] Hone's *Year Book*, p. 601.

[3] *Baily's Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 83; *Eton of Old*, p. 10; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 343.

[4] *Catalogue of the Eton Loan Collection*.

youthful wags in the School. The office of Montem Poet was held throughout the reign of Keate by Herbert Stockhore of Windsor, an eccentric individual who had begun life as a bricklayer. Arrayed in a tunic and trousers of patchwork, an old military coat, and a chintz-covered conical head-dress, with rows of fringe on it like the crowns on a papal tiara, he drove about in a donkey-cart, reciting his Ode, and flourishing copies of it in the air to attract the attention of possible customers.[1] After his death, there was a contest for the vacant office, and a certain Edward Irwin was elected, the boys recording their votes as they came out of Church one afternoon.

Montem was a unique institution, and as such exposed to much criticism; it had many opponents and many supporters. Among the latter was a writer of the following and other stanzas :—

"Farewell to thee, Montem! They say 'tis the last;
But I will not believe it till three years are past,
And then if I find that dear Montem is gone
I'll go to Salt Hill, and keep Montem alone.

"I will not believe it, the gay and the wise
In defence of dear Montem indignant shall rise,
The voice of old Eton shall sound in the Hall,
And the Provosts shall start from their frames on the wall.

. . . . .

"Oh! yes, thou shalt still be our dearly lov'd scene,
For thou hast been honour'd by King and by Queen,
Recorded and sung of, in prose and in rhyme,
But most thou art honour'd and hallow'd by Time.

. . . . .

"Farewell to thee, Montem! return in three years,
With crowdings and crushings, with flutters and fears,
Barouches and bonnets, swords, sashes, and salt,
And let them pay double who still will find fault."[2]

The same sentiment is expressed in a magazine article :—

"I love that no-meaning of Montem. I love to be asked for 'Salt' by a pretty boy in silk stockings and satin doublet, though the custom has been called 'something between begging

[1] *English Spy*, vol. i. pp. 69–71, 75–77.

[2] *Farewell to Montem*, by William Selwyn, 1832.

and robbing.' I love the apologetical '*mos pro lege*' which defies the police and the Mendicity Society. I love the absurdity of a Captain taking precedence of a Marshal, and a Marshal bearing a gilt *bâton*, at an angle of forty-five degrees from his right hip; and an Ensign flourishing a flag with the grace of a tight-rope dancer; and Sergeants paged by fair-skinned Indians and beardless Turks; and Corporals in sashes and gorgets, guarded by innocent Polemen in blue jackets and white trousers. I love the mixture of real and mock dignity; the Provost in his cassock, clearing the way for the Duchess of Leinster to see the Ensign make his bow; or the Head Master gravely dispensing his leave till nine to Counts of the Holy Roman Empire, and Grand Signiors. I love the crush in the cloisters and the mob on the Mount. I love the clatter of carriages and the plunging of horsemen. I love the universal gaiety, from the peer who smiles and sighs that he is no longer an Eton boy, to the country girl who marvels that such little gentlemen have cocked hats and real swords. Give me a Montem with all its tomfoolery—I had almost said before a coronation—and even without the aids of a Perigord-pie and a bottle of claret at the Windmill."[1]

This was the bright side of Montem. An unfriendly critic might paint it in very different colours. Whether he stigmatized the manner in which salt-money was obtained as "something between alms and plunder,"[2] whether he described the procession to Salt Hill as an absurd pageant, only to be mentioned in the same breath with the Lord Mayor's Show, whether he deplored the neglect of the ordinary studies of the School during Montem half, or whether he denounced the temptations to extravagance and to actual vice created by Montem, he might fairly say that there was urgent need of radical reform in the matter. Provost Hodgson was one of those who thought that no amount of reform would suffice, but, knowing as he did how sincerely many old Etonians were attached to Montem, he did not care to start any controversy on the subject until he could be sure of the moral support of the authorities in School and College, and so, without making any secret of his own opinions,

[1] *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*, vol. i. pp. 197–198.

[2] Mathias's *Pursuits of Literature*; *History of the Hawtrey Family*, vol. i. pp. 134, 135.

he waited for what he knew must come sooner or later. Dr. Hawtrey and the Assistants were aware of the bad moral influence of Montem, and when the Bishop of Lincoln proposed to hold a Confirmation at Eton in the course of a Montem half, he was told plainly that it would not do for him to come then.

The opening of the Great Western Railway had the effect of bringing down a promiscuous horde of sightseers to the Montem of 1841. A contemporary newspaper accordingly records that the triennial festival was celebrated "with a degree of splendour unequalled on any former occasion."[1] The disadvantages of such publicity were felt by all, and steps were taken to counteract them as much as possible in 1844. Thus it was arranged that the procession should start an hour later than usual, that refreshments should be provided in a tent at Salt Hill, and that the boys should be forbidden to enter the inns or the gardens. They were moreover required to return to the Playing Fields in time to answer to their names at half-past three o'clock 'absence,' and the dinners, which strangers could be allowed to witness only under certain restrictions, were given on Fellows' Eyot at four o'clock. But these precautions did not suffice to remedy the greater evils of Montem, and, in October 1846, Hodgson received a letter from Hawtrey suggesting the total abolition of the festival, and enclosing a letter from Richard Okes, the Lower Master, to the same effect. Feeling as he did on the matter, he responded cordially to this overture, and a few days later Hawtrey wrote again as follows :—

> "I am heartily glad that you have not changed your Opinion as I have mine about Montem. My Secession from its Supporters must, I think, go for something ; for it is *ἑκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ* that I avow my Wish for its Abolition. No one, I believe, has wasted more Money and spent more Time than myself in trying to remove its Evils, and even now, conscientiously persuaded as I am that those Evils are incorrigible, and that with them no Custom could or ought to be tolerated, I feel so strongly the manifold Benefits of the *grand Eton Meeting*, that I sacrifice my Weakness, as Brutus did his Sons,

[1] *Berkshire Chronicle*, 5 June 1841.

*eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ ministerium.* I do hope at the same Time, that something may be thought of as a Substitute, in the way of an Eton Meeting."

The Provost considered that, according to the statutes, he had full authority to settle the question, but, as a matter of courtesy, he took the Fellows into his counsel, and ascertained that three of them, Grover, Bethell, and Green, shared his opinion, while the remaining four desired only to see a reform of notorious abuses. The Assistant Masters, who were also consulted, though less directly, turned the scale, nine of them being in favour of total abolition, five in favour of a reform of abuses, and one only in favour of the existing system. Perhaps the most curious defence of Montem was that set up by John Plumptre, one of the Fellows, who, having somehow got an idea that the triennial procession to Salt Hill had taken the place of a pilgrimage to a shrine of the Virgin Mary, desired that the ceremonies, happily freed from superstition, should be retained as a symbol of the Reformation, and a standing protest against Popery.

There was a personage, more important than any Fellow or Master, who had to be consulted before any change could be made. The waving of the flag had generally been witnessed by some member of the royal family; and the Queen and Prince Albert had attended Eton Montem in 1841 and 1844. Hodgson therefore felt himself in duty bound to ascertain the wishes of the sovereign, and he proceeded to lay the facts of the case before her. He received a reply to the effect that the Queen and the Prince would like to see the abuses attendant upon Montem removed, but that they felt very reluctant to consent to the total abolition of so ancient a custom. This would have been sufficient to discourage any one who was not acting from a sense of duty, but Hodgson was too much in earnest to yield without trying the effect of a more forcible statement of his views. He accordingly answered that, with all due deference to those to whom he owed so much, both as a loyal subject and as Provost of Eton, he could not but think that the abuses alluded to were inevitable so long as Montem continued to be observed, and he forwarded the letters he had received on the subject from Hawtrey and Okes. After this, the Queen referred the matter

to her constitutional adviser, and on the 7th of January 1847, Lord John Russell wrote to say that the opinion of the outside world appeared to coincide with that of the Provost, and that Her Majesty, though very unwilling to sanction by any direct act of her own the abolition of a custom so popular in the School, would not interpose to prevent any decision which the Eton authorities might form from their own experience and judgment. The Provost thereupon decreed that there should be no future celebration of Montem, and communicated his decision to those who were most likely to be affected by the change.

In the month of February 1847, an idea got abroad that the question was still *sub judice*, as there had been no formal vote of College upon it, and a meeting of the supporters of Montem was held in London. The result was a bombastic appeal to old Etonians not "to be made the dupes of a party of sanctified enthusiasts." The Provost was much annoyed, but he was soon comforted by the receipt of numerous letters of sympathy and approval. The Lord Chief Justice, Denman, wrote as follows :—

> "As there was to be a meeting, I was thinking of a letter of congratulation that it turned out such as it was. I cannot conceive anything less likely to prevent the valuable reform introduced at Eton, or more certain to recommend it to well judging persons. There is really not a word of argument in favour of the old and scandalous nuisance. That any persons can be found at this time favourable to a custom for young noblemen and gentlemen to go about the country as sturdy beggars obtaining money from passengers, is truly surprising. I have been in fear ever since I sat on the Bench that some sturdier yeoman might resist the extortion, with unpleasant consequences, and that the whole affair would be shown up, to the shame of all Etonians, in a public Court of Justice."
>
> "If in these days it is thought desirable that some pecuniary advantage should be derived from the bounty of old Etonians to certain young men on their entrance into academical life, I cannot suppose that it would be left in the strange uncertain lottery which now decides in favour perhaps of the worst conducted and least deserving, to the bitter disappointment perhaps of one who may up to the last moment have reasonably expected it."

"I am persuaded that a parliament of old Etonians, if summoned to legislate on this question, would have decided by a large majority as you have done."

The Bishop of Lincoln, the official Visitor of the College, and the Provost of King's took the same line. Bishop Wilberforce, too, wrote :—

"The consciousness of high motive, and, I doubt not, the issue of your Montem struggle, will far more than repay you for a little contumelious usage."

In the ordinary course of things, there would have been a procession *ad Montem* on Tuesday in Whitsun week in that year, and as the time drew near the excitement increased. A second meeting of the anti-reformers was held on the 9th of May, and for a while there was an idea of presenting a petition to the Queen. Hawtrey explained his own position very frankly at the annual Eton dinner on the 22nd, but his speech was misreported, and he was obliged to write to the principal London newspapers, in order to disabuse people of the idea that the change was made in opposition to his own wishes, and to point out that, since the opening of the railway to Slough, Eton on Montem Day had become little better than Greenwich Fair. Then came rumours of an intended demonstration at Salt Hill, and of a hearse having been hired to follow the old course of the procession. The statue of the Founder in the School Yard was to be crowned with a red cap of Liberty.[1] It was also understood that a party of malcontents were coming to break the windows of all the Assistant Masters, except Edward Balston and Henry Mildred Birch, the two of them who were supposed to be favourable to Montem.

On the eve of the 25th of May, Hawtrey summoned the second Colleger into 'Chambers,' and asked him what he would do if there was an *émeute* on the following day. "I will head it, Sir," was the reply ; but after a fair argument, Alfred Earle was convinced that the authorities had reason on their side. On the same day, Hawtrey wrote to the Provost, who was absent from Eton at the time :—

[1] Letter from the Hon. R. Marsham, 20 May 1847.

"I do not know what to think of to-morrow. I fear *nothing* from the *Boys;* but I have heard of an Undergraduate Onslaught from too many Quarters not to take Precautions. 30 London Police in plain Cloaths (*sic*) will be at Slough early to-morrow, and will act as Occasion may arise. There will be a Cricket Match with safe Men, and I have given Leave to the Eight to go up the River with Evans. I begin to hope that all will go off well, and of this I feel certain, that the upper Part of the School are perfectly right, and that if there is a Disturbance, it will be with Strangers who will suffer for it and—what is important—be known."

Accounts of a great procession to Salt Hill, on the following day, appeared in the London newspapers; but Hawtrey, who must have known as well as any one what really took place, wrote as follows to the Provost:—[1]

"A few Lower School and Fourth Form Boys broke three or four of the Upper School Windows. Three of these Heroes were seized and complained of by the 6th Form. A few hissed the Assistant at Absence. One of these was detected and punished. There was a little Fun of burying a Flag at Salt Hill, and that was all. The Mass of the School behaved perfectly well, and the Police went Home without an Action. There were a large Number of Windsor Election-Mob who came down in Hopes of finding a Row and were disappointed."

"The black Flag Story is the Invention of the *M*[*orning*] *P*[*ost*], so are the white Scarfs. A Party of Lower Boys and Lower 5th Form went to Salt Hill after 12, to see what they had been told would take place, in Letters from Oxford Undergraduates. When they arrived, they found themselves taken in. There were only a few Windsor Blackguards. There was no Procession in the Playing Fields, and no Collection taken by Boys at Salt Hill or after the Cricket Match. The latter was played by a set of Men who asked my Leave and professed their Unwillingness to come if by coming they could be supposed to have any ill Intention."

"It is *certain* that the *Upper* Part of the School *cared nothing* about the Matter. If they had cared, there must have been a real Outbreak. There was nothing at all approaching

[1] Many of the details, given in the last few pages, respecting the abolition of Montem are derived from the correspondence of Provost Hodgson. A brief summary only is given in the *Memoir* by his son.

the old Absence Rows, which used in Days gone by to take Place two or three Times every School-Term.

"If the Procession had taken Place, as expected, I should have laughed at it as a mere Piece of English Fun, but it did not; possibly it was never intended by the Oxford Children; possibly they had heard of the Police."

In his desire to act justly by all parties, Hawtrey had already given 200*l.* out of his own pocket to the father of William Algernon Gully, who would have been Captain of Montem if the office had not been suppressed.[1] This was considered to represent the amount which the boy might have expected to clear after payment of all expenses. A few days after Whitsuntide, Hawtrey gave a great dinner in Upper School, decorated for the unique occasion with plants and flowers, to those who would probably have attended Montem. In after years, he used to speak of this dinner with great pleasure as one of the happiest episodes in his life. Since the abolition of the old triennial festival, with all its notorious evils, the Fourth of June has greatly risen in importance as the special gathering-day of old Etonians.

[1] *Berkshire Chronicle*, 15 May 1847.




Montem Ticket.




## 1853—1905.

Changes under Dr. Goodford—Appointment of a Royal Commission—Changes under Dr. Balston—The New Governing Body—New Statutes—Changes under Dr. Hornby and Dr. Warre—Material Improvements—The Eton Mission—Societies and Magazines—The Volunteers—Cricket, Boating, Football, &c.—Notable Events.

THE history of Eton between the years 1834 and 1852 deals with a period which now seems remote; more recent occurrences cannot be discussed at any length without touching upon matters of controversy, which would ill accord with the tenor of the foregoing pages. This is not the place to consider the best form of government for a great public school, to define the relations that ought to exist between masters and boys, or to express any opinion on the different degrees of importance that ought to be attached to classics and modern languages, to history and mathematics, to geography and science, in a liberal education. But it seems desirable to place on record a comparatively brief account of recent changes and events.

Mr. Hodgson died in December 1852, and it soon became known that Dr. Hawtrey would be nominated to succeed him as Provost, but the royal mandate, having been sent by error to him in Sussex, did not reach Eton until the evening of the day fixed for the election. In the meanwhile, therefore, the Fellows met

in the Church and exercised their statutory right of choosing their Provost, technically uninfluenced by any external authority. From a constitutional point of view, their action was not without interest, but it did not in any way affect the result, for they unanimously delivered their votes in favour of the person nominated in the expected missive from the Home Office. Hawtrey's zeal for reform had considerably abated since the accomplishment of most of his own schemes, and his promotion to the Provostship, which enabled him to spend the latter years of his life in lettered ease, was distinctly advantageous to the School, as it led to the appointment of a younger man as Head Master.

It was generally anticipated that the very responsible position vacated by Dr. Hawtrey would be assigned to the Lower Master, Edward Coleridge, who had been the most successful tutor of his day; but the Prime Minister and others warned the Provost and Fellows against appointing a man known to be favourable to the Oxford Movement.[1] Disregarding his undoubted claims, they therefore selected one of the Assistant Masters, Charles Old Goodford, and they never had occasion to repent of their choice. Another of the Assistant Masters, who had defended Coleridge against unjust aspersions, wrote at the time :—

> "Goodford is honest, righteous, methodical, learned, brave, laconic, prudent, unmeddlesome. He is also sleepy, weak in health, uninfluential, obscure, unpolished. No one admires him ; every one respects him. We shall probably be much happier under him than under Coleridge." [2]

Although neither brilliant nor stimulating as a teacher, the new Head Master was in his quiet way capable of dealing with boys of all sorts, being not only an accurate and painstaking scholar, but also a strict disciplinarian. If ever he appeared to be asleep during a tedious lesson in school, he always "woke into immediate vigour and liveliness at the sound of a mistranslation or a false quantity." By a few judicious words, he would encourage studious lads to extend their reading beyond the traditional limits of the Eton curriculum. To masters and boys

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, vol. ii. p. 527.

[2] *Letters of W. Cory*, pp. 59, 60.

alike he was uniformly just, and, if somewhat terse in his language, uniformly courteous. "There was about him," writes one of his pupils, "a grave and stately dignity which the plainness of his features and want of grace in his person never impaired; there was a gentlemanlike and high-bred tone about all that he said and did."[1] Another says of him that he "had some of the best qualities of a good schoolmaster."

> "An admirable classical scholar, he also was an accomplished modern linguist, and a student of the literature and history of his own country. He read incessantly, and yet never allowed his reading to interfere with his duty to the school and to his pupils. . . . He was respected, and therefore obeyed by the great majority of his pupils, and to the disobedient, while he held out the terrors of the law, he never lost his temper, never showed any signs of the weakness of passion. Yet he could be indignant, and speak indignantly when any wrong was committed, any low, mean, or cruel action done. . . . He was not expansive in manner; his natural reserve and modesty made intimacy difficult; but those who did know him, knew that he was a man to be trusted implicitly. Having made up his mind that a thing was right, he would carry it through in the face of the strongest opposition; but his judgment was deliberate and never hasty.
>
> "Yet this man, so inflexible in purpose when his course was plain, was full of sympathy and tenderness; his natural reserve was thrown aside whenever there was a kind action to be done, a kind word to be said. He was a hard and conscientious worker, always ready to take his share, and more than his share, and his example wrought so strongly that it needed not the enforcement of speech. . . . His influence was that of a secret leavening sort, which is not the least important factor in the world's progress; modest and unassuming, he stood aside and let others talk, but his character impressed all who knew him well, as one of hidden power, flowing silent, but strong."[2]

During a prosperous administration lasting ten years, Dr. Goodford introduced several salutary changes. With the full approval of the Provost, he broke through the unwritten law which required all the Assistant Masters to have been Kingsmen,

[1] *The Academy*, no. 628.

[2] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 382.

or at any rate members of the Foundation at Eton. In 1858, he secured the services of Mr. Herbert Snow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and two years later those of Mr. Edmond Warre of All Souls' College, Oxford, both of whom had been Oppidans. The position of the 'Assistants in the Mathematical School' was somewhat improved, by the concession to them of the right to wear academical costume in church and in school. Some of them also received permission to keep boarding-houses, though not invested with the disciplinary authority of the regular Assistant Masters, and regarded as 'Dames,' or more strictly 'Domines.' Under Dr. Goodford's auspices, the standard of education was raised in the first two divisions, that is to say among the first sixty-four boys in the School, by the substitution of Latin Prose for *Scriptores Romani* twice a week, and by the addition of three lessons in the week for the translation and repetition of Greek Plays. A weekly exercise in divinity, known as 'Sunday Questions,' was made compulsory throughout the Upper School in 1853, the arrangement being that boys should on Monday morning show up written answers to questions set on Saturday.

Under the authority of the Cambridge University Commissioners, a change was made in 1860 in the mode of admitting Scholars to King's College, the uncertainties of the old system being got rid of by a rule that the Scholars elected from Eton every year at the end of July should, as a matter of course, go into residence at Cambridge three months later. The restrictions which confined the advantages of the Eton Foundation to natives of England were moreover removed in favour of all British-born subjects.

These and other lesser improvements, which need not be particularized, were, however, not sufficient to bring the School up to the ideal standard of educational reformers. In a lecture delivered by Sir John Taylor Coleridge at the Tiverton Athenæum in 1860, many of the deficiencies of the Eton system were plainly set forth, and in the early part of the following year a less friendly critic, Matthew James Higgins, commonly known as 'Jacob Omnium,' published some severe strictures on the School and all connected with it, in the *Cornhill Magazine*. The

*Edinburgh Review* and the newspapers took up the cry, and, in May 1861, a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the endowments, administration, and efficiency of the nine great public schools of England.

A few months after the appointment of the Commission, Dr. Hawtrey died.[1] He was the last Provost of Eton who was allowed to retain intact the authority committed to Waynflete by Henry the Sixth, and, by a curious coincidence, he was also the last person whose burial took place within the walls of the Collegiate Church.

Lord Palmerston did little in regard to the vacant Provostship until the 7th of February, when he wrote to the Queen recommending the nomination of Dr. Goodford. Not receiving any reply, he wrote again on the 10th, saying that the matter was pressing, as the election was to be made on the very next day. Four persons had been named to him as possible candidates, of whom two were not statutably qualified, while a third, James Chapman, was suspected of "Puseyite tendencies." He understood, moreover, that the office had generally been given to the Head Master.[2] Under these circumstances, a royal mandate was at the last moment sent to the Fellows in favour of Dr. Goodford. Strangely enough, the Prime Minister had not directly or indirectly consulted the person most interested, and Dr. Goodford had only a few hours in which to decide whether he would accept the proffered honour, which involved a great loss of income and a considerable increase of expenditure. Barely fifty years of age, he had no desire to exchange the active duties of the Head Mastership for the dignified leisure of the Provostship, but, with characteristic loyalty, he shrank from causing any difficulty by a refusal, and suffered himself to be elected Provost. As an honourable gentleman, however, he felt scruples about swearing to obey and enforce a code of fifteenth-century statutes, until the Bishop of Lincoln, as Visitor of the College, gave a written opinion that the Provost would be bound by such statutes only as were actually in force at the date of his election.[3]

[1] 27 January 1862.

[2] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, vol. iii. p. 549, where the letter is wrongly assigned to the year 1861.

[3] *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 1134.

It was not easy to find a person suitable to succeed Dr. Goodford as Head Master, and confront the Royal Commissioners. The choice of the electors eventually fell upon one of their own number, Edward Balston, who, after a successful career as an Assistant Master, had recently retired upon a Fellowship, and he was persuaded to go into harness again for a while. One who knew him as Head Master writes as follows :—

> "Mr. Balston enjoyed the rare honour of being cordially loved, admired, and trusted by boys of every sort whilst he actually held office. There are plenty of masters who become very popular when they have resigned or have died, and when books have been written to explain what their doctrines and virtues were ; but Mr. Balston's face said more for him than any book can have urged, and to have once read in that noble countenance the lines of goodness, truthfulness, and manly courage was to learn a lesson never to be forgotten. No boy ever alluded to this head-master by any nick-name ; none ever spoke of him with animosity, none ever impugned his justice."
>
> "Of commanding stature and stately mien, he had no need to employ the arts by which little men try to swell their importance. He was dignity itself ; his walk was no strut, his voice was at all times natural, quiet, kindly, and pleasant to hear."
>
> "Big and small, we all knew that there was in him no fear, no pettiness, no impatient spirit ; he would listen to anything that was said to him with wakeful attention ; no boy could ever say that under any circumstances he had failed to obtain from him an impartial hearing, fatherly advice when sought, or indulgence for a fault when sincere repentance was pleaded."[1]

A consistent upholder of the traditionary system of education, Balston introduced very few changes in the scheme of lessons, and he yielded but little to public opinion, even with regard to the teaching of French. Ever since the middle of the eighteenth century, there had been a special master for the instruction of those Etonians who would devote part of their leisure to the study of French, and whose parents would pay the necessary fees. In 1797, the French Master used to come three times a

[1] *Seven Years at Eton*, edited by J. Brinsley Richards (3rd ed.), pp. 312, 313.

week and stay nearly an hour each time.[1] From 1826 to 1851, there was a resident French Master in the person of J. C. Tarver, the compiler of the well-known *Royal Phraseological Dictionary* of that language.[2] The older School-lists associate the teacher of French with the teachers of other 'extra' subjects, such as writing, drawing, fencing and dancing, and none of the changes made by Dr. Hawtrey or Dr. Goodford, both of them accomplished French scholars, had brought him into closer connexion with the regular staff of Assistant Masters. Mr. Henry Tarver, who had succeeded his father in the office of French Master, poured forth a tale of woe to the Royal Commissioners in 1862. Financially he had no cause of complaint, for he received ten guineas a year from each of his pupils, and the number of them, rarely less than eighty, at one time amounted to a hundred and thirty. But he was not in a position of authority. Instead of ranking as an Eton Master, he was only "a person holding the privilege to teach French," and, as he said himself, "a mere *objet de luxe*." If he complained to one of the tutors that a particular boy had been irregular in attendance or idle, his report was either ignored or, at best, pinned up against the wall of a pupil-room. Appeals to the Head Master were equally unavailing. Then again, if he had recourse to a Frenchman to assist him in dealing with an unwieldy number of pupils, he had "as much trouble in teaching the Frenchman to keep order as in teaching the boys to speak French." Whatever the cause, the French lessons, given in the former coffee-room of the old *Christopher* Inn, were not conducted with the decorum that ordinarily prevailed in the pupil-rooms of the classical tutors.[3]

Dr. Balston did not do much for Mr. Tarver, but he introduced the teaching of French in the Remove and Fourth Form.[4] He also, with the sanction of the Provost, discontinued the use of several ancient school-books such as the *Scriptores Romani*, the *Scriptores Græci*, and the *Poetæ Græci*, and substituted the *Public Schools Latin Primer* for the old *Eton Latin Grammar*.

[1] Letter from M. Hicks Beach, 28 February 1797. See above, pages 317, 318.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[3] *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 6685—7048; *Seven Years at Eton*, pp. 328—334.

[4] September 1864. *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 28.

In the meanwhile, the Royal Commissioners, the Earls of Clarendon and Devon, Lord Lyttelton, the Hon. Edward Twistleton, Sir Stafford Northcote, the Rev. W. H. Thompson (afterwards Master of Trinity), and Mr. H. Halford Vaughan, were conducting an exhaustive enquiry into the affairs of the principal schools in England, by sending out printed questions and by taking oral evidence.[1] In one of the Eton magazines of the period, a Colleger is supposed to explain to the surprised Founder the proceedings of these inquisitors :—

> "whose task
> Has been to probe our customs, and to ask
> Questions minute about whate'er we do—
> Of sausages we fry, or tea we brew
> At breakfast—everyone about the College
> Was forced to add his quota to their knowledge.
> An hour they pestered, in malicious joy,
> With questions stern a wretched lower boy.
> The rigid ordeal—high as well as low—
> Provost and Fellows had to undergo."[2]

Altogether, the Commissioners collected and printed a vast amount of information about the public schools, which will be invaluable to future historians. In this place it is impossible to give even the briefest summary of their own recommendations. Their report, dated in February 1864, led to a considerable amount of discussion in Parliament, in the press, and elsewhere, and when at last it became clear that radical changes were imminent, Dr. Balston resigned the office of Head Master. He was succeeded, at the beginning of 1868, by James John Hornby, the Second Master at Winchester, who was known to hold very different views on the subject of education. For some two centuries, every successive Head Master had been a Kingsman, but the choice of the electors had not been so limited by the Founder, and the appointment of an Oxonian was perfectly statutable. The new Head Master was moreover no stranger to Eton, for he had been educated there as an Oppidan.

[1] The composition of the Commission is criticized in Cust's *History of Eton*, pp. 199—201.

[2] *The Adventurer*, vol. i. p. 82. See *Report of Public Schools Commission*, Eton Evidence, 9136—9146.

Dr. Hornby undertook the management of the School at a critical period and under circumstances of exceptional difficulty. Any suspicions, however, with which he was at first received, were soon dissipated. The boys showed themselves proud of a Head Master who had not only played in the Eton Eleven but also rowed in the Oxford Eight; the Masters could not fail to be conciliated by the unfailing tact and sympathy of their new chief. It is a severe critic of modern Eton who writes of him as follows:—

> "The first and the last word to be said of him was that he possessed in an eminent degree the qualities of a 'gentleman' in the good old sense. He had a fine presence; he was full of courtesy and consideration, and he had a quiet humour of his own, which he sometimes used with much effect, though always good-naturedly. But he was emphatically not a disciplinarian. . . . He loved ease and retirement, and his instinct always seemed to be to escape from the bustle and friction of a schoolmaster's lot. . . . Yet it must in justice be said that he was an excellent teacher where there existed a desire to learn, and that his exposition and comments on the classical text-books read by the Sixth Form were bright and stimulating."[1]

In 1868, an act was passed by which the actual governors of each of the great public schools were practically compelled, either to submit to six commissioners, thereby appointed, a scheme for the establishment of a 'New Governing Body,' or to receive a new constitution at the hands of the commissioners.[2] Accepting the former alternative as the lesser evil, the Provost and Fellows of Eton College, in the following year, took the steps necessary for the creation of a 'New Governing Body of Eton School,' consisting of the Provosts of Eton and King's, one nominee apiece of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, of the Royal Society, of the Lord Chief Justice, and of the Eton Masters, and two, three, or four other persons, to be elected by the New Governing Body itself, all of them to be members of the Church of England. Restrained for the time from altering its own constitution, the New Governing Body was left free to make statutes,

[1] *Eton under Hornby*, by O. E., pp. 16, 17.

[2] 31 and 32 Vict. cap. 118.

which, after approval by Order in Council, were to become binding.

The result of this was that, in 1871, the whole code of statutes issued by Henry the Sixth for the government of the College was formally repealed, except in so far as the interests of certain living persons were concerned. The seven existing Fellows were allowed to retain for life their houses, their emoluments, and a certain amount of authority in matters not specifically transferred to the jurisdiction of the New Governing Body, but, even in regard to these, they found themselves liable to be outvoted by the new rulers of Eton, invested with the title and position of Fellows. Inasmuch, moreover, as the Lower Master was considered to have a moral claim to a Fellowship, it was arranged that he, and he alone, should be eligible to a Fellowship with the rights, privileges, and emoluments, reserved to those who had been elected before November 1871. By virtue of this provision, Mr. F. E. Durnford was, on the death of Mr. W. L. Eliot, in 1877, elected to the last of the Fellowships founded by Henry the Sixth. Since that date, all the members of the old ecclesiastical corporation have passed away. The last survivor of them, Mr. W. A. Carter, was, as a member of the New Governing Body, a Fellow of Eton under the modern statutes.

The new statutes vested in the Crown the right of appointing the Provost and relieved him from the necessity of being in holy orders. They also made considerable changes with regard to the Foundation Scholars, abolishing the stipulation that they should be poor and needy, excluding, after a certain date, all candidates below twelve years of age, or over fourteen, and transferring all arrangements connected with the election to the New Governing Body. A paragraph in the London newspapers was thenceforth substituted for the Latin notices which, year after year, for more than four centuries, had been affixed to the main doors of the College and of the Church, for seven weeks before the election. The last 'Cloister Speech' was delivered by F. H. Rawlins in 1870.

Another curious old custom finally abolished about 1868 was that called 'ripping.' Whenever a Colleger left Eton for King's, he had to appear before the Provost in evening dress, with black

knee-breeches, silk stockings and pumps, as on speech-days, and wearing over all this his black cloth gown tacked together in front with a single thread. The Provost said a few words, 'ripped' open the gown, and, according to the old formula, 'dismissed' him from the College.[1]

Far more important than the discontinuance of any picturesque ceremony was the severance of the ancient connexion between Eton and King's College. Under new statutes, the foundation of King Henry the Sixth at Cambridge not only opened its doors to commoners, but also offered one half of its endowments to persons not educated at Eton. The scene of the competitive examinations for all the Scholarships at King's was transferred to Cambridge, and Oppidans were declared equally eligible with Collegers for the limited number of Scholarships reserved for Etonians.[2] When King's ceased to be the normal goal of every Eton Colleger, there remained no need to provide compensation for those who were disappointed, and new regulations were made with regard to the different Scholarships and Exhibitions that had been founded for the benefit of those Collegers who had been precluded by their age from admission to King's.

The changes made in the time-table of lessons and the subjects of study since 1867 have been no less important in their way than the changes made in the constitution of the College during the same period, and the scheme of work has been altered more within the last forty-three years than during the previous century.

At Easter 1868, the weekly Latin themes which the boys had hitherto composed in their own rooms, and for which they had to supply the sense as well as the words, were abandoned in favour of exact translations from English into Latin, to be done in school within a given time. Dr. Hornby, moreover, accorded to boys in the Upper Division the option of substituting Latin prose for the Latin verses which had hitherto been so prominent a feature of the Eton curriculum. A rule was also made that every member of the first three Divisions, then comprising a hundred boys in all, should take up two 'extra

[1] *Reminiscences of an Etonian* [H. J. Blake], p. 151; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 361.

[2] *Augustus Austen Leigh*, p. 125.

studies,' to each of which he should devote two hours weekly, the field of choice including French, German, Italian, higher mathematics, history, physical geography, chemistry, political economy, logic, and comparative philology, as well as the works of certain classical authors, such as Plautus, Terence, or Plato, not ordinarily read in school. All the boys below this rank were made to learn French. The normal work of the first three Divisions was also separated entirely from that of the Upper Division of the Fifth Form, and special provision was made for the regular teaching of Greek composition in school, additional to any instruction in the subject which tutors might give in their respective pupil-rooms. To these was afterwards added the fourth Division, somewhat curtailed in size. Another rule established an extra school-hour for all forms alike at 9.45 A.M. on half-holidays; and some of the old irregularities of the Eton Calendar were remedied by eliminating the eves of Saints' Days from the list of half-holidays. It was also arranged that the Assistant Masters connected with the Upper School should no longer meet in the Head Master's Chambers at the beginning of each of the afternoon school-hours, and the midday school-hour was postponed from 11 to 11.15. Six months later, compulsory attendance in Chapel on the morning and afternoon of all holidays, and on the afternoon of all half-holidays, was abrogated, and a short daily service for the boys at 9.25 A.M. was established.[1]

Physical science was introduced as one of the regular subjects of study for the Fifth Form in 1869, and for the Remove in the autumn of 1875,[2] a chemical laboratory having been built in the former year, at a cost of 3000*l*, contributed by the Masters and their friends. The study of geography, formerly confined to the Remove, was extended to the Lower Division of the Fifth Form, and greatly extended in scope; and the number of repetition lessons throughout the School was reduced to two a week. Greater importance was assigned to mathematics, accompanied by a rise in the status of the teachers, who, from being merely

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 108.

[2] The term Physical Science includes Physical Geography, Astronomy, Chemistry, Heat, and Mechanics.

Assistants to the Mathematical Master, became Assistants to the Head Master. The teachers of mathematics, of French, and of physical science are now on the same footing as the teachers of Latin and Greek, exercising authority out of school as well as in school. They have gradually supplanted the 'Dames' in the boarding-houses, the College refusing to renew leases of such houses to persons of either sex not belonging to the educational staff. Miss Jane Evans, the last of the real Dames, died in January 1906, in the eightieth year of her age.[1]

In 1861, Mr. John Hawtrey, an Assistant Master in the Lower School, built a house in Common Lane for the reception of little boys only. Provided with a separate playground adjoining and two private Fives Courts, the inmates had very little connexion with the rest of the School.[2] They were, therefore, scarcely missed when, after about eight years, Mr. Hawtrey removed his whole establishment to Slough, there setting up a preparatory school altogether independent of Eton. His migration led, in 1870, to the suppression of the First and Second Forms and of the subdivisions of the Third Form, known as 'Nonsense,' 'Sense,' 'Lower Greek,' and 'Upper Greek.' While the very name of Lower School was abolished, the Fourth Form was subjected to the disciplinary authority of the Lower Master. On the other hand, the rights of appointing and dismissing the Lower Master and his Assistants were transferred to the Head Master. Finally, in 1905, the Lower Master, for centuries the teacher of small boys, was constituted the teacher of the Division next below that of the Head Master.

In 1871, the Lower Division of the Fifth Form and the Remove were each divided into three sections, instead of two as before, and the Fourth Form was divided into four sections instead of three. 'Trials,' or examinations, were appointed to take place three times a year, a stricter test of proficiency than the 'Collections' which had been instituted by Hawtrey in 1851. As late as Dr. Balston's time, an Oppidan, after passing 'trials' into the Upper Division of the Fifth Form, moved steadily upwards as vacancies occurred above him, and if he only stayed long

[1] Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, p. 437.

[2] *Public Schools Commission*, vol. ii. p. 151; vol. iii. pp. 206, 207.

enough he could become a member of the Sixth Form, and even Captain of the Oppidans, without being subjected to any further test of proficiency. Whilst one boy in the Sixth Form might be capable of winning an open scholarship at Oxford or Cambridge, another might fail to matriculate, to the obvious discredit of the School. In order, therefore, to secure a higher standard for the older boys, Dr. Hornby established 'trials' for regulating admission into the ranks of the 'First Hundred' of the School. Furthermore he arranged, in 1873, that the Sixth Form and most of the other members of the 'First Hundred' should be examined once a year by persons nominated for the purpose by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Although this 'Certificate Examination' does not alter the position of those who pass it, failure to pass it restrains promotion.

Dr. Goodford died on the 9th of May 1885, deservedly honoured by the many generations of Etonians who had known him either as an Assistant Master, as Head Master, or as Provost, and also by all others who had known him as a Somersetshire squire. Under the new statutes, the Fellows had no voice in the selection of his successor, and the Head Master was promoted by the Crown to be Provost. Dr. Hornby had ruled the School for more than sixteen years, during which his original zeal for reform had gradually subsided. His natural courtliness and his uniform consideration for others remained, qualities highly becoming to the holder of a dignified and historic office. As Provost he will long be remembered for the polished speeches which he made on the Fourth of June, on Founder's day, and on the rare occasions on which his modesty allowed him to address larger audiences.

To replace Dr. Hornby, the Governing Body made choice of Mr. Edmond Warre, who, like him, combined the scholar and the athlete. Educated at Eton as an Oppidan, he had distinguished himself there by winning the Newcastle Scholarship and the 'pulling' race on the river. So again, the reading necessary for a Scholarship at Balliol, two First Classes, and a Fellowship of All Souls, had not prevented him from becoming president of the Oxford University Boat Club, and the founder of the University Rifle Corps. After some twenty-four years

of service as an Assistant Master at Eton, the new ruler of the School was full of energy, and he soon began to make changes in the existing routine. Thus he ordered that the boys should attend school at 9.45 A.M. on every weekday, not merely on half-holidays, as arranged by Dr. Hornby. He also lengthened most of the school-times devoted to mathematics from three-quarters of an hour to a full hour apiece. Furthermore, he greatly modified the tutorial system which had prevailed at Eton for a considerable period. Under that system, every Latin or Greek lesson was construed firstly in pupil-room and secondly in school. Idle boys had thus to face two ordeals, while intelligent boys could assimilate the teaching of two masters. The advantages did not, however, compensate for the great loss of time occasioned by the rehearsal of the different lessons. Under Dr. Warre, the construings in pupil-room were reduced to four a week for the Lower and Middle Divisions of Fifth Form, and to one a week for the Upper Division, and they were altogether abolished so far as the 'First Hundred' were concerned. So again, although the different tutors examine and amend the weekly Latin verses of their respective pupils as before, they do not see the Greek prose compositions done by the Sixth and Fifth Forms, or the Greek Iambics of the 'First Hundred' and the Upper Division.

While it is impossible to enumerate here all the school-books brought into use, it may be mentioned that the *Public Schools Latin Primer*, introduced by Dr. Balston in place of the old *Eton Latin Grammar*, was in its turn superseded by a new and very different *Eton Latin Grammar* in two sections, the 'elementary part' compiled by Mr. A. C. Ainger and Mr. H. G. Wintle, and the 'advanced part' by Mr. F. H. Rawlins and Mr. W. R. Inge.

As far back as the days of Dr. Goodford, boys destined for the army were allowed to drop some of the ordinary Greek lessons, in order to devote more time to other subjects prescribed for their future examination. Dr. Hornby arranged that the work of such boys should be separated from that of the rest of the School, so that their time might be devoted to the special subjects of study required. They, however, retained their normal places in the School-list, and were eligible for promotion

even into the Sixth Form. After some tentative changes, Dr. Warre, at the end of 1886, placed four Divisions of the Fifth Form in a distinct category under the name of 'Army Class,' with a special scheme of lessons. This 'Army Class' became practically the 'Modern Side' of Eton, although its very name tended to restrict the number of its members. The establishment of an analogous 'Navy Class,' on a very much smaller scale, was announced in 1898.

In connexion with changes in the system of education, it should be recorded that the old-fashioned practice of flogging boys for idleness and the like was almost abolished by Dr. Warre. Under a new system, offenders were penalized with 'white tickets,' involving temporary stoppage of all 'leave,' or had their names entered in the 'tardy book,' with consequences unpleasant to themselves. In 1863, R. H. Blosse Lewis, a Colleger, managed to steal the old flogging-block of the Lower School. It figured for a while as an ornament of his rooms at Merton College, and, after his early death, it was transferred to his father's house, Maesteg, in Glamorganshire. Finally it was restored to Eton in May 1890.[1] In the meanwhile another block was, in or about 1877, abstracted by an Oppidan, who took it to pieces with a screw-driver, skilfully concealed it in his own room at Mr. F. Tarver's house, and removed it from Eton in his portmanteau.[2]

The establishment by the Head Master of a 'School Office' has greatly facilitated the organization of work and discipline.

The old regulations as to 'bounds' and the system of 'shirking' had been abolished previously. It has been seen that in the reign of Charles the Second serious attempts were made to confine the Eton boys within certain definite limits,[3] and also that a controversy between the Assistant Masters and the Sixth Form Præpostors on the subjects of 'bounds' was one of the main causes of the Rebellion of 1768.[4] The conventions of a later period reaching down to less than fifty years ago were singular. While there was no clear rule that the boys should not

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, vol. x. p. 4.
[2] *How I Stole the Block*, 1883.
[3] P. 254 above.
[4] Pp. 338—341 above.

walk in the streets of Eton and Windsor and in the neighbouring country, they were liable to be sent back to College or punished, if met face to face by a Master 'out of bounds.' Under similar circumstances, a 'lower boy' had also to fear the members of the Sixth Form, unless he had received his 'liberties' from one of the number. Hence arose the necessity of 'shirking.' If, for example, a boy saw a Master coming towards him in the High Street of Eton, he was expected to dive into the nearest shop for a minute and so allow him to pass. On the other hand, he might safely follow a Master at a respectful distance, etiquette forbidding the latter to turn round, or to go out of his way in search of delinquents. Day after day, moreover, Dames and Tutors alike gave to inmates of their houses 'orders' for the supply of clothes and other goods from shops situated beyond Barnes Pool Bridge, and consequently 'out of bounds.' It would therefore appear that the real offence of a boy caught 'out of bounds' was his failure to 'shirk,' or avoid, the Master. Perhaps the *ne plus ultra* of 'shirking' was attained by a boy in Keate's time, who, on seeing a Master enter the confectioner's shop where he was eating an ice, shut one eye and held up the spoon in front of the other.[1]

To appreciate fully the anomalies of the old Eton system, it should be noted that boys were allowed to walk on the Terrace at Windsor and to row on the Thames, although they could not reach the Castle or the boat-houses in Brocas Lane without going 'out of bounds.' Even after Dr. Hawtrey had, in 1847, declared the site of the Fives Courts to be 'in bounds,' some of his Assistants persisted in requiring boys to 'shirk' them on their way to that favoured spot. On the other hand, the more sensible Masters made no attempt to stop

[1] The statutes of the Church of Lyons, drawn up in the twelfth century, enacted that if any of the *clericuli* should meet a Canon they should run away, or at any rate feign absence by holding their hands before their faces. In 1532, a congregation of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Glasgow ordained that none of the students should "boldly and shamelessly" encounter the Rector, the Dean, or the Regents, in the streets by day or by night, or play any game in their presence that would otherwise be lawful, except by their leave, but rather flee away. Rashdall's *Universities of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 307.

boys obviously attired for football in winter, or carrying towels in summer in token of their intention to bathe. It was at the urgent instance of the Captain of the Boats, that Dr. Goodford, in 1860, explicitly declared the High Street of Eton to be 'in bounds' during the months in which boating was in vogue.

Dr. Balston went considerably further. Year after year, Etonians had been wont to amuse themselves at Windsor Fair, in the later part of October, although specially forbidden to visit it. A couple of Masters, stationed on the bridge, might practically have barred the way, but it is characteristic of Eton that no such measure was ever attempted. A few active Masters used instead to thread their way among the booths, trying to catch any Eton boy whom they might espy: to take down the name of a boy seen at a distance was not considered legitimate. In 1865, the usual notice was sent round that Fifth Form boys detected at Windsor Fair would receive severe punishment, and that 'lower boys' would be flogged, but it was a *brutum fulmen*, for not a single Master showed himself on the scene.[1] Soon after this, it was announced that Etonians might go wherever they pleased, except to the side streets of Windsor and Eton, to public houses, tobacconists' shops, or the like. Thenceforth it became customary for them to touch their hats, in a straightforward manner, to any Master whom they might chance to meet outside the precincts of the College, at any time of year.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the 'bounds' nominally assigned to the Collegers were even narrower than those assigned to the Oppidans, the School Yard, Weston's Yard, and the Playing Fields, being the only open spaces in which they were technically free to disport themselves. If, when in the Long Walk in front of Upper School, they saw a Master coming, they were expected to hide behind the wall or behind a tree; most of them could not reach the pupil-rooms of their respective tutors without going 'out of bounds.'[2]

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 11; *Eton Scrap Book*, pp. 122—126.

[2] *Eton of Old*, p. 38.

At a later period, these limits were somewhat extended, and the custom arose for them to deposit their gowns in a shop opposite to Barnes Pool, before crossing the bridge over it. In the autumn of 1864, they were relieved from the necessity of wearing their gowns except in chapel, in school, in hall, and at 'absence.' A thin, smooth cloth was at the same time substituted for the rough, heavy material hitherto used.[1] Little changes of this sort, judiciously introduced, have largely tended to break down the barrier that formerly separated the Collegers from the Oppidans.

'Tap,' already mentioned, was recognized by the authorities in 1872.

A source of constant reproach against Eton was removed in 1868, by the imposition of a capitation tax throughout the School, in lieu of the 'leaving money' which every boy had been expected to place covertly on the Head Master's table, when he went to say good-bye to him.[2] A rule was also made forbidding the boys to give 'leaving books' to their schoolfellows, as the kindly old practice of making presents to particular friends had degenerated into a meaningless and extravagant fashion.[3]

Except when going or returning from cricket, football, or beagling, no Etonian of fifty years ago was ever to be seen in or near the precincts of the College otherwise than in clothes of a prescribed form, a black tail coat with a white cambric tie, or a black jacket with a black silk tie in a sailor's knot; no covering for the head except a tall silk hat was tolerated. It was during a sharp frost in 1865 that some of the leading Oppidans resolved

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 27.

[2] "Dr. Hawtrey, who was the essence of politeness, always affected to be blind to these donations. If it was at the end of the summer term, he would observe 'It's rather warm. I think I'll open the window,' and as he did so, the envelope was duly deposited upon the table. When the next boy who was leaving was ushered in, the same routine was gone through, save that Hawtrey observed 'Don't you think it's rather cold? I think I'd better shut the window.'" M. Williams's *Leaves of a Life*, vol. i. p. 28. After Hawtrey's death, various bank-notes were found between the leaves of books which he had carried into Chambers.

[3] The practice is mentioned as "a usual thing" in 1798. *History of the Hawtrey Family*, vol. i. p. 188. Its latest phase is described in the *Eton Scrap Book*, pp. 135—137, and the *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 829, 831.



*Interior of the Hall*

to come into Chapel in greatcoats. The authorities wisely ignored the innovation.[1] Since that time, the social leaders of the School have exercised some authority in matters sartorial.[2]

The old regulations with regard to costume have been gradually relaxed. Straw hats, out of lesson-times, in summer, have materially added to the comfort of modern Etonians, although they have destroyed the uniformity that used to prevail not long ago. Evidences of greater luxury and better taste may also be seen in their rooms.

The material alterations at Eton since the death of Provost Hodgson have been numerous and important. In 1858, the College Hall underwent thorough restoration, mainly at the expense of Mr. John Wilder. A new high-pitched roof was constructed on the lines of the mediæval design, and a large Perpendicular window was substituted for an incongruous one of the time of George the First, in the western wall. The old panelling was cleaned and repaired, and a screen, with a broad gallery over it, was put up at the eastern end of the Hall. Three original fireplaces, discovered behind the old panelling, were taken into use, and a narrow staircase leading from the north-western angle to the Provost's Lodge was reopened. The new west window was filled with stained glass by Hardman, supposed to represent subjects connected with the early history of the College ; and some elaborate panelling put up below it was decorated with the arms of successive Provosts. A new side-board, and new tables and benches, of Gothic design were added by the College. Since that time, portraits of many eminent men educated on the Eton Foundation, have been hung on the walls of the Hall. The accommodation for the Collegers was further improved in 1861, by the division of the western part of the former Long Chamber into fifteen 'stalls,' or cubicles.

Electric light was installed in the Cloisters and in the Collegers' quarters at Christmas 1902.

Much has been done to decorate the interior of the Church, or Chapel, since the general restoration effected under Provost Hodgson, but not always with happy results. Mr. John Wilder,

[1] Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, p. 164.

[2] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 914.

to supplement his former benefactions, provided stained glass by O'Connor for fourteen large windows of the choir. While this work was in progress, a memorial of the Etonian officers who had fallen in the Crimean War was set up in the 'ante-chapel,' in the form of stained glass by Hardman for the northern and southern windows, and a series of forty-seven coats of arms and scrolls illuminated on the walls beneath them. Stained glass by the same firm was provided, in 1865, by Dr. and Mrs. Balston for the one window which had remained plain until then.[1] Shortly before this, the reredos and sedilia and Lupton's Chapel were gorgeously decorated at the expense of Mr. Wilder. Gas standards of polished brass were also placed at intervals in the choir.

In 1876, the pinnacles of the Chapel were rebuilt, the parapet was repaired, and the peeling walls of the 'ante-chapel,' originally built of Headington stone, were refaced with Bath stone, under the direction of Mr. Woodyer. Some time before this, the organ had been transferred from the southern side of the choir, very greatly enlarged, and placed upon a temporary structure raised for the purpose at the junction of the choir with the nave, or 'ante-chapel'. There it remained for several years, "a misshapen mass of metal, half concealed by a red drugget." In 1881, this eyesore was removed, and the foundations were laid of a handsome stone screen, intended as a memorial to Etonian officers who had lost their lives in the recent wars against the Zulus, the Afghans and the Boers. This new screen, which was executed from designs by Mr. G. E. Street, and cost the subscribers about 2400*l.* was completed in a short time, and formally unveiled by the Prince of Wales on the 5th of June 1882. A new organ on the top of it was afterwards painted and gilded, through the further munificence of Mr. John Wilder.[2]

A recumbent effigy of Dr. Hawtrey was put up on the south side of the choir, many years after his death, and this was followed, in 1893, by a similar effigy of Dr. Balston, provided by some of his former pupils.[3] The memorial tablets that have been affixed to the inner walls of the 'ante-chapel' are too

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 36.
[2] *Ibid.* nos. 335, 337, 346, 349, 430.
[3] *Ibid.* no. 630.

many for enumeration. Acting upon a happy inspiration, some old Etonians connected with the county of Sussex combined to do honour to William Waynflete, possibly the first Head Master, certainly the first effective Provost, and, after the Founder, the greatest benefactor of the College. A memorial statue, designed by Sir A. Blomfield, and provided by them, was, in 1893, placed in a niche on the outside of the 'ante-chapel' which Waynflete had built, and unveiled by the Bishop of Chichester, an old Etonian, and a son-in-law of the famous Dr. Keate.[1]

In 1895, Mr. H. E. Luxmoore, one of the Assistant Masters, put up in the choir a large piece of tapestry representing the 'Star of Bethlehem,' executed under the direction of Mr. William Morris, from a design by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, a replica of the tapestry made for Exeter College, Oxford.[2] Beautiful in composition, and resplendent in colour, it is a notable example of the manner in which the art of the nineteenth century may be employed for the decoration of a mediæval building. A replica of the well-known picture of 'Sir Galahad,' very generously presented by Mr. G. F. Watts, in 1897, was hung on the north side of the choir.[3]

At a large and representative meeting held at the Mansion House in London in May 1902, it was resolved to collect subscriptions for a memorial to those Etonians who had fallen in the war in South Africa. After the consideration of various rival schemes, it was decided at a subsequent meeting that 5000*l.* should be devoted to a memorial in the Chapel, and this eventually led to important changes in the internal aspect of that building. The work undertaken by a Committee of Taste, with the professional assistance of Mr. T. B. Carter, an old Etonian, consisted of five parts :—

(1.) The erection of a large tablet in Lupton's Chapel recording the names of a hundred and twenty-nine deceased officers.

(2.) The restoration of the original levels of the eastern part of the Chapel, and the repaving of them with black and white marble.

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 619, 620.

[2] *Ibid.* no. 717.

[3] *Ibid.* no. 765.

(3.) The provision of a new altar, composed of a slab of black marble, supported by bronze figures of the four evanglistic emblems, and surmounted by a retable adorned with four figures of candle-bearing angels, suggestive of Florentine sculpture of the fifteenth century.

(4.) The addition of lateral panels to the piece of tapestry given by Mr. Luxmoore, and the suspension of it behind the new altar.

(5.) The toning down of some of the crude colours in the great east window.

Altogether, the Committee of Taste showed no more respect for the pseudo-Gothic decoration of the Victorian period than a previous generation had showed for the handsome but incongruous woodwork of the beginning of the eighteenth century, removed in 1847.

As the number of boys at Eton increased, the old class-rooms became palpably insufficient for the requirements of the School. The 'Library' at the northern end of Upper School had been fitted up for the use of the Head Master's Division in Dr. Hawtrey's time, and the erection of the New Buildings in Weston's Yard for the Collegers had rendered Lower Chamber available for scholastic purposes, but otherwise no addition had been made to the number of normal class-rooms in the School Yard since the reign of Charles the Second. In the meanwhile, the School had more than doubled in size. Partial relief was afforded by the Mathematical Schools built by Mr. Stephen Hawtrey in South Meadow Lane, the class-room of any Division attending those Schools being generally lent to some junior master who had no regular class-room of his own. Boys in the Fourth Form, waiting under, or near, the Colonnade, had to watch for their master coming out of 'Chambers,' so as to follow him to whatever room had been assigned to him for the ensuing three-quarters of an hour. The Upper School, divided into three sections by heavy red curtains, was made to accommodate four Divisions. Underneath it were two smaller schoolrooms, very meagre and uncomfortable, but splendid in comparison with the 'cock-loft,' or 'black hole,' a room on the top storey of the tower over the Head Master's 'Chambers,' approached by the

staircase in the north-western angle of the School Yard, and entered by a square opening in the floor. This remarkable schoolroom is thus described :—

> "It was a narrow loft with about a dozen tiers of seats, the uppermost being so high that the boys seated on it could touch the ceiling. The forms were so low and so close to each other that boys sat with their knees higher than their waists ; and the boys of each row rested their backs against the knees of those in the row behind. If a fellow came in late, he disturbed the whole form in climbing to his place, and if one on the upper tiers got a shove in the scrimmage that occurred when school-time was over, he ran risk of a nasty fall." [1]

'Early School' there, on a winter morning, was an experience not easily to be forgotten. A few of the masters who had good-sized pupil-rooms in their houses used them as class-rooms for their respective divisions. Angelo's School of Arms was made to serve also as a school of Latin and Greek. The entrance examinations three times a year, the examination for admission to College in July, and the examination for the Newcastle Scholarship in March or April, were alike held in the School Library in Weston's Yard, in default of any other available room.

In view of the congestion described above, it was resolved, in 1861, to erect a new block of schools at the angle of the roads leading to Slough and Eton Common. Mr. Woodyer was entrusted with the preparation of the designs, a large sum of money was collected, mainly by a local subscription, and a block of red brick buildings, to this day known as the 'New Schools,' was set in hand. When completed in 1863, it comprised thirteen rooms specially constructed for scholastic purposes, an observatory, and a room for the use of a newly established Musical Society. The Russian gun, taken at Sebastopol in 1855, which stands in the yard of the 'New Schools' was presented to Eton by General Peel, Secretary of State for the War Department. In 1876, a wing was added on the north side, in order to provide further class-rooms for the boys steadily increasing in number.

[1] *Seven Years at Eton*, p. 48; *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 9. | Wilkinson's *Reminiscences of Eton*, pp. 99—101.

The increased teaching of natural science necessitated the erection of some schools for the purpose, in addition to the chemical laboratory which had been built in 1869 in South Meadow Lane. A School of Mechanics was built in Eton Common Lane in 1879, and a 'workshop' was established about seven years later, but neither of these institutions has fulfilled the hopes of those who founded them.[1]

In 1885, there were persistent rumours of great changes intended One scheme after another was brought forward, only to be dropped or rejected. At last it was announced that four things were considered necessary—better accommodation for the Collegers when ill, a more convenient house for the Head Master, a large room suitable for speeches, concerts, examinations, and the like, and a supplementary chapel.[2] Unfortunately most of these threatened the removal, or ruin, of some landmark dear to Etonians. The enlargement of the Collegers' quarters, for instance, seemed to involve the destruction of Hawtrey's Library, and it was almost decided that the books should be removed to the Upper School, which, after the erection of a grand new speech-room, would cease to be useful for any other purpose. So again, the site suggested for this speech-room was that occupied by the actual Head Master's house, erected in the early years of James the First, used by Sir Henry Savile and his learned colleagues for the edition of St. John Chrysostom, and more recently recognized as one of the most picturesque domestic buildings in the county of Buckingham. Some local criticism of the scheme, which was believed to be regarded favourably by certain members of the Governing Body, led to a general protest of old Etonians.[3] Statesmen and diplomatists, peers and members of Parliament, bishops, heads of departments of state, authors, and others signed a memorial which led to the rejection of the more objectionable proposals.[4] While better accommodation was found for the Head Master, on the eastern side of the Cloisters, the old house in Weston's Yard, which had been inhabited by him and his four predecessors,

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 296, 341, 390, 441, 445, 478, 495; *Eton Review*, no. 6.

[2] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 414.

[3] *A plea for the preservation of Eton Buildings*; *Sparrow on Housetops* by Peccator Maximus.

[4] *The Times*, 23 December 1885.

was left intact, and nothing was done to the Upper School. The New Buildings in Weston's Yard being enlarged, the School Library was transferred to the New Schools.[1]

Some time after this, it was resolved to make a new quadrangle, on and near the site of the Mathematical Schools in South Meadow Lane. Designs were prepared by Sir Arthur Blomfield, and, in May 1889, Queen Victoria laid a memorial stone of a new block of buildings, since known in consequence as



The Lower Chapel and Queen's Schools.

the 'Queen's Schools.' Here there are various class-rooms, a drawing-school, a spacious lecture hall and a museum of natural history, mineralogy, and primitive implements, containing the heraldic windows and many objects formerly kept in the School Library in Weston's Yard.

The Chapel had long been inadequate to the requirements of the School. In the days of Dr. Goodford and Dr. Balston, the Lower School, that is to say all the boys below the Fourth Form, attended divine service on weekdays in the Cemetery Chapel on the Dorney Road, and on Sundays in St. John's Chapel in the High Street of Eton. Afterwards, a sort of

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 453.

supplementary Chapel, unecclesiastical in character, and avowedly temporary, was built in South Meadow Lane, a little beyond the Mathematical Schools. It was thought by some that, by a slight modification of the time-table, the mediæval Chapel might be used by the whole School, divided into two sections, just as the halls of certain Colleges are used twice a day for dinner. The Governing Body, however, eventually determined that a permanent 'Lower Chapel' should be erected on the north-western side of the Queen's Schools. For this purpose the Assistant Masters subscribed 3000*l.*, some old Etonians 5000*l.*, and the College 4800*l.*, and a building capable of seating four hundred boys was erected from designs by Sir Arthur Blomfield. When it was practically finished, the Queen came to see it, accompanied by her eldest and youngest daughters, on the 24th of March 1891, and on this occasion the Empress Frederick of Germany unveiled a statue of the Queen, provided by the Eton boys for a niche over the gate leading into the adjoining quadrangle.[1] Exactly three months later, on the 24th of June, the Lower Chapel was consecrated by the Bishop of Oxford, and a sermon was preached in it by the Bishop of Chichester.[2] Private donations have helped to beautify the interior. The screen and organ-loft are a memorial to Mr. H. G. Wintle, for some years an Assistant Master. Mr. Stephen Leech, an old Etonian, presented the carved reredos. A series of stained glass windows by Kempe contrast favourably with the well-intentioned but unfortunate productions of Willement and O'Connor in the old Chapel. The east window was given by Major W. J. Myers; two others were bequeathed by him, and another records his untimely death in South Africa. No fewer than four windows were put up in memory of T. C. Edwards-Moss, 'Captain of the Boats' in 1873 and 1874. Another, given by Mr. E. C. Austen-Leigh, commemorates Mr. Edward Hale and Mr. Thomas Dalton, formerly Mathematical Masters. Two windows were given by the officers of the 60th Rifles, and by Major W. J. Myers respectively, in memory of their colleague Lachlan Campbell Maclachlan. One was given by Mr. C. M. Tatham, and others commemorate H. E. Hardy and Mr. A. Austen-

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 551. | [2] *Ibid.* no. 560.

Leigh, Provost of King's. The last window to be mentioned serves as a connecting link with the eighteenth century, being a memorial of the Marquess Wellesley—who was born in 1760—set up, in 1896, by Mr. Alfred Montgomery, who had been his private secretary.[1]

The entire secularization of the College under the new statutes made it necessary that the Provost, possibly a layman, should be relieved of all cure of souls, and accordingly the chapel dedicated to St. John was, in 1875, raised to the position of an independent church, under the charge of a vicar, with a district embracing the whole of Eton. Dissociated from the parish, and no longer attached to an ecclesiastical corporation, the old Collegiate Church has since become, in fact, if not in name, the Chapel of Eton School, served by two Chaplains under the direction of the Governing Body.

On the other hand, the School has established a spiritual agency in London, under conditions that might have appeared extraordinary at an earlier period. In the early part of 1880, a meeting was held in the Drill Hall, to consider a suggestion that Eton should follow the example of some other schools, by maintaining a permanent mission in one of the densely populated districts of the capital of England. Although several speakers on that occasion pleaded the cause of South London, it was eventually decided that the Eton Mission should take charge of a district at Hackney Wick, to be carved out of the parish of St. Augustine's, Victoria Park. A council, consisting partly of Masters and partly of boys, was formed for collecting funds at Eton, by special offertories in the Chapel, by periodical collections in the different boarding-houses, and by means of almsboxes placed in conspicuous positions. Old Etonians were also invited to contribute. In order to make the scheme more generally known, a large meeting of old Etonians was held on the 21st of May 1881, at Willis's Rooms, with Sir Stafford Northcote in the chair. No time was lost in starting the scheme, for, within a few months, a clergyman bearing the name of Carter, a name familiar at Eton and at King's for many a generation, began work at Hackney Wick, as a curate in connexion with the London

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 728.

Diocesan Home Mission. The beginning of the enterprise was humble enough, the earlier meetings and religious services being conducted in a disused shop containing only about sixty seats. Before long, Mr. W. M. Carter was joined by the Hon. A. G. Lawley and several other fellow-workers, and he proved very successful in obtaining the money necessary for the wants of the place.

On the 21st of May 1884, another meeting of old Etonians interested in the work was held at St. James's Hall, with Lord Chelmsford in the chair, and, three days later, a mission-room was opened at Hackney Wick. A larger site being given by Mr. Foster, a permanent building was completed in 1889, and on the 7th of June in the following year, the Princess Christian laid the foundation-stone of a handsome church designed by Messrs. Bodley and Garner, which eventually cost more than 12,000*l.* This church was consecrated on the 18th of June 1892. In the following year, a separate parish was assigned to the church of St. Mary of Eton, Hackney Wick. An Eton House, or settlement, was opened there by Princess Christian in May 1898.[1] Mr. Carter having, in 1891, accepted the office of Bishop of Zululand, the Eton Mission was, after his departure, carried on successively by Mr. St. Clair Donaldson and Mr. E. L. Metcalfe.

The present generation hears less about the Eton Melanesian Mission which was started as long ago as 1841. A steamer called the *Etona* plies up and down the Murray River in Australia with a missionary on board, supported by subscriptions from Eton.

Since the transfer of the School Library from Weston's Yard to the New Schools, and again to the building specially designed for the purpose, the collection has very largely increased. Mr. Alexander Macmillan gave 500*l.* as the nucleus of a permanent fund for the purchase of books,[2] and numerous and costly presents were made by Major Myers, who eventually bequeathed to it his whole collection of antiquities. A remarkable picture of Eton Montem, painted by R. Livesay, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, and presented by the Duke of Newcastle, and

[1] *Eton College Chronicle,* nos. 312, 320, 325, 330, 384, 528, 585, 587, 631, 797.

[2] *Ibid.* no. 715.

various other objects of local interest were placed in the School Library.

At the end of 1854, some of the boys boarding with William Evans conceived the idea of establishing a library and reading-room, over a shop in the High Street, but their 'dame,' hearing of it, placed a room in his house at their disposal. Although it is admitted that the library there was not always regarded as a place for quiet reading, there is no doubt that the establishment of it proved a great boon to the elder inmates of the house.[1] More than a decade, however, passed before the general recognition of the principle by the different tutors and dames.

The Eton Society, commonly known as 'Pop,' has undergone notable changes. From being in the main a literary association, it gradually came to be a social club, which rarely opened its doors to anyone who had not distinguished himself at cricket, at football, or on the river. Even the relaxation of the rule forbidding the discussion of political topics failed to maintain interest in the weekly debates. When therefore, in view of the proposed demolition of the premises occupied by the Society, negotiations were started for obtaining rooms elsewhere, Dr. Warre pointed out that the Society had departed from its original principles, by electing athletes comparatively low down in the School, in preference to those who should be regarded as the intellectual leaders of the School. Acting upon this broad hint, the members resolved, in the autumn of 1898, that the Society should in future comprise the Captain of the School, the Captain of the Oppidans, and at least five other members of the Sixth Form, and furthermore that no one below the Upper Division of the Fifth Form should be eligible, unless a member of the Athletic Committee.[2] The rooms occupied by the Society since 1846 were not actually pulled down until 1902, when it migrated to the opposite side of the yard of the old *Christopher* Inn.

In order to atone for the shortcomings of the Eton Society, an 'Eton Literary and Scientific Society' was established in 1871,

[1] Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, pp. 97—101, 163, 165, 172, 223, 240, 266, 333, 427, 460.

[2] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 811.

by three boys who afterwards attained very high honours at Oxford and Cambridge, A. A. Tilley, G. W. Balfour and C. C. Lacaita. Provision was made in the rules for the reading of papers, to be followed by discussion, and the School Library was selected as the scene of fortnightly meetings. Subsequently, the Drill Hall and the Lecture Room in the Queen's Schools were used for lectures given, under the auspices of the Society, by men of eminence in various branches of literature. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Matthew Arnold, Mr. Lowell, Sir James Stephen, Lord Herschell, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Spottiswoode, Mr. Ruskin, Sir Charles Newton, Mr. Tom Taylor, Professors Bonamy Price and Rolleston, and others from time to time lectured before large audiences of Etonians, the subscribing members of the Society being empowered to distribute tickets of admission on all special occasions. By the original constitution of the Society, the number of members was limited to thirty, not including the Assistant Masters and former members, who were alike entitled to take part in the proceedings, but in 1889, the number of ordinary members was increased to fifty. Nevertheless, complaints were often made that the managers of the Society, who should have instituted debates, acted merely as purveyors of lectures. At the end of 1897, the Society was dissolved, and a committee was appointed to devise something to take its place. The result was the establishment of two societies, the first a select Essay Club of fourteen members, each of them pledged to read a paper in turn for discussion by his colleagues, the second a larger Debating Society, to hold fortnightly meetings in the School Library. No attempt being made to exclude subjects of political controversy, this new society opened its proceedings, in February 1898, with a debate on the notorious Dreyfus case.[1] The arrangements for lectures were entrusted to a small committee of Masters and boys, not necessarily connected with the Essay Club or the Debating Society. The latter came to an end in 1900.[2]

A select Debating Society, consisting of twenty of the

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 785, 789.

[2] *Ibid.* no. 865.

senior Collegers, was established in 1855, and, although it never had any connexion with an eating-house, it acquired, by analogy, the name of 'College Pop.' The debates take place on Saturday evenings in the Collegers' Reading Room in Weston's Yard. In November 1905, the Society commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment by a dinner in the College Hall, which was attended by a hundred and seventy-seven members, past and present, including the two founders, Mr. J. G. Witt and Sir F. A. Bosanquet.[1] Other debating societies have from time to time been started in different boarding-houses, with various degrees of success.[2]

As if the Eton boys had not sufficient opportunities of airing their eloquence, a *Cercle des Débats* was instituted in 1890, with a view to encouraging the study of French.[3] When it was broken up, in the following year, an epitaph was composed :—

"To the memory of
A quiet, harmless, and unambitious institution,
Which united the charm of novelty
To the mysterious attractions of an unknown tongue,
And illustrated with peculiar piquancy,
In its blameless life and premature decease,
The much-disregarded dogma that
'Speech is silver, but silence is golden' :
To that Chimaeric combination of officialism
And enterprising but unappreciated eloquence,
Which discussed a wide range of topics
By precisely identical arguments,
And, when the Dictionary failed,
Did not hesitate to employ English idiom,
The *Cercle des Débats*."[4]

An Eton Musical Society, founded by some of the boys in 1862, underwent several vicissitudes during the first few years of its existence, but it may now be regarded as a permanent institution. In 1863, a large room was assigned to it in the New Schools, and an organ was bought by subscription among the

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 1110, 1119, 1120.

[2] Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, pp. 240, 277—297, 333, 461; *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 1082.

[3] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 533, 534.

[4] *The May-fly*, pp. 3, 4.

masters. The first of a long series of concerts given by the Society took place in December of that year, in the round Mathematical School, lent for the purpose. Two years later, the programme included several pieces written by a boy then at Eton, C. Hubert Parry, who was destined to win higher honours in the world of music.[1] After the demolition of the Mathematical Schools, the concerts were held in the College Hall, and, in 1891, the Society migrated from the New Schools to the building in South Meadow Lane, which had till then served as a temporary chapel for the lower part of the School.[2]

In 1862, Mr. W. A. Carter allowed some of the boys at his house to organize theatricals on a small scale, and a taste for acting soon spread in the School. Two years later, dramatic performances were attempted not only in four of the boarding-houses, but also in the College Hall, the scene of many similar entertainments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Matters were put upon a broader footing in 1867, when Mr. F. Tarver, one of the French Masters, obtained Dr. Balston's permission to form an amateur theatrical company, on condition that one of the two pieces to be studied should be in French, and the other an English 'classic.' In that year, and in each of the two following years, dramatic performances were given in the round Mathematical School, on three different days, so that all the boys might have an opportunity of seeing them. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Critic* were acted by Eton boys alone; *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and *Le Mariage Forcé*, by a combination of masters and boys.[3] Since 1869, however, no theatricals have been allowed at Eton, and the annual Speeches on the Fourth of June, publicly rehearsed in the Drill Hall, now afford the only opportunity for an exhibition of such dramatic talent as may exist among the elder boys.

An Eton Natural History Society, founded in March 1880,

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 2, 3, 15, 16, 33, 50; Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, pp. 160—162, 164, 166.

[2] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 570.

[3] *Amateur Clubs and Actors*, ed. by W. G. Elliot, pp. 199—219; Browning's *Memories*, pp. 132, 133.

began to show signs of weakness within the first two years of its existence, and came to an end in 1887.[1] An attempt to resuscitate it in 1898 proved unsuccessful.[2] On the other hand, an Eton Photographic Society, established in 1890, has through the exertions of Mr. T. C. Porter, one of the Assistant Masters, maintained an honourable career and provided interesting annual exhibitions in the Upper School.[3] A Scientific Society, founded in 1902, gave its first conversazione in the following year.[4] A Shakespeare Society is necessarily small.

During the period under consideration, various magazines have been conducted by Etonians. The *Porticus Etonensis* of 1859 did not attain even a third number. On the other hand, the *Eton Observer*, commenced in February 1860, and conducted by V. Stuckey Coles, V. Cracroft-Amcotts, W. R. Anson, H. W. Alleyne, and W. H. C. Nation, extended into two volumes. Its rival, the *Phœnix*, was issued in five very thin parts, between October 1860 and March 1861. *Etonensia* of 1863 proved yet shorter-lived. The *Eton Scrap Book*[5] went through seven numbers in 1865, and enjoyed a fair sale, due in a measure to the contributions of a few old Etonians. In it appeared the original and authentic version of the "Eton Boating Song," which has since obtained wide popularity. Some of the occasional contributors to this magazine combined with others in 1867 to start the *Adventurer*, a serial which appeared at intervals for about five years, under the management of a committee, which selected articles for publication by secret voting. The earlier numbers, were on the whole, better than the later, and the sale was declining in 1871 when a notable article appeared in it under the title of "*Eton as it is*," the author declaring unreservedly that "the worship of the body" enslaved the whole School, and that the idleness of the boys in general was indescribable. This, and another article to the same effect, attracted a good deal of attention at the time, but, after a while, the magazine declined in popularity so markedly that it was discontinued in 1872. A printed list of the contributors enumerates thirty-six names.[6]

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 309, 471, 473, 476, 477.
[2] *Ibid.* no. 785.
[3] *Ibid.* nos. 537, 639.
[4] *Ibid.* no. 1036.
[5] Edited by the Hon. E. H. Primrose and H. C. Maxwell Lyte.
[6] The successive editors were: R.

There were at that time two firms of booksellers at Eton, and just when Mr. Williams, the official publisher to the College, was issuing the first number of the *Adventurer*, Mr. Ingalton Drake brought out the first number of the *Eton Review*.[1] The latter, however, did not get beyond a sixth number.

A newspaper, published fortnightly during term-time, under the title of the *Eton College Chronicle*, has enjoyed a wider circulation and a much longer career than any Etonian magazine aspiring to a more literary character. Started in 1863 by W. W. Wood, J. E. Tinné, A. Pochin, and A. Hall Hall, it continues to record matches at cricket and football, races on land and on water, the proceedings of the different societies connected with the School, and all other events of local interest, some space being also reserved for letters from correspondents and occasional reviews of books. The thousandth number, published in March 1903, contained a facsimile of the first number, an enumeration of the principal events recorded in the course of forty years, a list of the successive editors, and an original ode by Mr. A. C. Benson.[2]

In 1875, at a time when the *Eton College Chronicle* was often irregular in the time of publication, an attempt was made to supplement it, or perhaps to rival it, by a paper styled the *Etonian*, and issued weekly under the direction of S. Sandbach, H. St. C. Feilden, and the Hon. G. N. Curzon. Like the *Chronicle*, this second *Etonian*, very different from its celebrated namesake, undertook to record everything connected with the public life of the School, and also published correspondence from other schools and from the Universities, notes on passing events, and original compositions in prose and verse. After the first six months, the issue became fortnightly, and greater attention was paid to the literary section, with the gratifying result that a financial success was obtained. A few only of the pieces were contributed by old Etonians, such as the late Lord Brabourne and Mr. F. St. John Thackeray, the principal supporters of the magazine

Shute, J. R. Sturgis, W. H. Forbes, C. W. Bell, A. G. Tindal, F. H. Rawlins, C. C. Thornton, Hon. A. T. Lyttelton, A. A. Tilley, E. C. Selwyn, G. C. Macaulay, and J. C. Tarver.

[1] Edited by T. C. Williams, N. J. Pogose, J. C. Cumberbatch and A. Fawkes.

[2] This number may be compared with nos. 1002 and 1070.

being the editors and J. K. Stephen, C. Spring-Rice, and M. T. Tatham. A farewell was issued in the summer of 1876, but in the following year the best of the articles and verses were collected and reissued, with a few others, by a firm of publishers in London under the title of *Out of School at Eton*, the selection having been made by the Hon G. N. Curzon, afterwards Viceroy of India.

The *Eton Rambler*, issued by subscription in 1880, under the editorship of A. C. Benson, S. M. Leathes, and H. F. W. Tatham, did not outlive a single school-term, although it was financially successful. The *Etonian* of 1883, the third publication bearing that name, aimed, like the *Etonian* of 1875, at combining the characteristics of a local newspaper with those of a magazine. Its original editors, W. J. Seton, and E. D. Hildyard, were succeeded by the Hon. R. C. Devereux.

Most of the periodicals issued at Eton since that date have been somewhat similar in character, and a very brief enumeration of them must suffice. The *Eton Review*, the second of that name, extended to ten numbers in 1886;[1] and the *Eton Fortnightly* to the same number, in the following year.[2] Its rival, the *Eton Observer*, the second of that name, did not prove a success.[3] The *Present Etonian*, which went through fifteen numbers in 1888,[4] was succeeded in the following year by the *Parachute*,[5] and, in 1890, some of the articles and poems that had appeared in them were reprinted under the title of *Seven Summers—an Eton Medley*.

Short-lived as was the *Parachute*, it had a rival, issuing from the same publishing office and styled the *Eton Review*, the third periodical of that name.[6] The *Rocket* of 1890, and the *Student's Humour*[7] and the *May-fly*[8] of the following year, did not give any accounts of cricket matches or the like, and never got beyond a few pages apiece. On the other hand, the *Eton Idler* of 1893, which was a chronicle as well as a review, reached its seventh number in the course of the

[1] Edited by T. T. Pitman.
[2] Edited by J. R. L. Rankin.
[3] Edited by Z. Malcolm and M. MacNaghten.
[4] Edited by M. B. Furse.
[5] Edited by R. C. Bosanquet.
[6] Edited by Lord Elmley, now Earl Beauchamp.
[7] Edited by C. C. Bigham.
[8] Edited by H. T. Watkins.

'summer half.'[1] The *Eton Spectator* was short-lived. Its successor, the *New Etonian*,[2] made a fresh departure by giving illustrations, and in this it was followed by the *Amphibian*.

More recently, every year has seen the publication of some new Etonian Magazine. The *Bantling* and the *Gnat* appeared in 1900; the *X Magazine* in 1901; the *Mirror*, the *Fleur de Lys* and the *Eton Sketch* in 1902; the *Riparian* and the *Pandemonium* in 1903; the *Supplement*, the *Amphibian*, the *Meteor*, and the *Phœnix* in 1904; *Jourdelays* and the *Eton Herald* in 1905. Some of these did not attain a second number; only one of them attained a fifth.

A small selection of poems originally published in different periodicals between 1880 and 1891 was issued in the latter year, under the title of *Flosculi Etonenses*. The *Salt Hill Papers*, the *Sugar Loaf Papers*, and the *Keate's Lane Papers* were isolated productions.

In connexion with the various publications edited by Etonians, mention should be made of a treatise on the birds of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, written by A. Clark-Kennedy, while still at school in 1868. *A Day of my Life, or Everyday Experiences at Eton*, and *About some Fellows by an Eton Boy*, are the titles of two small books published anonymously in 1876 and 1878, and attributed to G. Nugent Bankes.

Eton was the first of the Public Schools to be affected by the Volunteer movement of 1859. In January 1860, proposals were made for the establishment of a Cadet Corps, and before Easter a considerable number of boys were enrolled as members. E. W. Chapman, R. A. H. Mitchell, A. C. Arkwright, J. R. Selwyn, A. Rickards, the Hon N. G. Lyttelton, W. S. Prideaux, and W. W. Phipps, were successively Captains Commandant of a military force composed exclusively of schoolboys and armed with old cavalry carbines that could not be fired. A pair of colours was presented by Mrs. Goodford, and a silver bugle was presented by Lady Carrington, in the first year, and a uniform was devised, consisting mainly of a grey tunic faced with pale blue. The small body was reviewed by the Queen and the Prince Con-

[1] Edited by H. E. S. Fremantle. | [2] Edited by A. S. Ward.

sort on the Lawn at Windsor, on the 29th of November 1861, which is remembered as the last day on which the Prince appeared in public. Since that year, a team from Eton has annually competed at Wimbledon or at Bisley for the Public Schools Challenge Shield, presented by Lord Ashburton, and the highest scorer in the team has competed for the cup presented by Earl Spencer.[1] After a while, the corps declined in popularity, and, being reorganized in 1867, it was, in the following January, placed under the command of Mr. S. T. G. Evans, the Drawing Master. There was a further crisis in 1870.[2] The Eton College Rifle Volunteers, after being for about ten years attached to the First Bucks, were, in March 1875, consolidated with them. In May 1878, they were constituted a separate corps, thus receiving an honour which had not been granted to any other public school. In December 1887, they received the name of the 4th Volunteer Battalion of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry, but in 1902, they recovered their name and position as the 'Second Bucks.'[3] It became usual for the corps to go out for field-days about three times in the winter, and as often in the spring, sometimes in conjunction with volunteers from other schools, and even with regulars. The members were also encouraged to go into camp at the beginning of the summer holidays.

A Drill Hall, measuring 75 feet by 32, was built in Eton Common Lane, in 1879, primarily for the benefit of the Volunteers, but it has also proved useful for lectures and for the rehearsal of Speeches before the Fourth of June. In March 1880, the corps was inspected by Sir Frederick Roberts, and, on the conclusion of the ceremony, this distinguished Etonian general was presented with a sword of honour in the School Yard. So great was the enthusiasm on the occasion that the boys drew the carriage containing Sir Frederick and Lady Roberts as far as Windsor Bridge.[4] On the 6th of July 1891, the corps was reviewed in the Playing Fields by the German Emperor.[5]

[1] *Eton Observer* (1860), pp. 3—6, 10, 11. Eton won the shield in 1863, 1868, 1878, and 1880, and the cup in 1861, 1862, 1868, 1871, and 1873. (*Seven Years at Eton*, p. 288.) After a long interval, it again won the shield in 1902.

[2] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 137.

[3] *Ibid.* no. 960.

[4] *Ibid.* no. 326.

[5] *Ibid.* no. 562.

The Eton Volunteers went up to London twice in May 1898, firstly on the occasion of the opening of the Eton House at Hackney Wick by Princess Christian, and secondly for the funeral of Mr. Gladstone, at which they were the only persons attired in uniform.[1]

Manly sports have for some time past obtained full recognition from the Masters, and consequently great importance. It was an Assistant Master, William Johnson, who, in 1860, presented the cup for which the different houses compete at cricket. The annual cricket matches between Eton and Harrow, Harrow and Winchester, and Winchester and Eton, were played as usual at Lord's at the beginning of the summer holidays in 1853 and 1854. After this, however, Winchester withdrew from such public contests in London, and an arrangement was made that the matches between Eton and Winchester should take place in the course of the 'summer half,' on the grounds of the two schools in alternate years. A Wykehamist Eleven coming accordingly to play in the Upper Shooting Fields at Eton in July 1855, an Etonian Eleven went to Winchester in the following year, and this system has been observed ever since. The most remarkable match of the series was that of 1863, when Eton made 444, out of which E. W. Tritton got 130 runs, and Alfred Lubbock 174 not out, Winchester scoring only 97 and 153. In 1868, Eton won the regular match in one day and played a second match on the next day, which it also won.[2]

The yearly match between Eton and Harrow was played in August 1855, according to previous custom, but, in the following year, Dr. Goodford followed the example of the Head Master of Winchester, by forbidding the boys under his jurisdiction to play at Lord's, even during the holidays. There was therefore no match between the two schools in that year, and a match arranged for the following year was played under singular conditions, the Eton Eleven consisting of players who had left the School within the previous week, supplemented by others under twenty years of age, like them no longer subject to the recent regulation. The Head Master of Harrow entertained no objection to the matches at Lord's, and, in 1858, Dr. Goodford gave way on the subject,

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 797, 801.

[2] *Ibid.* no. 105.

stipulating, however, that they should take place early in July, so that all the boys, players and spectators alike, should return to school immediately afterwards, without affording cause of anxiety to their relations.

The re-establishment of the yearly match between the two principal public schools of England synchronized with a revival of interest in cricket at Eton. For a term of years before, very little attention had been given to the game, and the 'dry-bobs,' as cricketers were called, had been in a small minority. The performances of the Hon. C. G. Lyttelton and R. A. H. Mitchell, however, showed that there were laurels to be won in the Upper Shooting Fields no less than on the river Thames.[1] All forms of athletic recreation were in those days far less systematized than they are now. 'Colours' were almost unknown, and, in 1857, it was possible for Montagu Lubbock, Captain of the *Victory*, and a member of the rowing Eight, to be also a member of the cricket Eleven.[2]

Since 1858, the annual contests at cricket between Eton and Harrow have been notable events in London, attracting thousands of persons to Lord's, despite the increased charges for admission imposed by the Marylebone Club now owning the ground.[3] In 1860, R. A. H. Mitchell made 70 runs out of a total of 98 credited to Eton in the first innings. Three years later, the Etonians gave their adversaries no less than 56 'extras,' out of a total score of 268. In 1866, Eton made only 42 runs, without any 'extras,' in the second innings. There was great excitement at Lord's in 1885, when the Harrovians won the match by three wickets, within two minutes of the time fixed for the close of play, and again in 1895, when, being 142 runs behind, their last two batsmen managed to defend their wickets until half-past seven, and so secure a 'draw.' In 1904, D. C. Boles, an Etonian, put together 183 runs, the largest individual score ever made in this series of matches.

[1] Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, p. 145; *Augustus Austen Leigh*, p. 43.

[2] J. Simpson and J. Tunnard had been similarly distinguished in 1832.

[3] Wisden's *Public School Matches*. Eton won the matches against Harrow in 1862, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1874, 1876, 1886, 1887, 1903, and 1904. The matches of 1860, 1861, 1863, 1867, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1890, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1899, and 1905 were drawn.

Inasmuch as no less than fifteen out of the last thirty-eight matches between Eton and Harrow had been left unfinished for want of time, many cricketers tried, in 1897, to induce the ruling powers of the two schools to allow a third day for the annual contest. The Head Master of Harrow avowedly favoured the proposed change, but Dr. Warre felt himself obliged to forbid it, partly on the ground that the boys entrusted to his charge had already two other distractions in the course of the 'summer half,' namely the yearly match against Winchester, and Henley Regatta. Such a decision, coming from the most athletic of Head Masters, was obviously conclusive.[1] In 1898, the successive Captains of the Eton Eleven since 1866 combined to present a silver bowl to Mr. R. A. H. Mitchell, who had been their invaluable adviser in cricketing matters.[2]

A pavilion for the use of some of the cricketers was built in 1866, in the Upper Shooting Fields, better known nowadays as 'Upper Club,' and enlarged about ten years later, by the subscriptions of Old Etonians, collected by Mr. W. F. Higgins. The space available for cricket in the Lower Shooting Fields, commonly called 'Lower Club,' was afterwards enlarged, by the diversion of the path to Datchet, effected at the expense of the late Vice-Provost, John Wilder. In 1890, a sum of about 1000*l.* was raised by subscription, for the purchase of an additional playground adjoining the Timbralls, between Chalvey brook and the stream commonly called 'Jordan.'

Not very long after the acquisition of this, some land to the north of Eton was offered for sale. The facilities offered by the Great Western Railway had led to a rapid increase of the town of Slough, and there was serious reason to fear that buildings would spread as far as the playgrounds of the School. In order to prevent this, Mr. J. P. Carter and Mr. A. C. Cole started a subscription among old Etonians, and, with the aid of Lord Kinnaird, the Hon. W. F. D. Smith, and a few others, eventually raised a fund sufficient for the purchase of a valuable piece of land on the western side of the Slough Road. The Governing Body also took the matter up, and managed to secure the property known as 'Dutchman's Farm' or 'Agar's Plough' on

[1] Wisden's *Public School Matches*. | [2] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 807.

the north of the Shooting Fields.[1] Since 1895, the space between Datchet Lane and Upton Park has been added to the playgrounds of Eton, and apportioned in 'regions' for the use of different houses. Two triple avenues have been planted, and various adornments have been suggested. In 1901, a subscription was opened for the erection on Agar's Plough of a pavilion designed by Mr. T. G. Jackson, R.A. The College contributed 2000*l.* out of the sum required.

In 1864, two Fives Courts were added to those which had been opened in 1848 on the Dorney Road. Six years later, a group of eight new Courts was built by subscription close to the Timbralls, and in 1880, twenty more were added to them, at a cost of 135*l.* apiece.[2] Others have been erected since, mostly in connexion with particular boarding-houses. So popular indeed is this game, between Christmas and Easter, that some fifty courts are hardly sufficient for a thousand boys. Yet in 1847, there was only one four-handed court for seven hundred.

Some Racquet Courts were built by subscription in South Meadow Lane in 1866, and, two years later, the representatives of Eton were successful in the first series of contests at racquets between the different public schools. The erection of new Courts for this game on the Timbralls, in 1903, led to the abandonment of the original Courts, one of which was converted into a music-room.[3] Seven or eight lawn-tennis courts were laid out in 1877,[4] but this game did not remain long in vogue among the Eton boys. Golf was introduced about twelve years later, when some links were formed between 'Upper Hope' and Boveney.[5] Hockey was to some extent in vogue between 1868 and 1871.[6]

To run with beagles has long been a popular pastime at Eton, but there is no record of the exact date at which some of the Collegers combined together to establish and maintain a small pack of their own, in direct contravention of the mediæval statutes. At one period the pack "consisted of a single long-

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 676.
[2] *Ibid.* nos. 15, 17, 291, 306.
[3] *Ibid.* nos. 1025, 1047.
[4] *Ibid.* no. 258.
[5] *Ibid.* nos. 494, 498, 640, 1036.
[6] *Ibid.* nos. 96, 150.

backed Scotch terrier," whose movements were directed by a Master and two Whips.[1] Mr. Collins tells an amusing story :—

> "At one time the members of the hunt, in emulation of older sportsmen, determined on adopting a distinctive button, and had a die struck with the letters E. C. H—Eton College Hunt. Dr. Hawtrey soon noticed these new insignia in school, but he could not quite make out the legend. Meeting a boy one day in the school-yard, he literally took him by the button, and asked what the letters were ; but when his pupil, with some slight natural embarrassment, read out the mystic characters—the Doctor's own initials—further question or comment seemed unnecessary, and it was the master's turn to look embarrassed at what he took for a delicate compliment from his pupils."

Inasmuch as beagling involved going 'out of bounds,' it could hardly be sanctioned by the authorities, and, indeed, it was for a while almost proscribed. On one occasion, Harry Dupuis, an Assistant Master, noted for his success in catching boys 'out of bounds,' took the field on horseback, and pursued the pursuers.[2] A rival pack of beagles started by some Oppidans, in 1857, received recognition from Dr. Balston in 1864, and was amalgamated with the other pack three years later. Formal stipulations made, in 1867, for a proportionate representation of both parties in the management of the hunt, have since become unnecessary in consequence of the admission of the Collegers to share in the amusements of their schoolfellows on a footing of absolute equality.[3] For some years, the joint pack, comprising ten to twelve couple, was kept at the kennels of the original 'Eton College Hunt,' at the south-eastern extremity of the Lower Shooting Fields. From 1877 to 1898, it was kept in the High Street of Eton, but in the following year new kennels of approved design were erected by subscription in Agar's Plough. Since 1879, it has been customary for the Master and the Whips to wear brown velvet coats and white knickerbockers. Their distinctive dress was completed, in 1893, by the adoption of a

[1] *Augustus Austen Leigh*, p. 41.
[2] Collins's *Etoniana*, p. 180.
[3] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 72, 422, 438; Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, p. 141.

brown velvet hunting cap. The Master's silver horn of office has been in use since 1864.[1]

The Master of the Oppidan pack of beagles, having a surplus of money in his hands, in 1862, spent it in the purchase of prizes for jumping, throwing the hammer, and the like, but it was not until March 1865 that the annual contests since known by the generic name of 'athletic sports' were regularly established, under the auspices of the Captain of the Boats.[2] Even after this, more than twenty years elapsed before the hurdle-race, the 'quarter-mile' and the 'hundred yards' were transferred from the Michaelmas school-time to the Lent school-time, and amalgamated with them. The 'School mile,' which was instituted in 1856, and formerly run on a measured piece of the highroad beyond the Sanatorium, was also added to the number. A challenge cup presented by Mr. S. R. James, one of the Assistant Masters, is now held for a year by the boarding-house whose inmates obtain the greatest number of marks in athletic sports, a certain number of marks being allotted for each of the different contests.

Matches at football between the representatives of the different boarding-houses had previously acquired importance, through the presentation of a challenge cup by Mr. W. Wayte, an Assistant Master, in 1860.[3]

> "The football elevens had no distinctive dress till 1860. In that year, a parti-colour scarlet and Eton blue shirt with a pork-pie cap were adopted for the Field Eleven. In the following year, the pork-pie was superseded by a cap of the ordinary shape, and white flannel trousers with scarlet and light blue stripes were added to the costume. The Wall Eleven took a cap and shirt, dark blue and red in bands."[4]

Two years later, several of the houses selected caps and shirts to be worn by their representatives at football, but the system was not fully established until 1863.[5] The subsequent history of 'colours' at Eton is too intricate for treatment in this place.

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 18, 842, 873.
[2] *Ibid.* nos. 13, 14, 37.
[3] *Ibid.* nos. 11, 15; *Seven Years at Eton*, p. 153.
[4] *Seven Years at Eton*, pp. 156, 228.
[5] *Ibid.* Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, pp. 57, 131, 159, 164.

A Colleger was for the first time admitted to the Field Eleven of footballers in 1866.[1] Football according to the rules of the 'Association' was played at Eton for the first time in the Lent term of 1894, a time of year at which the Field and Wall games were not in vogue.[2] An attempt to introduce the Rugby game two years later proved unsuccessful.[3]

Great, in the estimation of Eton boys, are the Keepers of the Field and of the Wall, greater still is the Captain of the Cricket Eleven, but greatest of all is the Captain of the Boats. As the recognized leader of the School, he always presided at the Oppidan Dinner, which, until 1860, used to take place annually on a half-holiday towards the end of July. It was customary on these occasions for the members of the Upper Boats, the Captains of the Lower Boats, the Cricket Eleven, and a few others, some fifty in all, to dine together at the *White Hart* Hotel, Windsor, at a cost of a guinea a head. The banquet began at four o'clock and lasted until a quarter to six, when the boys had to start for Eton, in order to answer to their names at 'absence.' This over, they reassembled at the *White Hart* for dessert, speeches and songs, and eventually returned about half-past eight, walking arm in arm in several lines down the middle of the High Street. Scandals were not infrequent.[4] It is highly characteristic of Eton that this institution, which was perhaps regarded as a set-off against the ancient festivities in College at Electiontide, was never regulated or suppressed by the higher authorities. The Oppidan Dinner of 1860 has been described as a dismal affair, lacking any real hilarity, and in the following year, the Captain of the Boats, R. H. Blake-Humfrey, went to the Head Master with an offer to abandon the dinner, on condition that the Eight should be allowed to row at Henley Regatta. After some deliberation, Dr. Goodford concluded the bargain with him on those terms.

'Check-nights' were also discontinued at the same time, by another article of the unwritten treaty. Hitherto, it had been customary for the crews of the three Upper Boats to row up to

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 51.
[2] *Ibid.* no. 640.
[3] *Ibid.* nos. 715, 759.
[4] *Seven Years at Eton*, pp. 204—208; *Recollections of Eton*, pp. 346—358; Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, pp. 80, 123.

Surly Hall in their *gala* dresses on alternate Saturday evenings in June and July and to sup there on ducks, green peas, and champagne, at seven-and-sixpence a head, afterwards meeting the Lower Boats on their way down, and returning with them to the Brocas, in regular procession. The privilege granted in consideration of the abandonment of 'check-nights' was that of 'boating-bills,' whereby exemption from 'six o'clock absence' was accorded under certain conditions to the crews of two long boats, who undertook to row to a point beyond Maidenhead Lock. This placed the better oarsmen, or 'wet-bobs,' on an equality with the better cricketers, or 'dry-bobs,' who had, for some time past, been able to claim exemption from 'absence,' when engaged in a match in Upper Club. In exchanging the questionable privileges of Oppidan Dinner and Check-nights for others that directly tended to encourage rowing, the Captain of the Boats was prompted by Mr. Edmond Warre, who, from 1860 to 1884, acted as adviser to him and his successors, in all matters connected with the river,[1] especially in the 'coaching' of the Eight. From 1884 to 1892, these duties were undertaken by Mr. S. A. Donaldson, and he was succeeded by Mr. R. S. de Havilland.

The boat-races between Eton and Westminster were resumed in 1860, when the former won at Putney, as again on the next three occasions, in 1861, 1862, and 1864, after which these contests were discontinued. When first approached on the subject of Henley Regatta, Dr. Goodford had expressed an opinion that it would be useless for mere boys to contend against trained crews of University men. Nevertheless, the Eton Eight won the Ladies' Challenge Plate at Henley in 1864, in 1866, and each of the four succeeding years, in 1882, 1884, 1885, in every year from 1893 to 1899 inclusive, and again in 1904. In 1898, the boys beat the crew which was at the 'head of the river' at Cambridge.

Two of the Assistant Masters at Eton entered for the Silver Goblets at Henley Regatta in 1865 under the pseudonyms of 'Mariner' and 'Guest,' but were beaten in the final heat.[2]

[1] Blake-Humfrey's *Eton Boating Book*, pp. 124, 125; Letter from the late Mr. Blake-Humfrey.

[2] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 43.

Their real surnames occur first and third in a Latin couplet which professes to enumerate nine of the Assistant Masters of the time :—

"*Nix, Juvenis, Bellum, Pondus cum Grandine Jungit,*
*Laniger atque Lapis, tu quoque parva Dies.*"

The race known as 'House Fours' was instituted in 1857, a challenge-cup being bought by subscription, to be rowed for annually by crews consisting of four boys with a steerer boarding under one roof. In 1863, the pair-oared race known as the 'Pulling' underwent a change, by the exclusion of steerers. The time-honoured races between the representatives of 'Dames and Tutors,' and between representatives of the 'Two Sides of College' were abandoned after 1869, in order that the Captains of the different boats might have more time for training their respective crews. 'Trial Eights,' to be rowed in the Lent school-time, were instituted in March 1870.[1] Bumping races are a much more recent innovation, dating only from 1896.[2]

Until 1864, the Collegers had no connexion with the rest of the School, so far as boating was concerned. In that year, however, they equipped an Eight, which went up to Surly in the procession on the Fourth of June, and the stroke of it, R. G. Marsden, rowed in the Eton Eight at Henley and at Putney. A separate College crew was maintained for the next four years, but in 1869 all distinctions were abolished, and Collegers were declared eligible for places in the regular boats. A new boat called the *Hibernia* was added at the same time to the Eton flotilla, ranking between the *Thetis* and the *St. George*.[3] A tenth boat, called the *Alexandra*, has for some time appeared annually on the Fourth of June.

The scene of the fireworks on the Fourth of June was, in 1892, transferred from Piper's Eyot, above Windsor Bridge, to Romney Island opposite to the College.[4] A further change in the arrangements was made in 1904, when the Boats rowed up no further than the place known as 'Sandbanks' and then returning went down through Romney Lock as far as the Albert

[1] Blake-Humfrey, pp. 101, 119, 140, 180, 233, 235. There appears to be a misprint in Woodgate's *Boating*, p. 212.

[2] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 726.

[3] Blake-Humfrey, pp. 173, 221, 222.

[4] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 583.

Bridge, near which their supper was laid in the Home Park, by royal permission.[1]

The shapes, sizes and names of the boats ordinarily used by Etonians have altered very considerably within recent times. In 1860, for instance, the *Victory* was the only one of the long boats that was fully outrigged.[2] Sliding seats for members of the Upper Boats were introduced in 1872.[3] Without going further into technical details, it may be remarked that the short, smart stroke so characteristic of Eton underwent a change in 1893, when the Eton Eight were taught by Mr. R. S. de Havilland to row a longer stroke on a sliding seat.

Although no examination for Scholarships at King's was held at Eton after 1870, the memory of Election Saturday was maintained in the following year by the time-honoured procession of boats to Surly. Unfortunately the proceedings culminated in a disturbance in the High Street, during which one of the Masters narrowly escaped immersion in Barnes Pool.[4] This was the end of Election Saturday, the very name of which has now almost passed into oblivion.

The summer of 1899 was marked by the closing of Surly Hall, the riverside inn at which Etonians had, for more than a century, been wont to rest and refresh themselves after rowing or sculling up from the rafts near Windsor Bridge or the Brocas. As there was no similar establishment in the neighbourhood, consternation would have reigned among the 'wet-bobs' if the Head Master had not managed to obtain from Colonel Van de Weyer a long lease of the island known as 'Queen's Eyot,' situate above Surly but below the famous Monkey Island. Here a club was established strictly limited to Etonians, old Etonians, and Eton Masters. Between 1900 and 1903, a suitable club-house was erected by subscription from designs by Mr. T. G. Jackson, R.A.[5]

A few isolated events, in which the School bore some part, seem to require a brief notice. When the Crown Prince and

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 1054.
[2] Blake-Humfrey, p. x.
[3] *The Etonian*, 7 October 1875.
[4] Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, p. 356; *Eton under Hornby*, by O.E. p. 98.
[5] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 843, 876, 878, 881, 999.

Princess of Prussia came to Windsor in 1857, a gang of Etonians, without previous permission, withdrew the horses from the royal carriage and dragged the bridal couple from the South-Western Railway Station to the Castle. No one who was at Eton in the spring of 1863 can forget the marriage of the Prince of Wales. Two temporary arches were put up over the high-road at either end of the College, one, near the then Head Master's house, representing a mediæval gatehouse, the other, by Barnes Pool Bridge, resplendent with heraldic devices. The Prince of Wales and the Princess Alexandra of Denmark drove through Eton on their way to Windsor, on the afternoon of the 7th of March, but, in consequence of the rain, they made no halt, and the Volunteers and others lining the road saw practically nothing of them, their carriage being closed. On the evening of the 9th, all the boys, marching arm in arm in long lines, were admitted to the lower terraces of Windsor Castle, to see the fireworks in the Home Park. The next morning, stationed within the enclosed part of Castle Hill, Windsor, they saw as much of the proceedings as any persons not actually admitted to St. George's Chapel. They went to Windsor again in the afternoon, to witness the departure of the newly-married couple, and a third time, in the evening, for the illuminations. The Prince and Princess of Wales attended Speeches in Upper School on the following 5th of June, and they would have been rowed up to Surly by the Eight if the weather had been propitious.[1]

Eton took its share in the Jubilee celebrations of 1887. The fronts of the different houses were adorned with shields and flags, and light blue cloths were hung from the window-sills of Upper School. The most remarkable feature of the temporary decorations, however, was a Perpendicular gateway spanning the Slough Road, between the New Schools and the house then occupied by the Head Master. It comprised a large central arch for carriages, and two smaller arches for pedestrians, with buttresses on either side, relieved by niches containing statues of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, Henry the Sixth and Queen Margaret. The whole structure, although made only of lath and plaster, was so well designed by Mr. A. Nutt, under the

[1] *Seven Years at Eton*, pp. 353—367; *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 4.




WINDSOR CASTLE,
*from the Provost's Lodge at Eton.*

direction of a committee of Assistant Masters, and so skilfully executed, that it appeared to be made of red brick and stone, coeval with the College.

On the afternoon of the 22nd of June, Queen Victoria, on her return from London, drove through Eton, and stopped in front of Upper School, where she was received with loud cheers, and loyal addresses were presented by the Provost, the Captain of the School, the Captain of the Oppidans, and a representative of the town. After replying graciously to these, she said a few words to the aged Vice-Provost, John Wilder, who remembered the Jubilee of George the Third, in 1810. Then the Royal carriage moved on, followed as far as the foot of Windsor Hill by the whole School, Volunteers and civilians alike marching four abreast, immediately behind the escort of Royal Horse Guards. Ascending the Hundred Steps, the boys anticipated the *cortège*, and, drawn up near the Round Tower, received the Queen, on her arrival, with loud cheers. In the evening, they again went in procession to Windsor, to perform certain manœuvres which had been organized by the Head Master, and previously rehearsed. The Volunteers were in undress uniform, the rest of the boys in plain flannel coats, with distinguishing caps of blue and white, every one carrying either a Chinese lantern or a paraffin lamp at the end of a stick. Stationed in companies in the main courtyard of the Castle, they there exhibited a series of suitable devices in lines of light, and sang Etonian and loyal songs.[1]

Four years later, Eton celebrated a Jubilee of its own, in honour of the supposed four-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the College. Although the year selected for the purpose was not historically the correct one,[2] it proved otherwise memorable as that in which the number of boys in the School reached, and passed, a thousand. One very interesting feature of the festival was a Loan Collection in Upper School of pictures, prints, books and other objects connected with Eton, supplemented by an exhibition in the Drill Hall of portraits of eminent Etonians then living. The success of this exhibition

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 448, 757; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, by E. V. B.

[2] See page 491 above.

was largely due to the exertions of two of the Assistant Masters, Mr. J. P. Carter and Mr. F. H. Rawlins. On the morning of the 24th of June 1891, there was a special service of thanksgiving in the School Yard, with music by the band of the Eton College Volunteers. Then the Head Master of Winchester read an address of congratulation from the more ancient College of William of Wykeham. At midday, there was a procession, from the School Yard to South Meadow Lane, of those who were to attend the consecration of the new Lower Chapel. In the evening, Mr. A. J. Balfour was entertained at dinner in the Drill Hall. A much larger and more public dinner was held, a few days later, in London, at the Hotel Metropole, under the presidency of the Duke of Westminster, and some seventy old Collegers sat down together at the Savoy Hotel, on the 1st of July.[1]

The arrangements made at Eton in connexion with the Jubilee of 1887 had proved so successful, that very little variation from them was attempted on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of 1897. Almost the only new feature in the decorations was an arcade in the Jacobean style, inscribed with the names of some of the most eminent Etonians of the Victorian age, built across the Eton Common Lane, opposite to the New Schools.[2] When the Queen came to Eton on the afternoon of the 23rd of June, an English boy, a Scotch boy, an Irish boy, and a Welsh boy, all dressed as heralds, and stationed at the temporary gateway over the Slough Road, announced her approach by sounding their trumpets. The street was again lined by Volunteers, and loyal addresses were

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 558, 560, 561, 564; *Catalogue of Eton Loan Collection.*

[2] The names selected were as follows:—(Premiers) Grey, Melbourne, Derby, Gladstone, Salisbury, Rosebery; (Leaders in the House of Commons) Northcote, Hicks-Beach, Balfour, Churchill; (Speakers) Denison, Brand, Peel; (Archbishop) Sumner; (Missionary Bishops) Selwyn, Patteson; (Lord Chief Justices) Denman, Coleridge; (Field-Marshals) Wellington, Roberts; (Admiral of the Fleet) Alcester; (Governors-General of India) Auckland, Ellenborough, Canning, Elgin, Dufferin, Lansdowne, Elgin & Kincardine; (Governors-General of Canada) Durham, Lorne, Metcalfe, Cathcart, Stanley of Preston; (Ambassadors) Stratford de Redcliffe, Malet; (Poet) Swinburne; (Composer) Parry; (Men of Letters) Hallam, Milman; (Divine) Pusey; (Man of Science) Herschel.

again presented in front of Upper School. Two days later, the torchlight procession to Windsor Castle was repeated, and at the end of the performance, the Queen received various representatives of the School and the Captain of the Winchester Eleven, then at Eton for the annual cricket match.[1]

On the 24th of May 1899, the whole School marched up to Windsor Castle, and in the great courtyard greeted the Queen with music and enthusiastic cheers, on the occasion of her eightieth birthday.[2] In November of the same year, the boys lined the approach to the Castle on the arrival of the German Emperor.[3]

At the funeral of Queen Victoria in February 1901, the Eton College Volunteers, about 500 strong, were drawn up between George the Fourth's Gateway in Windsor Castle and the gates of the Long Walk, with the rest of their schoolfellows behind them.[4] In November 1903, they lined part of the Long Walk at Windsor, on the arrival of the King and Queen of Italy.[5]

King Edward and Queen Alexandra visited Eton on the 13th of June 1904, and were conducted successively through the Chapel, Upper School, Chambers, Lower School, the School Yard and the Cloisters. When the King drove through the town on the 9th of June 1905, accompanied by the King of Spain, all the boys were drawn up in the Long Walk.

No chronicle of recent events at Eton would be complete without a mention of the floods of October 1875, when the Timbralls was submerged, and the more serious floods of 1894. On the 15th of November in the latter year, the Thames forced its way into Brocas Lane, and by the following day Eton was practically an island. Water lay a foot deep in some of the pupil-rooms, and the inmates of Mr. Luxmoore's house had no means of egress save by a ladder leading down into the churchyard. On the 17th, it was found necessary to disperse the whole School, and the exodus was not accomplished without difficulty, as the Slough Road was unsafe, and the South-Western Railway was inter-

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 770.
[2] *Ibid.* no. 837.
[3] *Ibid.* no. 858.
[4] *Ibid.* no. 908.
[5] *Ibid.* no. 1030.

rupted. The boys returned on the 30th to find that the Rushes, so well known in the annals of boating, had disappeared.[1]

The year 1898 was marked by the foundation of an 'Old Etonian Association.'[2] Many of its members attended a dinner given in London, in October of that year, to three old Etonians about to leave for distant lands, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, as Viceroy of India, the Earl of Minto, as Governor-General of Canada, and Dr. Welldon, as Bishop of Calcutta.

In July 1902, a committee of old Etonians connected with the City of London gave a banquet at Grocers' Hall in honour of Sir Joseph Dimsdale, the first Lord Mayor for a hundred and thirty years who had been educated at Eton.[3] Many eminent statesmen and others were present. Three years later, the recipient of this notable compliment presented to the College a standing cup and cover of silver-gilt.[4]

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 232, 670. See *Deucalionea*, by Arthur C. James, and Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, pp. 352—354.

[2] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 782, 803, 834.

[3] *Ibid.* no. 975.

[4] *Ibid.* no. 1096.



Pump in the Cloisters.




## 1905—1910.

### BRIEF RECORD OF RECENT EVENTS.

ABOUT Easter 1905, Dr. Warre gave notice of his intention to retire from the office of Head Master. His prosperous reign of twenty-one years did not, however, terminate until the summer holidays. As a result of a general subscription among Etonians, a striking full-length portrait of him was painted by Mr. J. S. Sargent, R.A., to hang in the new Memorial Building, with the erection of which he was so closely associated. A cheque for 1450*l.* was also formally presented to him in a silver casket on St. Andrew's Day, while his connexion with the Thames was commemorated by a replica of the Henley Ladies' Challenge Cup, given to him on the same occasion, together with an illuminated address.[1]

In point of fact, Dr. Warre's severance of his direct tie with Eton lasted little more than four years, for, on the death of Dr. Hornby in November 1909, he was appointed Provost.

To succeed Dr. Warre as Head Master, the Provost and Fellows, no longer styled "The New Governing Body," made choice of the Hon. Edward Lyttelton, Head Master of

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 1166.

Haileybury, formerly an Assistant Master at Eton, and a member of a family of cricketers, famous at Eton, at Cambridge and elsewhere.[1] Under him, the time-table of lessons was considerably modified. The hour of daily Chapel was advanced to 9.15 a.m. and that of dinner to 1.45 p.m. The regulations as to 'leave' to go away during term were altered more than once, with a view to obviating casual dislocations of work in school.

The system of Latin pronunciation which had found favour at Eton for more than three centuries was abandoned in 1908. The classics have moreover been deposed from their ancient position in the *curriculum* of the School. Boys destined for the army are altogether exempt from the study of Greek, and German or Science may be substituted for Greek by other boys in Middle Division. On reaching Upper Division, boys may now put aside their Latin books, in order to specialize in Modern Languages, Science, History, or Mathematics, or any two of these subjects. The study of Science has been made compulsory in Remove and even in Fourth Form, and music has obtained recognition as a subject suitable to be taught in school.

Mention has been made in the previous chapter of the alterations effected in the Chapel out of the money collected in memory of old Etonians who had fallen in the South African War. By far the greater part of the fund, however, was devoted to the erection of a building which, while commemorative in name, was intended to be of practical utility to the School. Dr. Warre and others had long desired that there should be at Eton a hall capable of holding all the boys and their masters, and the generous response made to an appeal for money enabled them to carry the idea into execution. The Governing Body showed its approval by providing a central site, almost opposite to the New Schools and also to the northern end of the Long Walk. For this purpose two boarding-houses were demolished, one of them a low, white building known as 'Drury's,' the other a lofty pile of yellow brick which had been an eyesore for more than half a century. After a competition among architects educated at Eton, Mr. L. K. Hall

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, nos. 1089, 1090.

was selected to furnish complete designs for a new block of buildings, which should comprise a great hall, a library, and a museum. The style adopted is described rather vaguely as 'English Renaissance.' Princess Alexander of Teck laid the foundation-stone on the 29th of July 1906.[1] As completed by the builder some two years later, the great hall can seat eleven hundred persons. The octagonal library, surmounted by a dome, has accommodation for twenty-four thousand books and sixty readers. The museum is situated between the two.[2] Although still lacking various internal fittings, the Memorial Buildings were formally opened on the 18th of November 1908, by King Edward, who was accompanied by the Queen and various members of the Royal Family. Loyal addresses presented by the Provost and Fellows and by the Captains of the School and the Oppidans evoked gracious replies. The ceremony included the singing of an Ode written by Mr. Robert Bridges and set to music by Sir C. Hubert Parry, both old Etonians.

The comparatively modern plaster that covered the brick-work of the Cloisters was removed in 1906. Some internal alterations made in the Provost's Lodge, prior to its occupation by Dr. Warre, have revealed various interesting features. There is now reason to believe that in the fifteenth century it was intended to complete the Cloister with a gallery along its western side, uniform with those on the other three sides, and that the arcade was not designed to carry the weight which Lupton put upon it by building the tower that bears his name. Anyhow, it has been found necessary, upon expert advice, to close one of the arches in order to support the north-eastern angle of that tower.

Several new boarding-houses have been recently built, replacing those demolished, and others have been enlarged. Every house used until lately to be known merely by the name of the Master or Dame occupying it, and, as changes were frequent, a good deal of confusion resulted. To obviate this, permanent names of a quasi-historical character have been assigned to different houses. Various Provosts and other persons connected with Eton have thus been commemorated in the twentieth

[1] *Eton College Chronicle*, no. 1106. | [2] *Ibid.*, no. 1249.



The Cloister A.D. 1910

century.[1] Some ancient masonry in the house known as 'Weston's' is now believed to have formed part of the Almshouse founded by Henry the Sixth.

An Eton College Mathematical Society was founded in the autumn of 1905.

While the *Eton College Chronicle* has maintained its reputation as the recognized newspaper and register of the School, its recent rivals and contemporaries have without exception been short-lived. Some of these have been more remarkable for the singularity of their names than for the quality of their contents. The *Outsider* and *Ne Plus Ultra* appeared in 1906; the *Omnibus*, the *Sphinx*, and *Nulli Secundus* in 1907; the *Man in the Street*, the *Two Stools*, the *Mighty Atom*, *Haud Multum Abfuit Quin*, and the *Limit* in 1908; the *School Messenger*, the *Skintillator*, the *Wastepaper Basket* in 1909, and the *Critic* in 1910. *Signa Severa*, issued in 1906, is a reprint of verses contributed by R. A. Knox, at one time Captain of the School, to various periodicals. *Poets in Pupil-room* is the title of a little volume published in 1908.

In November 1906, the Eton College Rifle Volunteers lined part of the route through Windsor on the occasion of the arrival of the King and Queen of Norway. In the following year, they formed a guard of honour for the German Emperor and Empress. They were disbanded as such in November 1908, but immediately reconstituted as a contingent of the junior division of the Officers' Training Corps. Some practice at a Miniature Rifle Range has been made compulsory on boys not belonging to the Volunteers, and emulation has been stimulated by the provision of prizes for shooting.

The members of Army Class and all Lower Boys are now required to do gymnastics on the Swedish system in a special room below the Miniature Rifle Range.

The Eton Eight entered for the Ladies' Plate at Henley Regatta year after year, and won it in 1910. They also entered for the Grand Challenge Cup in 1908.

The Eton Eleven won the annual cricket match against Harrow

[1] The name of 'St. Christopher's' has been unfortunately given to a house which did not form part of the old *Christopher* Inn.

in 1906, but lost it in the two following years. The match of 1909 was drawn in favour of Harrow. Of all the contests at Lord's between these two schools that of 1910 will long be remembered as one of the most remarkable. Harrow began with an innings of 232. Eton scoring only 67 had to 'follow on,' and lost five wickets for 65. Even though the total was eventually raised to 219, Harrow went in for the second time wanting only 55 runs to secure an easy victory. Great, therefore, was the surprise felt as wicket after wicket fell to the Eton Captain, R. St. L. Fowler, in rapid succession, and the whole side failed to score more than 45. The excitement of the vast crowd of spectators during the last part of the match, and after its close, was probably without parallel in the annals of Lord's. Several of the matches against Winchester in recent years have been drawn. That of 1908 was remarkable for the Eton score of 410 for seven wickets, two members of the Eleven scoring centuries, one of them 'not out.'

Although Eton has long since outstripped Winchester in size and importance, it has ever maintained friendly relations with the school which served as its model and which in early days supplied it with so many Provosts and Head Masters. The *Amicabilis Concordia* of 1444 between the two Colleges of William of Wykeham and the two Colleges of Henry the Sixth was informally renewed by a dinner at New College in October 1906, which was attended by the Provost, the Vice-Provost, the Head Master, and the Captains of the School and the Oppidans from Eton.

At the funeral of King Edward, the Eton boys were placed very much as they had been placed at the funeral of Queen Victoria.






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# APPENDIX A

## ANALYSIS OF THE STATUTES OF HENRY VI.

The Provost and certain other members of Eton College were sworn to observance of the statutes on the 21st of December 1443.[1] The main code, however, containing sixty-one statutes, was not issued until after the elevation of Waynflete to the see of Winchester in 1447.[2] Three further statutes were added by the Founder at some unspecified date. In July 1455, he empowered the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln to reform the statutes of Eton and King's upon the advice of their respective Provosts.[3] Four changes were accordingly made by them.

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### Constitution of the College.

*Statutes* II. LXIV.

The College shall consist of a Provost, seventy poor Scholars, ten Priest-Fellows, ten Chaplains, ten Clerks, sixteen Choristers, a Schoolmaster, an Usher, and thirteen poor infirm men. [In the event of any future diminution in the revenue granted by the Founder, the commons, salaries, and numbers of the society shall be successively reduced; but this diminution shall begin from the lowest grade, so that the Fellows shall be the last to suffer.]

### The Provost.

*Statutes* VII. VIII. XI. XXIV. XXVIII. XXIX. XXXIII. XXXVI. XXXIX.

The Provost shall be a Doctor or a Bachelor of Divinity, or a Doctor of Canon Law and Master of Arts, a priest, born in England, not less than thirty years of age, and a member or a former member, of Eton College or King's College, Cambridge.

Within two days after the occurrence or a vacancy, the Vice-Provost

[1] See p. 18 above.
[2] Statute xx.
[3] Patent Roll, 33 Hen. VI. part 2, m. 13. Heywood and Wright ante-date the letters patent by ten years, and erroneously attribute the main code to 1444.

and Fellows shall assemble in the Church to fix the day of election of a new Provost. The election itself must be completed within a month, absent Fellows forfeiting a month's commons. On the day of election, the mass of the Holy Ghost shall be said, and the Fellows shall swear to fulfil their duty without fear or favour of persons. The votes shall be written or folded, and examined by the Vice-Provost or senior Fellow. The person obtaining a majority shall be admitted to his office by the Bishop of Lincoln. If no election be made, the Bishop of Lincoln shall nominate to the office a Fellow, or a former Fellow, of Eton or King's.

The new Provost shall take the oath prescribed by the statutes. He shall receive yearly free commons, a stipend of 50*l.*, and 25*l.* as Rector of Eton, 12 yards of cloth, and allowances in food, livery, and money, for a page or gentleman and two yeomen. He shall occupy the rooms on the west of the College Hall.

He shall have precedence and plenary authority over the whole College, the Fellows being consulted in matters of importance. He shall have cure of the souls of all members of the College and all parishioners of Eton. He shall have the appointment of all the officers in the College, except the Fellows, the Schoolmaster and the Usher, who shall be elected by the Provost and Fellows. He shall not absent himself for more than sixty days in any year, except on business of the College, and shall not hold any benefice or cure within seven miles of Eton.

A Provost found guilty of wasting or alienating the College revenues, of gross incontinence, intolerable negligence, voluntary homicide or the like, shall be removed; so also if he be afflicted with any incurable contagious disease; and such deprivation shall be reported at once to the Bishop of Lincoln. An ex-Provost, not removed for crimes, and not having a benefice of more than 20*l.*, may receive a yearly pension of 20*l.* from the College.

Soon after Easter, and again in October or November, of every year, a progress through the College lands shall be made by the Provost or a Fellow (the Provost performing this in person at least every alternate year); it shall not last more than forty days.

### The Fellows.

*Statutes* IX. XXIII. XXV. XXVII. XXVIII. LXII. LXIII.

There shall be ten Fellows, secular priests, elected by the Provost and Fellows jointly, from members, or former members, of either foundation of Henry the Sixth. They must be Doctors or Bachelors of Divinity, or Doctors of Canon Law and Masters of Arts, or at least Masters of Arts. If the election be not completed within a month of the vacancy, the right of nomination shall lapse to the Bishop of Lincoln.

[Every Fellow shall, at his admission, swear not to favour the damnable opinions and errors of John Wyclif, Reynold Pecok, or any other heretic.] He shall receive yearly free commons, a stipend of 10*l.* and 6 yards of cloth, which he must not sell, pledge, or give away, until it be at least a year old.

A Fellow joining a religious order, or remaining absent from Eton more than six weeks in any one year, otherwise than on College business, shall, *ipso facto*, vacate his place: so too if he obtain lay property worth more than 10*l.* a year. If he would retire, he shall give six months' notice. If he get a benefice, unless otherwise bound by his oath, he may hold his Fellowship for a year of grace. Heresy, magic, simony, perjury, gross theft, personal violence, notorious adultery, and opposition to the statutes, are crimes which shall subject a Fellow to deprivation.

[All Fellows promoted to the episcopate shall continue to attend the feast of the Assumption at Eton year after year.] A sick Fellow, so long as his illness be temporary and curable, shall be paid as usual; if incurable, he shall receive a pension of 10*l.* yearly.

Any other member of the College falling sick shall draw his commons for a month, and if, after that, he seem to be incurable, he shall receive in money the value of three months' commons, and lose his place. Contagious cases shall be treated in a house especially provided.

## The Vice-Provost, the Precentor, and the Sacristan.

*Statute* XII.

A Vice-Provost, a Precentor, and a Sacristan shall be chosen yearly by the Provost and Fellows from among the Fellows, and shall receive respectively 10*l.* a year, 5 marks, and 2 marks.

## The Bursars.

*Statutes* XIII. XXXIV. XXXV. XXXIX. XL. XLI. XLII. XLIV.

Two of the Fellows, chosen yearly by the Provost and Fellows, shall act as Bursars, receiving 5 marks for their pains. They shall render careful accounts to the Provost and Fellows, at an annual audit in October or November. Guests shall be allowed, as may beseem the courtesy or advantage of the College, and a moderate sum allowed for their maintenance. The possessions of the College shall never be alienated, or leased for more than sixty years. Any bequest to the College shall take the form of a gift absolute.

The registers and the rolls of accounts shall be preserved in chests in a room over the College gate, of which room the Bursars shall have a different key apiece. The common seal of the College shall be kept in a chest with

three locks, of which the different keys shall be held by the Provost, the Vice-Provost, and the Precentor respectively. In another room over the said gate shall be kept the relics, the jewels, the plate not in daily use, the muniments, and the *Liber Originalis* of the statutes, with an inventory in duplicate. The books shall be chained in the Library and carefully preserved for the use of the sworn members of the College.

### The Schoolmaster and the Usher.

*Statutes* XIV. XXVIII. XXIX.

The Schoolmaster, hired and removable by the Provost and Fellows, shall be a man of good character, skilled in grammar and teaching, unmarried, and if possible a Master of Arts. He shall gratuitously instruct the Scholars, the Choristers, and other boys coming to the School from different parts of England, and shall have leave to punish them in moderation: the names of recusants shall be instantly sent to the Provost or the Vice-Provost. He shall receive his commons, 24 marks, and 6 yards of cloth yearly. He shall not hold any ecclesiastical preferment within seven miles of Eton, or leave his situation without giving six months' notice.

The Usher, likewise hired and removable, shall be a layman, unmarried, and if possible a Bachelor of Arts. He shall receive his commons, 10 marks, and 5 yards of cloth yearly.

The Schoolmaster and the Usher shall cause a public disputation to be held yearly by two of the foremost Scholars, in the nave of the Church, in the Cloister, or in some other suitable place, on the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas.

### The Chaplains, the Clerks, and the Choristers.

*Statutes* X. XXIX.

There shall be ten secular Chaplains, hired and removable, graduates if possible, to officiate daily in the Collegiate Church. Each of them shall receive 5*l.* a year, commons, and 5 yards of cloth. The Succentor shall have an additional allowance.

There shall be four Clerks skilled in chant, of whom one only, the organist and instructor of the Choristers, may be married. There shall also be a Parish Clerk, in minor orders, chosen if possible from among the Scholars, skilled in chant, in the Ordinal of Sarum, and in the peculiar ceremonial of the College: there shall also be a Vestry Clerk. All these Clerks shall receive commons, livery, and the following salaries:—the Organist 6*l.* the other three Clerks 6 marks apiece, and the Parish Clerk and the Vestry Clerk 5 marks apiece. The Chaplains and the Clerks shall

swear not to leave the College suddenly, or hold any preferment within seven miles of Eton. They shall be liable to fines varying from 1*d.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* for neglect of duty, and of course to dismissal.

There shall be four lower Clerks, able to read and sing, of whom two shall assist the Parish Clerk in ringing bells and the like, and two the Vestry Clerk, for which they shall receive commons, livery, and a small salary.

There shall be sixteen poor Choristers under twelve years of age, to sing in Church and to serve the priests at the daily masses.

There shall also be thirteen poor lads, or servitors, between fifteen and twenty years of age at the time of their admission, who shall assist in ringing bells, cleaning the Church, the Hall, and the garden, and waiting on the first table at meals; two of them shall be assigned to wait on the Provost, and one on each of the Fellows and the Schoolmaster in their rooms. They shall receive commons and livery but no salary, and at the age of twenty-five they shall either take holy orders or leave, unless they stay on as transcribers of books.

### The Scholars.

*Statutes* III. IV. VI. X. XV. XXVI. XXIX.

The election of Scholars for King's shall take place yearly between the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (7 July) and that of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August), notices of the day of election being hung on the outer doors of the College and Church seven weeks beforehand. On the appointed day, the Provost and two Fellows of King's shall go to Eton, with not more than ten horses, charging their expenses against their own College. They and the Provost, the Vice-Provost, and the Schoolmaster of Eton shall constitute the electoral body, which shall meet in the great parlour of the Provost, there to conclude the business within five days. They shall first examine the indentures of the last election, and cancel any names remaining on them, and then proceed to elect a number of Scholars larger than that of the actual vacancies at King's College from among the Eton Scholars, disregarding the instances, prayers, or requests, of kings, queens, princes, prelates, noblemen or others, and looking rather to the proficiency of the boys in grammar and to their moral character. The first Scholar on the indenture shall always go into residence at King's within twenty days of the receipt of a summons announcing a vacancy there.

The same principle shall obtain in the election of Scholars for Eton, which shall be made by the same persons and at the same time as the election to King's.

The Scholars shall be poor and needy boys of good character, with a

competent knowledge of reading, of the grammar of Donatus, and of plain song, and not less than eight years old or more than twelve. Specially well-read boys shall be eligible up to the age of seventeen. They shall all be chosen, firstly from natives of the parishes in which either Eton or King's College hold property; secondly, from natives of the counties of Buckingham and Cambridge; and, failing these, from natives of the realm of England generally. The Choristers of Eton and King's College shall have a preference in each class. They must all have received the first tonsure, or receive it within a year of their admission. No boy of servile or illegitimate birth, and no one suffering from any bodily or canonical defect which would incapacitate him from taking holy orders shall be admitted. No one having a yearly income of more than 5 marks shall be eligible. Every Scholar shall be 'dismissed' the College on the completion of his eighteenth year, unless his name be on the indenture for King's, in which case he may stay on until the age of nineteen. Any Scholar leading a disreputable life, marrying, taking the vows of a religious order, or acquiring property of the yearly value of 5*l.* shall also be obliged to leave the College.

Each Scholar shall receive yearly a gown and hood (24 yards of cloth costing 50*s.*), which shall not be sold, pledged, or given away, until it be three years old. Immediately on completing his fifteenth year, he shall swear that he has not more than 5 marks a year, that he will not reveal the secrets of the College, that he will further its interests, that he will observe the statutes in their plain, literal, and grammatical sense, that he will be loyal and just in his behaviour, avoiding all occasions of jealousies and brawls, and that he will neither seek nor accept any dispensation from his oath. The Scholars and the Choristers shall be supplied with clothing and bedding, but the total charge on this score shall never exceed 100 marks a year.

### The Commensals.

*Statutes* XVI. XVIII.

The sons of noblemen and of special friends of the College, up to the number of twenty, shall be allowed to sleep and board in the College, so long as no expense be incurred for them beyond that of their instruction in grammar. Gratuitous instruction shall also be given to another class of Commensals, who shall dine at the lower tables in Hall with the Scholars and the Choristers.

### The Hall.

*Statutes* X. XV. XVI. XVII. XXVIII.

The Fellows and the Schoolmaster shall receive commons to the value of 18*d.* a week, but if they appear in Hall less than six times in the week

they shall receive only half that sum. In times of scarcity, they shall receive 20*d.* or 22*d.*, and in the event of a bushel of corn fetching more than 2*s.* in the Eton market for twenty-four days or more, they shall receive as much as 24*d.* The Provost shall receive double the allowance of a Fellow.

The Chaplains, the Usher, and the four Upper Clerks shall receive commons to the value of 14*d.* a week apiece.

The Scholars, the Choristers, and the Lower Clerks shall receive commons to the value of 10*d.* a week apiece.

On each of twenty-five great festivals specified by the Founder, there shall be an additional allowance of 6*s.* 8*d.* to amend the fare in Hall.

The Provost, the Fellows, and the Schoolmaster shall dine and sup at the high table, the Chaplains, the Usher, the four Upper Clerks, and the richer Commensals at the second table, and the Scholars, the Choristers and the other Commensals, at the other tables, without any distinction of place. The Parish Clerk, the Vestry Clerk, the four Lower Clerks and the thirteen poor lads shall wait upon their betters in Hall, and eat afterwards with the servants. During dinner, one of the Scholars, selected by the Schoolmaster, shall read aloud portions of the Bible, Lives of the Fathers, or Sayings of the Doctors. A Clerk chosen for the purpose weekly shall serve up at the high table, and a Scholar at each of the other tables.

The Grace to be said after each meal by the adults sitting at their respective tables, and the Scholars standing in order, shall contain a prayer for the souls of King Henry the Fifth and Queen Catherine, during the lifetime of the Founder, and afterwards a prayer for the Founder's soul instead. After partaking of the loving-cup, every one shall leave the Hall without loitering about, for people are more quarrelsome with full stomachs than with empty. On greater festivals "or when in winter time a fire shall be allowed in Hall, out of reverence to God and his Mother, or any other Saint, the Scholars and Fellows shall be allowed to divert themselves for a reasonable time after dinner or supper with songs and other proper amusements, and to discuss poems, chronicles of kingdoms, and the wonders of the world."

### Religious Observances.

*Statute* XXX.

The Provost, the Fellows, the Chaplains, the Clerks, the Scholars, and the Choristers shall on rising say a specified antiphon, versicle, and prayer, and in the course of the day a psalm, with certain adjuncts. Matins of the Blessed Virgin shall be said by the Choristers in Church, and by the

[1] Compare Burrows's *Worthies of All Souls*, pp. 46, 47.

Scholars in the dormitories while making their beds before five o'clock in the morning. Certain other prayers shall be said by the Usher and Scholars in School, and, on the ringing of a bell, Scholars and Choristers shall alike repair to the Church, to be present at the elevation of the Host. After High Mass, about nine o'clock, those present shall say prayers for the souls of King Henry the Fifth and Queen Catherine, during the life of the Founder, and afterwards for the Founder's soul instead.

Before leaving School in the afternoon, the Scholars shall sing an antiphon of the Blessed Virgin with certain specified versicles and prayers, and later they shall say the Vespers of the Blessed Virgin according to the Ordinal of Sarum. The Choristers shall say the Vespers and Compline of the Blessed Virgin in the Church before the Vespers of the day. Towards evening they shall say the Lord's Prayer, kneeling before the great crucifix in the Church, and sing an antiphon before the image of the Blessed Virgin.

Further prayers shall be said by the Fellows, the Chaplains, the Clerks, the poor young men, the Scholars, and the Choristers, on retiring to bed.

### Services in Church.

*Statute* XXXI.

The canonical hours shall be said in the Church daily, according to the use of Sarum, by the Chaplains, the Clerks, and the Choristers, beginning with Matins about five o'clock in the morning. The Provost, the Fellows, the Schoolmaster, the Usher, the Scholars, the thirteen poor young men, and some of the Commensals shall also attend on great festivals, and certain other specified days. In the Church, the Provost shall wear over a surplice a grey almuce, the Fellows and the Schoolmaster hoods trimmed with miniver, or lined with silk, according to the season of year, and the Chaplains hoods of black cloth furred or lined with tartarin. On ordinary week-days, the Fellows shall say Matins and Vespers in couples or singly in the nave of the Church.

Seven masses, with certain specified prayers, shall be said daily throughout the year, except on Good Friday—the first five generally by Chaplains, the last two by Fellows, the first three at the high altar, and the last four at the low altars in the nave. On certain important days, the high mass shall be celebrated by the Provost or one of the principal members of the College. The high altar shall not be used by any strangers, except Archbishops, Bishops, the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, the Abbots of St. Albans, Peterborough, St. Edmundsbury, and St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and beneficed clergy who have been Scholars of Eton or King's.

The exequies of the Founder shall be celebrated yearly after his death, with mass of *Requiem* on the morrow, and money shall then be distributed

among the members of the College according to a fixed scale. Members absent from these ceremonies shall be fined according to their rank. One of the Fellows shall also say the office of the dead weekly for the Founder; and all the members of the College shall attend his commemoration four times a year. Obits shall be kept for King Henry the Fifth on the last day of August, for Queen Catherine on the 3rd of January, for Queen Margaret on the anniversary of her death, and for William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, within twelve days before Christmas, with a distribution of money at each..

### Rooms and Servants.

*Statutes* XXVIII. XXXVI. XXXVII.

The buildings shall be kept in good repair.[1] There shall always be resident in the College, a notary public and a man skilled in Canon Law, to be styled the Official of the Provost, unless any of the Chaplains possess the proper qualifications for assisting the Provost in all matters of law, and be able to draw up deeds, &c. The College shall keep as principal servants, a caterer, a butler, a cook, a porter (who shall also be torchmaker and barber), two bakers, two brewers, a gardener, and a groom. The lower servants shall be ready to help the clerks in ringing the bells. All the servants shall be males, except a laundress, who must by age and character be beyond suspicion.

### Discipline.

*Statutes* XVIII. XIX. XXI. XXII. XLV. XLVI. XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX.

The gates of the College shall be closed at sunset, or at any rate before dark, and shall not be opened again before sunrise, the keys being kept by the Provost or the Vice-Provost. Strangers shall not be burdensome. The Fellows, the Chaplains and the Clerks shall have the right of entertaining friends at their own expense for six days, with the consent of the Provost, but no stranger shall sleep in College, unless he be a former member of the foundation, or be come on business, or for the purpose of hearing confessions, in which case he shall be allowed to sleep in College for six nights. No Fellow, Master, Chaplain, or Scholar shall be absent from Eton more than six weeks in a year, and no Fellow when absent shall sleep within five miles of Eton. No Scholar or Chorister shall leave the College, or walk in the town of Eton or Windsor, without leave.

Reasonable allowance shall be made for persons travelling on the business of the College. No Fellow, Chaplain, Clerk, Scholar, or Chorister shall

[1] The statutes for the distribution of the rooms, &c. having already been quoted on pp. 42 and 43, need not be repeated.

grow long hair or a beard, or wear peaked shoes, or red, green, or white hose. They shall not carry swords, long knives, or other arms, or frequent taverns or playhouses. They shall not keep among themselves or in the College hounds, nets, ferrets, sparrow-hawks, or goshawks, for sport, or a monkey, a bear, a fox, a hart, a hind, a doe, or a badger, or any other strange beast that would be unprofitable or dangerous to the College. There shall be no jumping or wrestling, or throwing of stones or balls in the Church, the Cloister, or the Hall, lest damage be done to the walls or windows. There shall be no disputings, rivalries, factions, scurrilous talk, or invidious comparisons in College. Offenders against graver rules of discipline shall be punished by deprivation of commons, and on a fourth offence by expulsion. Lighter faults, such as disobedience, or inattention in church, shall receive adequate correction.

A copy of the statutes of Eton and King's College shall be carefully preserved in the Library, and be always open to the inspection of the Fellows and Scholars, but no stranger shall ever see them.

The College shall be subject to the Visitation of the Bishop of Lincoln, and of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

### The Almshouse.

*Statutes* LI. LII. LIII. LIV. LV. LVI. LVII. LVIII. LIX.

The Bedesmen, thirteen in number, shall be unmarried, poor, and infirm in body, sound in mind, and not afflicted with any incurable disease which could breed disgust in the minds of their companions. They must know the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave Maria* and the Creed, or at least promise to learn them within their first term of residence. They shall be sober and obedient, and whenever they go out they shall wear the russet gown provided for them by the College.

One of the number set over the rest shall be styled the Warden.

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If any one, at the instance of the old serpent, shall endeavour to invalidate the statutes, he shall be deemed guilty of perjury.

# APPENDIX B

## RITES OF INITIATION AT ETON.

The following curious notice occurs in a commonplace book of the middle of the seventeenth century :—

"*Senatus Consultum apud Etonenses pueros.*

"Recentes, Impudentes, Arrogantes, Insolentes, attendite! Cum in superioribus annis propter illas, quæ aliæ inter alias intercedebant inimicitias, simultatesque, placuit eam potestatem uni olim commissam ad duos vel plures transferre; quum igitur ea penes nos sit autoritas, mandamus, jubemus, imperamus ut omnes Recentes in aula adsint, auscultent et obediant. Unusquisque hanc sibi commissam vel potius concreditam provinciam diligentissime curet et tueatur; si quis vero ob superbiam eam contempserit, aut [ob] negligentiam deposuerit, viginti habebit nummorum

| *Consules.* | *Quæstor.* | *Senatores.* | *Asseclæ.* | *Dominus Stipatorum.* | *Princeps Turris.* | *Magister Equitum.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Woods.<br>Sanders. | Coppleston. | Wyatt.<br>Jones α.<br>Batten.<br>Messervy. | Povey.<br>Verry. | Wright α. | Kensington. | Brown. |
| | | | | *Stipatores.* | *Servi.* | *Servi.* |
| | | | | Howard.<br>Hodson.<br>Courtman.<br>Jones.<br>Tayler.<br>Whiston.<br>Losse α.<br>Pradman.<br>Losse ij.<br>Lidgall.<br>Waller.<br>Cobden.<br>Hussey.<br>Gould.<br>Nick.<br>Peile, &c. | Dethick.<br>Elly.<br>Dickenson.<br>Bayley.<br>Plomer.<br>Clifton.<br>Nelson.<br>Wright.<br>Burnell.<br>Bell.<br>Stanton.<br>Griffith.<br>Swaine.<br>Hull.<br>Pery.<br>Legge.<br>Hanbury. | Spencer.<br>Gascoign.<br>Boothby.<br>Kemish.<br>Stevens.<br>Lee.<br>Hawtrey.<br>Dickenson.<br>Sclater.<br>Ellis.<br>Eyre.<br>Piper.<br>Therndell.<br>Pretty.<br>Bragge.<br>Gornway.<br>Holdernes.<br>Brinklett.<br>Sculls. |

non adulterinorum. Siquis vero majestatem læserit, dignissimum audaciæ suæ præmium ferat; prout visum est superioribus."[1]

The document may confidently be assigned to A.D. 1639 or 1640, as many of the boys whose names occur in it were elected to King's in 1640 and the following years. It appears to be a Montem List, the *stipatores* and *servi* bearing a strong analogy to the Corporals and Polemen of later days. The *consul* or *consules*, who occupy the highest rank, are also mentioned in the same little volume, in a copy of "Second course Verses at Recent-time at Eaton, made by Is. Olivier," who was elected to King's in 1630:—

"I hope you are not come to sitte
Like simpring dames, whose little witt
Would seeme for to appeare
In modest garbe, while they refraine
And curbe their appetite with paine,
Although they love the cheare.

"Welcome that guest who is as free
As is our feast, and dares to bee
As open as the hand
Of our great consulls, let him goe
Who feares to change his sober show,
Our table must bee mann'd.

"Fill out the wine, and so beginne
To lett a joviall boldness in.
This was the Theban's way
Who knew what water well was best,
And with his lyre drown'd all the rest,
And gott the Doric day.

"A health our Muse doth first proclaime
Unto our Consul's glorious name,
Now lett the cuppe goe round
So being wash'd we all admitt
Unto our meate, none take a bitt
Who's a Recusant found."

We can scarcely doubt that the 'salt' mentioned by Malim as used for 'seasoning' freshmen (*recentes*) played a part in these feasts, for until 1871 or 1872 every new Colleger was obliged to drink a glass of salted beer in Hall, soon after his admission. All traces of the epigrams mentioned by Malim disappeared long ago, so far as Collegers were concerned; but a trace of them seems to have survived among Oppidans until the days of Dr. Hawtrey, in the 'fourth-form speeches' which used to be delivered in some of the boarding-houses. When a boy passed into the Fifth Form, he gave a supper in his room, at which he recited a heroic poem made for the

[1] *Rawl. MS. Poet.* 246, in the Bodleian Library.

occasion, and satirizing every boy in the house, from the Captain downwards. Like the 'Montem Poet,' he was seldom the real author of the doggerel verses to which he lent his name. We are even told that "the libelled and slandered now and again composed their own indictments." Malim's rule against rudeness and buffoonery was not observed on these occasions, and the broadest personalities were permitted, the orator being held free from any liability to punishment at the hands of those whom he had turned into ridicule.[1]

In the middle of the nineteenth century, new Collegers were required to drink a glass of salted beer, known as 'Don Pedro,' at supper in Hall.[2] Until a very recent time, the drinking of some salted water was the penalty exacted from such of them as refused to take part in 'Chamber Singing' in October.[3]

Before the alterations in the interior of the Collegiate Church in 1847, the highest stalls were reserved for members of the Sixth Form, noblemen, noblemen's sons, and baronets, and it was customary for every new occupant of one of these stalls to distribute among his neighbours small packets of almonds and raisins, which were eaten during three o'clock service.[4] This 'church sock,' as it was called, must not be confounded with similar packets of almonds and raisins distributed, during five o'clock school, among the members of the Sixth Form by every new member of it.

Among the "customs" enumerated in the *Nugæ Etonenses* of 1766 is that of "pelting the Upper Greek on their going into the Upper School."

In Keate's time, and possibly later, when a boy was promoted from the Lower School into the Fourth Form, he had to submit to what was known as 'booking,' on the following Monday morning. As he went for the first time up the staircase into the Upper School, he had to run the gauntlet of the assembled boys, each of whom tried to hit him on the head with a book. If the boy was popular, he could generally collect round him a knot of sturdy friends to protect him from the blows. Analogous to this was the custom by which, on a night early in the half, the Fifth Form used to 'bammock' with their heavy cloth gowns the unlucky 'lower boys' as they passed into Long Chamber from the Sixth Form supper-room, where they had just been selected as fags. This custom survived blanket-tossing by about forty years.

[1] *Seven Years at Eton*, (ed. 1883) p. 413; Parry's *Annals of an Eton House*, pp. 51, 58.
[2] Benson's *Fasti Etonenses*, p. 447.
[3] *Ibid.*; Sterry's *Annals of Eton College*, p. 264.
[4] *Eton of Ola*, pp. 123, 124; Coleridge's *Eton in the Forties*, p. 214; *Nineteenth Century*, vol. xxxii.

# APPENDIX C

ANALYSIS OF THE STATUTES APPROVED BY ORDER IN COUNCIL OF 24 OCTOBER, 1904, AMENDING AND CONSOLIDATING STATUTES SIMILARLY APPROVED ON 7 OCTOBER, 1869, AND AT SUBSEQUENT DATES.

## Constitution of the College.

*Statute* I.

The Foundation of the College shall consist of a Provost, eleven Fellows of whom a Vice-Provost shall be one, a Bursar, a Head Master, and a Lower Master; not less than seventy Scholars, and not more than two Chaplains, or Conducts.

## The Provost.

*Statutes* III. IV. V. VI. VII. VIII.

The appointment to the Provostship shall be vested in the Crown. The Provost shall be a member of the Church of England (not necessarily in Holy Orders), at least thirty years of age, and a Master of Arts, or of some equal or superior degree in the University of Oxford or of Cambridge. He shall exercise a general superintendence over the property and affairs of the College, shall take care that all persons concerned in the administration or service of the College shall conform to the statutes and regulations of the College and School, and perform the several duties assigned to them, and shall have power, in all cases not provided for by the statutes and regulations, or by any resolution of the Governing Body, to act as he shall think fit for the welfare of the College. He shall reside in the College during the whole of every school-time, unless absent on College business, or prevented by sickness or other grave cause, to be signified by him in writing to the Fellows.

The Provost shall be entitled to a stipend of 2200*l.* per annum, and this fixed payment shall cover all allowances. He shall reside at the Lodge, which shall be kept in tenantable repair, and all rates and taxes on it shall be paid at the expense of the College. The Provost shall not hold any other office, place, or preferment to which an emolument is attached, or exercise any profession, or carry on any business.

If the Provost shall become permanently incapable of performing the duties of his office, the Bishop of Lincoln, as Visitor, may, subject to

certain specified conditions, allow him to retire voluntarily, or may declare the office vacant. The pension of a retired Provost, to be fixed by the Visitor, shall not exceed 800*l.* If the Provost shall secede from the Church of England, or shall be guilty of negligence, misconduct, or grave immorality, or shall become bankrupt, the Visitor shall, upon petition from a majority of the Fellows, enquire into the facts of the case, and, in the event of the charge being established, shall deprive the Provost of his office.

### The Fellows.

*Statutes* IX. X. XI. XII.

The Fellows shall be the Provost of King's College, Cambridge, three members to be elected respectively by the Hebdomadal Council of the University of Oxford, the Council of the Senate of the University of Cambridge, and the Council of the Royal Society, one member to be nominated by the Lord Chief Justice of England, one member to be elected by the Head, Lower, and Assistant Masters for five years, but not out of their own body, the Vice-Provost, and four nembers to be elected by the new Provost and Fellows themselves. If any Fellow shall be guilty of grave misconduct or immorality, or of contumacious disobedience to the statutes, it shall be lawful for two-thirds of the whole Governing Body to deprive him of his Fellowship. A Fellow, other than the Provost of King's, who shall be absent from the meetings of the Governing Body for a year, shall vacate his Fellowship.

### College Meetings.

*Statute* XVI.

The Provost and Fellows shall meet at least once in each school-time at Eton or in London, on such days as the Provost shall appoint. Meetings shall also be held as often as the Provost shall deem necessary, or as often as a written request for a meeting shall have been preferred to him by three or more of the Fellows. Four members shall constitute a *quorum*. The Provost, being present, shall be chairman, and shall have a casting vote in cases of equality.

### The Vice-Provost.

*Statute* XIII.

There shall be chosen annually by the Provost and Fellows some person who has served as Master in the School, or other fit person, to fill the office of Vice-Provost. His duties shall be to attend, under the Provost, to the good government of the College; to act as the Provost's

deputy in his absence ; to observe and to enforce on others the observance of the statutes. He shall not be absent from the College during the school-time at the same time as the Provost, except for some cause to be approved of by the Provost or by a majority of the Fellows.

### The Bursars.

*Statute* XIV.

There shall be appointed annually by the Provost and Fellows one or more Bursars, who shall have the care of the property and the expenditure of the College.

### Offices and Stipends.

*Statute* XV.

The Provost and Fellows may from time to time regulate the duties and emoluments of the different officers of the College, and may abolish existing offices and institute new ones.

### The Auditor.

*Statute* XVII.

The Provost and Fellows shall appoint a Chartered Accountant or a firm of Chartered Accountants as Auditor. He shall receive such a salary as they think fit, and shall hold his office during their pleasure. The Auditor shall annually examine and verify the accounts of the Bursar or Bursars of the College. After the accounts have been audited, and signed by the Auditor, they shall be submitted to the Provost and Fellows.

### The Head Master.

*Statute* XVIII.

The Head Master shall be appointed by, and hold his office at the pleasure of, the Provost and Fellows. He shall be a member of the Church of England, a Master of Arts, or of some equal or superior degree in the University of Oxford or of Cambridge. He shall be continually resident during the whole of each school-time, unless for some grave cause. He shall appoint all Masters and other persons engaged in the teaching of the School, who shall hold their offices at his pleasure ; but the number, position, rank in the School, and emoluments of such Masters shall be subject to the sanction of the Provost and Fellows. He shall be charged with the general discipline, and shall superintend the instruction, of all boys admitted to the School, and shall, in all respects, be bound to carry into

execution the Statutes and Regulations of the College and School. He shall have a house within the precincts of the College, kept for him at the expense of the College in tenantable repair, and free from rates and taxes. He shall neither hold any ecclesiastical or other office to which any emolument is attached, nor, without the consent of the Provost and Fellows, undertake any duties other than those of the Head Mastership. He shall receive a stipend derived from the fees paid by the College for the Scholars on the Foundation, and by the Oppidans. The amount of such stipend shall be determined from time to time by the Provost and Fellows, and he shall not receive from the boys any fee, payment, or gratuity, over and above such stipend. The Head Master shall not resign his office without giving to the Provost and Fellows at least three months' notice of his intended resignation, and such resignation shall take effect only at the end of a school-time.

### The Lower Master.

*Statute* XIX.

The Lower Master shall be appointed by the Head Master, and shall hold office at his pleasure. He shall rank in the School immediately after him, and shall, in his absence, act as his deputy.

### The Foundation Scholars.

*Statutes* XX. XXI. XXII. XXIII.

There shall be 70 Scholars on the Foundation of the College. The election of the Scholars shall be held every year at such time in July as the Provost and Fellows shall from time to time determine. The election of the Foundation Scholars shall be vested in the Provost and Fellows, who shall elect after an examination conducted by examiners appointed by them. The Foundation Scholarships shall be open to all British subjects. Every candidate shall produce evidence of the date of his birth, and a certificate of good character. No boy shall be a candidate for such Scholarship who, on the first day of June, has not reached his twelfth, or has passed his fourteenth birthday. On the day of election, the electors shall arrange on a roll in order of merit the names of as many candidates as shall be sufficient to supply vacancies. So soon as there shall be any vacancy in the Scholarships, the Head Master shall notify the same to the Provost, and the Provost shall proceed at once to fill up the vacancy from and according to the order of the names on the roll. No such Scholarship shall remain vacant more than twenty-one days during any school-time. Every such roll shall be cancelled on the morning previous to the following election, and no candidate shall, by reason of his name having appeared upon such

cancelled roll, have any claims to preference at such following election. A Scholarship on the Foundation shall be tenable only until the end of the school-time in which the Scholar shall have completed his nineteenth year, except for special reasons. The Foundation Scholars shall be educated and maintained during each school-time out of the funds of the College, the demand upon parents and guardians being strictly limited to 30*l.* a year in respect of each Scholar. The power of expelling for misconduct any Scholar on the Foundation shall rest with the Head Master, who shall have the power, for grave misconduct, to deprive a Scholar for any time not exceeding one school-time of the whole or part of the advantages of his Scholarship. Any Scholar so deprived or expelled shall have the right of appeal to the Provost and Fellows.

### Scholarships other than those on the Foundation, and Exhibitions.

*Statute* XXIV.

(*a.*) *Tenable at the School.*

The Provost and Fellows shall have the power to establish, out of the funds of the College, Exhibitions and prizes to be tenable by Oppidans, and to vary the same. Any such Exhibition shall be vacated on the Exhibitioner being elected to the Foundation, or quitting the School.

(*b.*) *Tenable after quitting the School.*

The Scholarships and Exhibitions known as the 'Reynolds,' 'Bryant,' 'Berriman and Hetherington,' 'Davies,' and 'Chamberlayne,' shall be open by competition to all boys in the School. But not more than one of these Scholarships or Exhibitions shall be tenable by any person. These Scholarships and Exhibitions shall be tenable for four years, and not more than three of them shall be offered for competition in any one year. The 'Reynolds' Scholarships shall be tenable at the University of Oxford or of Cambridge. The Exhibition founded by Dr. Berriman in 1750, increased by Mr. Hetherington in 1770, and further increased by Dr. Davies in 1809, shall be consolidated under the name of the 'Berriman Exhibition.'

### The Conducts.

*Statute* XXVI.

The Provost and Fellows shall have power to appoint Chaplains, or Conducts, not more than two in number, who shall perform the daily service in the College Chapel, and shall hold their office so long as they faithfully discharge their duties. Any Conduct coming into possession of any benefice or ecclesiastical preferment shall thereby vacate his office.

### Ecclesiastical Patronage.

*Statute* XXVII.

Benefices in the patronage of the College shall be in the gift of the Provost and Fellows. No benefice shall be tenable with a Mastership or Conductship.

### Retiring Pensions for Masters.

*Statute* XXVIII.

It shall be lawful for the Provost and Fellows to award retiring pensions to the Head Master, or deserving Masters who shall have served for at least fifteen years, or in special cases for a shorter period, and to grant money in augmentation of any pension fund for Assistant Masters established with the sanction of the Provost and Fellows.

### Poor Men and Almswomen.

*Statute* XXIX.

The Provost shall choose not more than fourteen poor men or women, who shall receive such emoluments or stipends as may be assigned to them by the Provost and Fellows.

### Seal of the College.

*Statute* XXX.

The Seal of the College shall be kept in a chest fastened with two locks, the keys of which shall be severally kept by the Provost, and by the Bursar, or other fit person. This seal shall not be affixed to any document except in the presence of the Provost or Bursar and two Fellows, and until after entry of a certified copy in a register.

### Appropriation of Revenues.

*Statutes* XXXI. XXXII.

The Provost and Fellows may make payments out of the funds of the College for the erection of new school buildings, for the purposes of the Instruction fund and for other purposes connected with the College and School. In the event of a sufficient surplus of the funds of the School remaining, after adequately providing for all the objects contemplated by the preceding statutes, the Provost and Fellows may establish a subordinate or other School or Schools in connexion with Eton College, and may

make statutes and regulations for the government thereof, and may vary the same at their discretion.

### Construction of the Statutes.

*Statute* XXXIV.

If any question shall arise in regard to the construction of any statute of the College and School, it shall be decided by the Provost and Fellows. But it shall be competent for any person, other than a Scholar of the College, affected by their decision to refer the same to the Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln, whose judgment thereon shall be final.



# APPENDIX D

## PROVOSTS OF ETON

| | |
|---|---|
| 1440, October. | Henry Sever. |
| 1443. | William Waynflete. |
| 1447, July 31. | John Clerk. |
| „ December 8. | William Westbury. |
| 1477, March 18. | *Thomas Barker.* |
| „ „ 31. | Henry Bost. |
| 1504, February 17. | Roger Lupton. |
| 1535, June 21. | Robert Aldrich (Bishop of Carlisle, 1536). |
| 1547, December 29. | (Sir) Thomas Smith. |
| 1554, July 13. | Henry Cole. |
| 1559, July 5. | William Bill, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge (Dean of Westminster, 1560). |
| 1561, July 25. | Richard Bruerne. |
| „ December 18. | William Day. |
| 1596, May 26 | (Sir) Henry Savile, Warden of Merton College. |
| 1622, February 28. | Thomas Murray. |
| 1624, July 24. | Sir Henry Wotton. |
| 1639, December 28. | Richard Steward. |
| 1644, February 10. | Francis Rous. |
| 1659, January 14. | Nicholas Lockyer. |
| 1660, July 7. | Nicholas Monck (Bishop of Hereford, 1660). |
| 1662, March 3. | John Meredith, Warden of All Souls College. |
| 1665, August 8. | Richard Allestree. |
| 1681, February 24. | Zachary Cradock. |
| 1695, October 23. | Henry Godolphin. |
| 1732, February 10. | Henry Bland. |
| 1746, June 4. | Stephen Sleech. |
| 1765, October 25. | Edward Barnard. |
| 1781, December 12. | William Hayward Roberts. |
| 1791, December 14. | Jonathan Davies. |
| 1809, December 21. | Joseph Goodall. |
| 1840, April 7. | *John Lonsdale.* |
| „ May 5. | Francis Hodgson. |
| 1853, January 12. | Edward Craven Hawtrey. |
| 1862, January 27. | Charles Old Goodford. |
| 1884, June 25. | James John Hornby. |
| 1909, November 23. | Edmond Warre. |

# APPENDIX E

## HEAD MASTERS OF ETON

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [1441 ? | William Waynflete ? | Oxford.] |
| 1443. | William Westbury, | New College, Oxford. |
| 1448. | Richard Hopton, | Oriel College, Oxford. |
| 1453. | Thomas Forster, | New College, Oxford. |
| „ | Clement Smyth, | „ „ „ |
| 1458. | John Peyntor, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| 1467. | Clement Smyth (again). | |
| 1470. | Walter Barber, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| *c.*1479. | David Haubroke. | |
| *c.*1484. | Thomas Mache. | |
| 1486. | William Horman, | New College, Oxford. |
| 1495. | Edward Powell, | Oriel College, Oxford. |
| 1496. | Nicholas Bradbryg, | Oxford. |
| 1501. | Robert Yong. | |
| 1502. | John Smyth, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| 1507. | John Goldyve, | Oxford. |
| 1510. | Thomas Philyps. | |
| 1511. | Thomas Erlysman, | New College, Oxford. |
| 1515. | Robert Aldrich, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| 1521. | Thomas White, | New College, Oxford. |
| 1524. | John Goldwyn. | |
| 1528. | Richard Cox, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| 1534. | Nicholas Udall, | Corpus Christi College, Oxford. |
| 1537. | Martin Tyndall, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| 1538. | Nicholas Udall (again). | |
| 1543. | ——— Smyth. | |
| 1545. | Robert Cater, | New College, Oxford. |
| 1547. | William Barker. | |
| 1555. | —— —— | |
| *c.*1560. | William Malim, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| *c.*1563. | William Smyth, | „ „ „ |
| *c.*1571. | Reuben Sherwood, | „ „ „ |
| 1579. | Thomas Ridley, | „ „ „ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1583. | John Hammond, | Trinity College, Cambridge. |
| 1594. | Richard Langley, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| 1611. | Richard Wright, | Merton College, Oxford. |
| „ | Matthew Bust, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| 1630. | John Harrison. | . |
| 1636. | William Norris, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| *c.*1646. | Nicholas Grey, | Christ Church, Oxford. |
| 1648. | George Goad, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| „ | Thomas Horne, | Magdalen Hall, Oxford. |
| 1654. | John Boncle, | Cambridge. |
| 1655. | Thomas Singleton, | Queen's College, Oxford. |
| 1660. | Thomas Mountague, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| 1671. | John Rosewell, | Magdalen Hall, Oxford. |
| 1682. | Charles Roderick, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| 1690. | John Newborough, | „ „ „ |
| 1711. | Andrew Snape, | „ „ „ |
| 1720. | Henry Bland, | „ „ „ |
| 1728. | William George, | „ „ „ |
| 1743. | William Cooke, | „ „ „ |
| 1745. | John Sumner, | „ „ „ |
| 1754. | Edward Barnard, | St. John's College, Cambridge. |
| 1765. | John Foster, | King's College, Cambridge. |
| 1773. | Jonathan Davies, | „ „ „ |
| 1792. | George Heath, | „ „ „ |
| 1802. | Joseph Goodall, | „ „ „ |
| 1809. | John Keate, | „ „ „ |
| 1834. | Edward Craven Hawtrey, | „ „ „ |
| 1853. | Charles Old Goodford, | „ „ „ |
| 1862. | Edward Balston, | „ „ „ |
| 1868. | James John Hornby, | Balliol and Brasenose Colleges, Oxford. |
| 1884. | Edmond Warre, | Balliol and All Souls Colleges, Oxford. |
| 1905. | Hon. Edward Lyttelton, | Trinity College, Cambridge. |



The approach from Slough

# INDEX

A


Aachen, Germany, 57.
Aaron, 169.
Abell, William, illuminator, 52.
Abingdon, M., Earl of, 427.
Abraham, 169.
Abraham, C. J., Assistant Master, Bishop of Wellington, 384, 460, 472
'Absence,' 308, 309, 315, 330, 350, 359, 361, 376, 377, 392, 395, 396, 399, 413, 417, 419, 422, 427, 449, 482, 485, 499, 504–506, 509, 512, 516, 536, 562, 563.
Acting. *See* Theatricals.
Acton, co. Middlesex, 245.
Adderbury, co. Oxford, 31.
Adelaide, Queen, 417, 458, 491, 492.
*Adelaide*, the, 415.
*Adventurer*, the, 551, 552.
Æsop, 144, 145, 158, 313.
Agar's Plough, in Eton, 558–560.
Ainger, A. C., Assistant Master, 532.
Aitken, J., 488.
Albemarle, George, Duke of, 248, 249, 251, 253.
Albemarle Street, London, 358.
Albert, Prince. *See* Consort.
*Albion*, the, 415.
Alborow, Margaret, 78.
Alcester, F. B. Lord, 569.
Alden, Mordecai, Fellow, 199.
Aldrich, Robert, Head Master and Provost, Bishop of Carlisle, 100, 107–110, 115, 119, 121, 597, 598.
*Alexandra*, the, 564.
Alford, 76.
Alford, T. H., Viscount, 414, 422, 480.
Algebra, the study of, 282, 314, 390.
Alien Priories, 7, 8.
Aliwal, battle of, 472.
Allen, Thomas, Fellow, 195.
Allerton, William, 51.
Allestree, Richard, Provost, 258-262, 265, 268, 274, 597.
Alleyne, H. W., 551
All Saints, feast of, 152.
All Souls, feast of, 152.
All Souls College, Oxford, 3, 4, 12, 47, 74, 232, 254, 257, 265, 521, 531, 599.
Almshouse, the. *See* Bedesmen.
Alnwick, William, Bishop of Lincoln, 4, 17.
Altars in the Collegiate Church, 47, 48, 70, 90, 91, 102, 126, 131, 132, 134, 163, 584.
Alweder, 77, 79.
Amcotts, V. Cracroft, 551.
*Amphibian*, the, 554.
Amusements. *See* Boating, Driving, Games, Riding, Theatricals, etc.
Andrew, St., 91.
Andrew, Richard, Warden of All Souls, 4.
Angelico, Fra, 89.
Angelo, Henry, Fencing Master, 318, 341, 342, 368.
Angelo's School of Arms, 541.
Angerstein, H. F., 484.
Ankerwyke, co. Bucks, 134.
Anne Boleyn, Queen, 105, 170.
,, Queen, 277, 278, 280.
,, St., 36, 91.
Annesley, Richard, Dean of Exeter, 271.
Anselm, St., 8.
Anson, Sir W. R., 551.
Anstey, Christopher, 335.
'Ante-Chapel,' the, 74, 75, 90–93, 131, 219, 230, 260, 279, 330, 366, 376, 377, 472, 538, 539.
Anthony, St., 91.
Antonio, Don, of Portugal, 174.
*Apis Matina*, the, 406, 407.
Apollonia, St., 85.

Argentine, John, Provost of King's, 102.
Argyll, Archibald, Duke of, 298.
,, J. G., Duke of, 569.
Ariosto, 369.
Aristophanes, 311, 384.
Arkwright, A. C., 554.
Arlington, Henry, Lord, 264.
Arms of Eton College, 37, 54, 55, 99, 164, 169, 178, 190, 193, 219, 221, 462.
Army Class, 533, 575.
Arne, Thomas A., 287.
Arnold, Matthew, 548.
,, Thomas, Head Master of Rugby, 442.
Arundel, Thomas, Earl of, 210.
Ascham, Roger, 170.
Ascot Races, 325, 481.
Ash Wednesday, the observance of, 26, 148.
Ashbrooke, John, Fellow, 167.
Ashburton, W. B., Lord, 555.
Ashby, Nicholas, Bishop of Llandaff, 17.
Ashley, Hon. W., 408.
Ashton, Thomas, Fellow, 294, 295.
Assisi, Italy, 57.
Assistant Masters, the, 283, 284, 287, 301, 303, 307, 308, 317, 331, 332, 337–339, 342, 343, 349, 350, 367, 370, 374, 376, 383, 385–388, 393, 394, 396–398, 400–402, 414, 419, 420, 422, 423, 426, 427, 430, 433, 437–443, 460, 464–466, 470, 474–479, 486, 506, 513, 515, 516, 519–521, 523, 524, 529, 530, 533–535, 544, 548, 550, 551, 556, 561, 563–565, 568, 569.
Assumption, the feast of the, 9, 23–26, 56, 90, 128, 151, 579.
Athanasius, St., 120.
'Athens,' in Eton, 484.
Athletic sports, 561.
Atholl, John, Duke of, 304.
Atkinson, George, Fellow, 168.
Atwater, William, Bishop of Lincoln, 107.
Aubrey, John, 204, 239.
Auckland, George, Earl of, 569.
Audley, Thomas, Lord, 104.
Augusta, Princess, 428.
Augustine, St., 120.
Austen-Leigh, Augustus, Provost of King's, 544.
,, E. C., Lower Master, 544.
Austria, Archduke of, 186.
Avise, Robert, Fellow, 130.
Aylmer, John, Bishop of London, 167, 168.
Ayscough, Francis, 293.
,, William, Bishop of Salisbury, 4, 13, 17, 37.
Aytoun, Sir Robert, 208–210, 212.

B

'*Bacchus*' verses, 146, 147, 265, 334.
Bachelor's Acre. *See* Windsor.
Bacon, Francis. *See* St. Albans.
,, John, sculptor, 366.
,, Sir Nicholas, 180.
Badger-baits, 324, 424.
Bakehouse, the, 40, 194.
Baker, John, 335.
Baker, William, painter, 90.
,, ——, 255.
Baldwin's Bridge. *See* Barnes Pool.
Balfour, A. J., 569.
,, G. W., 548.
Balliol College, Oxford, 599.
Balston, Edward, Assistant Master, Head Master, and Fellow, 515, 523–525, 530, 532, 535, 538, 543, 550, 599.
Bambridge, ——, 316.
Bandalores, 361, 362.
Bangorian controversy, the, 280.
Bankes, G. Nugent, 554.
,, ——, surveyor, 279, 280.
*Bantling*, the, 554.
Barbara, St., 85.
Barber, Walter, Head Master, 66, 598.
Barbo, Cardinal, 7, 67.
Bargman, Matthew, 131.
Barker, John, Fellow, 175.
,, Thomas, Fellow, 79, 80, 597.
,, William, Head Master, 125, 598.
Barlow, William, Bishop of Chichester, 168, 180.
,, ,, Bishop of Lincoln, 194, 200, 201.
Barnard, Edward, Head Master and Provost, 294, 316, 317, 330–338, 342, 344, 346–348, 351, 386, 597, 599.
,, G. W., 410.
,, John, 354, 410.
,, ——, 364.
Barnes Pool; Baldwin's Bridge, 40, 51, 110, 464, 467, 474, 534, 536, 565, 566.
Baronius, Cardinal, 195.
Barrett, Richard, 273, 277.
Barrington, Shute, Bishop of Durham, 323,
Barrow, Isaac, Fellow, Bishop of Sodor and Man, 251, 264.
Bartlet, ——, Domine, 287.
Basel, 8, 58.
Basil, St., 191.
Bassano, Italy, 58.
Bateman, Richard, Fellow, 238.
Bath, co. Somerset, 178, 286, 287.

Bathing places, 126, 323, 362, 484.
Bathurst, Sir Benjamin, 277.
,, Peter, 277.
Battie, William, 282.
Bayeux, Bishop of, 7.
Bayley, Emilius, 487.
,, Henry Vincent, 475.
Beach, Michael Hicks, 353, 360–362, 368.
,, Sir Michael Hicks (Viscount St. Aldwyn), 569.
Beagles, 392, 424, 559, 560.
Beales, Edmund, 408.
Bear-baiting, 79, 158.
Beauchamp, William, Earl, 553.
Beaufort, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, 2, 3, 29, 52.
Bec, Normandy, 8.
Beckett, Richard, 506.
Bedesmen, 3, 6, 19, 22, 40, 44, 51, 65, 586, 595.
Bedford, Lucy, Countess of, 210.
Beecher, Sir William, Clerk of the Council, 203, 208–212.
Beechey, Sir William, 336.
Beer brewed at Eton, 237, 266, 366, 452.
Behnes, William, sculptor, 468.
Bekford, co. Gloucester, 8.
Bekynton, Thomas, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 2, 4, 6, 12, 13, 16–18, 22, 23, 30, 31.
Belfield, John, 161.
Bell, C. W., 552.
,, Matthew, 179, 186, 187.
Bells, 64, 65, 70, 81, 97, 116, 119, 132, 134, 165, 220, 225, 239, 330.
'*Bells of Ouseley*,' the, co. Berks, 484.
Benedict XIV., Pope, 292.
Benson, A. C., Assistant Master, 552, 553.
Bergen-op-Zoom, 145.
Berkeley of Stratton, John, Lord, 290.
Bermuda, 246.
Bernard, St., 120.
Berriman, William, Fellow, 594.
Betham, Edward, Fellow, 347, 349, 366.
Bethell, George, Assistant Master and Fellow, 402, 426, 445, 458, 513.
Bethlehem, Palestine, 57.
'Bever,' 150, 151, 266.
Beza, 273.
'Bibler's Seat,' the, 267, 283, 332.
Biddle, Dr. William, 334.
,, ——, 179.
Bigham, C. C., 553.
'Bill,' the, 355, 392, 393, 397, 402.
Bill, William, Provost, 160, 161, 164, 165, 178, 597.
Billiards, 324, 339.
Billingsgate, London, 108.
Birch, H. M., Assistant Master, 515.
Bird, Francis, sculptor, 278, 481, 482.
Biron, the Duc de, 186.
Bisley, 555.
Blachford, Frederick, Lord, 392, 397, 408.
Blackfriars, London, 69.
Black Potts, in Datchet, co. Bucks, 217, 423.
Blair's *Sermons*, 389.
Blake-Humfrey, R. H., 562.
Blakman, John, Fellow, 29, 37, 59.
Bland, Henry, Head Master, Fellow, and Provost, 281, 282, 285, 288, 291, 292, 298, 299, 303–305, 597, 599.
Bledlow, co. Bucks, 17.
Block, the, 293, 342, 350, 393, 438, 480, 481, 533.
Blomfield, Sir Arthur, 539, 543, 544.
Blore, E. W., 488.
Blucher, G. L., Marshal, 429.
Blunt, Walter, 406.
Blythe, Geoffrey, Bishop of Lichfield, 93, 102.
Boarding houses, 308, 317, 318, 344, 353, 367, 369–371, 377, 396, 464, 467, 469, 530, 545, 547, 549, 550, 559, 561, 564, 566, 570, 574.
Boating, 323, 360, 361, 414–422, 484–486, 492, 516, 562–565.
'Boating bill,' 563.
Bodley, Sir Thomas, 185.
Bodley and Garner, Messrs., architects, 546.
Bold, Henry, Fellow, 264, 265.
Boles, D. C., 557.
Bolingbroke, Henry, Lord, 273.
Bolland, W. P., 408.
Bologna, Italy, 57.
Boncle, John, Head Master and Fellow, 241, 250, 599.
Bond Street, London, 351.
Bonfires, 151.
Bonor, John, Fellow, 70.
Books, 27, 28, 105, 143, 158, 340, 581. *See also* Lessons; Library.
Boraston, John, 90.
Bordeaux, France, 16.
Bosanquet, Sir F. A., 549.
,, R. C., 553.
Boscawen, Peter, 277.
Bost, Henry, Provost, 80, 81, 90, 92, 117, 146, 597.
Boswell, James, 328.
Bosworth, battle of, 82.

Bound, Alexander, Fellow, 169.
'Bounds,' 236, 254, 255, 263, 295, 297, 316, 338, 355, 393, 414, 453, 474, 486, 488, 533–536, 560, 585.
Bourbon, the Tablet of, 28, 29.
Bourchier, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, 67, 75.
Boveney, co. Bucks, 422, 434, 559.
Bow Churchyard, London, 78.
Boy-Bishop, the, 152–154, 495.
Boyle, Hon. Francis, 221–223.
,, Hon. Robert, 221–223, 257, 258.
Boys, John, 197.
Brabourne, E. H., Lord, 552.
Bradbryg, Nicholas, Head Master, 598.
Braintree, co. Essex, 111.
Brand, Hon. H. B., 569.
Branwell, C. H., 461.
Brasenose College, Oxford, 599.
Breakfast, 142, 226, 266, 309, 366, 372, 404, 432, 452, 454, 459, 525.
Brewhouse, the, 40, 289, 366.
Bricks, manufacture of, 13.
'Bricks,' loaves called, 372.
Bridges, Robert, 574.
Bridlington, monks of, 28.
Briggs, John, Fellow, 445.
,, Thomas, 112.
Brinsley, John, 140.
*Britannia*, the, 415, 421.
Brixham, co. Devon, 234.
Brocas; Brocas Lane, in Eton, 179, 324, 414, 417-420, 483, 485, 534, 570.
Brougham, Henry, Lord, 433.
Brown, Sir Charles, 429.
Browne, Thomas, 254.
,, ——, 135.
'Brozier,' 353.
Bruchsal, Germany, 57.
Brudenell, ——, 336.
Bruerne, Richard, Provost, 31, 165–167, 597.
Brumwell, ——, 421.
Brussels, 289.
Bryant, Jacob, 293, 294, 347, 366, 594.
Buccleuch, H., Duke of, 333, 334.
,, Walter F., Duke of, 458.
Buchanan, George, 273.
Buckingham, Edward, Duke of, 104.
,, George, Duke of, 204, 208–212, 223.
,, Marquess of, 340.
Buckler, J., architect, 470.
Buildings, the Collegiate, 32–51, 73, 93–98, 260, 261, 328, 330, 459, 460.
Bullockslock, in Eton, 9.
Bulls, Papal, 7, 9–11, 16, 23–25, 56, 63, 67.
Bullying, 425, 426, 455.
Burchett, William, Assistant Master, 285, 286.
Burford, co. Oxford, 12.
Burghill, Payn, 4.
Burghley, William, Lord, 131, 160, 166–168, 170, 171, 183, 194.
Burke, ——, 342.
Burney, Frances, 349, 356.
Burnham, co. Bucks, 102, 135, 220, 224, 279 289, 463.
Burrough, Thomas, 327.
Bursars, duties of the, 252, 579, 580, 590, 592, 595.
Burton, John, Fellow, 21, 305, 311, 346.
Bush, Margaret, Dame, 287.
Bust, Matthew, Fellow, 180, 190, 256.
,, ,, Head Master, 202, 599.
Butchers, fight against, 341.
Butler, Hon. C. H., 304.
,, Jane, 246.
,, Samuel, 385, 437.
Butterfield, William, architect, 470.
Byngham, William, 1.
Byron, George, Lord, 360, 446.

C

'Cads,' the, 415, 424, 425.
Caen, France, 8, 34.
Cæsar, 145, 313.
Calais, France, 57.
Calamy, Edmund, 253.
'*Calendæ* verses,' 146.
Calfhille, James, 168.
Calvin, John, 229.
Cambridge, University of, 3, 113, 121, 123, 130, 168, 192, 194, 195, 244, 312, 403, 590, 592. *See also under the different Colleges.*
Cambridge, Prince George of, 417.
Camden, Charles, Earl, 287, 292, 468.
Camden, William, 202.
Campbell, Thomas, sculptor, 468.
Canning, Charles, Earl, 569.
,, George, 351, 356–358, 407, 417.
,, Stratford. *See* Stratford de Redcliffe.
Canterbury, authority of the Archbishop of, 175, 220, 225, 226, 263, 265, 586.
,, Dean and Chapter of, 160

Canterbury, Christ Church, prior of, 584.
,, St. Augustine's, 584.
Cantilupe, John, Viscount, 327.
Carew, Robert, 221, 222.
Carleton, Sir Dudley, 199, 202, 203, 208, 210, 211.
,, George, Bishop of Chichester, 197.
Carlisle, bishopric of, 109, 115, 122.
,, deanery of, 133, 184.
Carlisle, Frederick, Earl of, 333, 334.
,, W. G. F., Earl of, 399, 492.
Caroline, Queen, wife of George II., 299.
,, ,, wife of George IV., 430.
Carpenter, John, Bishop of Worcester, 13, 30.
Carrington, Lady, 554.
Carter, family, 305, 545.
,, Thomas, Lower Master and Fellow, 355, 374, 390, 445.
,, Thomas, Lower Master, 447.
,, J. P., Assistant Master, 558, 569.
,, T. B., 539.
,, W. A., Lower Master and Fellow, 470, 527, 550.
,, W. M., Archbishop of Capetown, 545, 546.
Carter's Chamber; the Usher's Chamber, 129, 172, 252, 290, 447–449, 459, 460.
Cartland, ——, 378.
Casaubon, Isaac, 187, 189, 190, 198, 215.
,, Meric, 198.
Castile, Philip, King of, 93.
Catechising, 236, 240, 242, 295.
Cater, Robert, Head Master, 598.
Catesby, John, Serjeant at Law, 67.
Cathcart, Charles M., Earl, 569.
Catherine, St., 29, 85, 90.
,, Queen, 117, 583–585.
Cato, Dionysius, 143–145.
Catullus, 145.
Caunton, Richard, 7, 10, 24.
Cavendish, Lord Charles, 298.
,, Henry and William, 157, 158.
,, Sir William, 157.
Caxton, William, printer, 70.
Cecil, Sir Robert, 183.
,, Sir William. *See* Burghley.
'Cellar,' 467.
Cellarius, Christopher, 314.
Cemetery. *See* Churchyard.
*Cercle des Débats*, the, 549.
Chafie, John, 346.
Chalcots, co. Middlesex, 103.
Chalvey, co. Bucks, 322, 324, 325, 558.
Chamber, John, Fellow, 192, 195.
Chamberlain, John, 211.
'Chambers,' 129, 290, 350, 384, 385, 394, 400, 401, 433, 465, 515, 529, 536, 540.
Champeneys, Thomas, 110.
Chantrey, Sir Francis, 468.
Chapel, 205, 243, 545. *See* Church.
Chaplains. *See* Conducts.
Chapman, E. W., 554.
,, James, Assistant Master and Fellow, Bishop of Colombo, 388, 397, 402, 419, 522.
,, John, 302.
Charing Cross, Westminster, 103.
Charke, William, Fellow, 194, 195, 200.
Charles, I., King, 197, 208, 215, 216, 224, 225, 227, 232, 233, 235, 237, 250, 258, 262.
,, II., King, 232, 234, 235, 249, 250, 254, 256–258, 264, 266, 268, 269.
Charlotte, Princess, 429.
Charlotte, Queen, 326, 327, 343, 356, 428, 503, 505, 506.
Charlton, T. B., 408.
Charterhouse, London, 240, 250, 290.
Chartres, Vidame of, 174.
Chatham, William, Earl of, 285–287, 331–333, 357, 383, 468, 480.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 86.
'Check-nights,' 562, 563.
Cheke, Sir John, 123.
Chelmsford, F. A., Lord, 546.
Chelsea mead, co. Middlesex, 103.
Cheney, ——, 114.
,, Richard, 167, 168.
Cherry-stone, game of, 107.
Chertsey Abbey, co. Surrey, 51, 68, 69.
Chester, Richard, 6, 10, 24, 27.
Chester, county of, 13.
,, mayor of, 135.
Chesterfield G., Earl of, 419.
Chesynbery, co. Wilts, 67.
Chicheley, Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, 2, 3, 11, 12.
Chichester, co. Sussex, 48.
Chilcot Hill, co. Middlesex, 116.
Chillingworth, William, 229.
Cholmeley, Sir H., 234.
Choristers, the, 6, 18–20, 22, 42, 51, 94, 100, 117, 151 198, 252, 253, 274, 300, 456, 577, 581–585.
Christ Church, Oxford, 111, 166, 233, 258, 259, 264, 421, 599.
Christian, Princess, 546, 556.
Christmas, 79, 112, 154, 155, 199, 277.

'*Christopher*' Inn, the, 224, 239, 255, 289, 294, 295, 318, 357, 366, 377, 423, 449, 464–467, 480, 489, 493, 524, 547, 574.
Chrysostom, St. John, 120, 187–191, 194, 195, 197, 260, 310, 542.
Church, the Collegiate, 4, 6, 12, 17–19, 30, 31, 35–38, 43–50, 56, 70, 72, 74–76, 79, 83–92, 98, 102, 120, 126, 132, 134, 155, 163, 168, 205, 206, 219, 220, 243, 251, 278–280, 295, 327, 344, 362, 365, 390, 469–474, 494, 537–540, 583, 584. *See also* Altars; Ante-Chapel; Chapel; Font; Lectern; Lupton's Chapel; Organ; Paintings; Pulpit; Rood-loft; Vestry, &c.
Churchyard, the, 32, 43, 74, 93, 119, 129, 220, 240, 260, 326, 570.
Churchill, John, Lord, 277.
,, Lord Randolph, 569.
Cicero, 106, 144, 145, 158, 199, 266, 311, 313, 333, 365.
Cippenham, co. Bucks, 135, 169.
Claremont, co. Surrey, 299.
Clarendon, Edward, Earl of, 228, 232, 239, 241, 258, 268.
,, G. W. F., Earl of, 525.
Clark, J. W., 44, 94, 98.
,, ——, 255.
Clark-Kennedy, A., 554.
Clavering, John, Fellow, 192, 204.
Cleaver, John, Fellow, 225.
Clement, St., 91.
Clement, Vincent, 11, 22, 23.
Clerk, John, Provost, 31, 597.
,, Richard, 92.
Clerks, the, 6, 18, 19, 42, 100, 117, 129, 166, 190, 198, 219, 251, 456, 577, 580, 581, 583–585.
Clewer, co. Berks, 289.
Clifford, Henry, Lord, 109.
Clock, the, 97, 294, 330, 501.
Cloister, the, 34, 35, 43–45, 95–97, 256, 276, 289, 319, 321, 322, 328, 330, 456, 537, 542, 574, 580.
'Cloister-speech,' the, 462, 527.
Close, Nicholas, architect, 55.
Coblentz, Germany, 57.
Cocksale, Robert, vestment maker, 28.
Coke, Humphrey, architect, 95, 96.
,, ——, 364.
Coldnorton, in Eton, 9.
Cole, A. Clayton, 558.
,, Henry, Provost, 123,[1] 133–136, 159, 160, 597.
,, William, 301, 302, 349.
Coleridge, A. D., 490.
Coleridge, Derwent, 408.
,, Edward, Lower Master and Fellow, 386, 388, 402, 413, 422, 433, 434, 471, 475, 519.
,, Henry James, 476, 490.
,, Henry Nelson, 399, 406, 408,
,, Sir John Taylor, 458, 469, 475, 521.
,, John, Lord, 490, 569.
Coles, V. Stuckey, 551.
Colet, John, 153.
*College Magazine*, the, 405.
Collegers, the, 6, 18, 19–22, 31, 42, 51, 65, 75, 94–96, 117, 129, 148, 157, 158, 165, 177, 224–226, 233, 235, 236, 238, 244, 252, 253, 267, 274, 276, 303, 309, 310, 321, 322, 332, 350, 351, 361, 366, 367, 390, 391, 399, 405, 409, 410, 413, 420, 433, 438, 441, 446–463, 467, 472, 475, 477, 484, 501–504, 506, 509, 515, 527, 528, 535–537, 542, 559, 562, 564, 577, 580–586, 593, 594.
Colleges, Bills for the suppression of, 116, 121.
Collins, Baldwin, Fellow, 192, 256.
,, Daniel, Fellow, 192, 227.
Colmer, Gaspar, Fellow of Merton College, 188.
Colnbrook, co. Bucks, 104, 109, 238, 501, 503.
Cologne, Archbishop of, 6.
'Colours,' 547, 561.
Colvile, Sir J. W., 408.
Commensals, the, 19, 42, 94, 100, 155–158, 190, 198, 199, 221–223, 233, 582–584.
Commissions of visitation, 117, 118, 130, 131, 160, 166, 167, 244, 522, 525.
Common Lane, Eton, 530, 541, 542, 555, 569.
'Commons,' 65, 100, 117, 128, 157, 199, 222, 237, 253, 265, 300, 578–583.
Compton, James, Lord, 221.
'Conducts' or Chaplains, the, 19, 21, 42, 100, 117, 125, 129, 166, 168, 190, 198, 243, 251, 295, 456, 545, 577, 580, 583–585, 590, 594.
Confessors at Eton, 25, 56, 148, 585.
*Coningsby*, 432, 492.
Consort, the Prince, 458, 459, 468, 471, 476, 493, 513, 554, 555.
Constance, Germany, 58.
Constantinople, 170.
*Consuetudinarium* of 1560, 138–155, 266, 267, 307, 495, 496.
Conway, General, 294.

Conway, Sir Edward, 206, 207, 211.
Cook, Sir Anthony, 160, 166.
,, John, Master of St. Paul's, 178.
Cooke, William, Assistant Master, Head Master, and Fellow, Provost of King's, 290, 297, 302, 303, 336, 498–500, 599.
Cookesley, W. G., Assistant Master, 405, 432.
Coplestone, John, Provost of King's, 270.
Corfu, 57.
Cork, R., Earl of, 221.
Cornewall, ——, 375.
*Cornhill Magazine*, the, 521.
Cornwallis, Charles, Lord, 323.
,, Frederick, Archbishop of Canterbury, 343, 344.
Corpus Christi, the feast of, 128, 151.
,, ,, College, Cambridge, 138.
,, ,, Oxford, 598.
Cosin, John, Bishop of Durham, 196.
Costume, 7, 20–22, 121, 158, 221, 239, 317, 335, 350, 352, 354, 361, 370, 371, 375, 413, 415–417, 421, 426, 430, 432, 478, 488, 489, 498, 504–506, 521, 527, 528, 535–537, 561, 584, 586.
Cottesford, co. Oxford, 134.
Courtenay, Peter, Dean of Windsor, 75.
Courthope, William, 419.
Covent Garden, London, 400.
Coventry, co. Warwick, 48, 52.
Coventry, Sir Thomas, 225.
Cowepenning, in Eton, 9.
Cox, Richard, Head Master, Bishop of Ely, 110, 111, 137–145, 597.
,, ——, 244.
Cozens, Alexander, Drawing Master, 318.
Cradock, Zachary, Fellow and Provost, 262, 265, 268, 269, 276, 278, 597.
'*Crane*,' the, in the Vintry, London, 70.
Cranford Bridge, 325.
Cranmer, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, 135.
Craswell, Richard, 164.
Crawfurd, Robert, 399.
'Creansers,' 77.
Creasy, Sir E. S., 400.
Creeting, co. Suffolk, 179.
Crete, 57.
Crichton, W., 408.
Cricket, 297, 318, 319, 336, 359, 360, 401, 409–413, 419, 420, 428, 487–489, 516, 556–558, 562, 575.
Crimean Memorial, the, 538.
*Critic*, the, 575.
Cromwell, Oliver, 241, 242, 244–247, 258.
Cromwell, Richard, 247.
,, Thomas, Lord, 111.
Cuckfield, co. Sussex, school at, 137, 144.
Cuckoo Weir, in Eton, 323, 484.
Cumberbatch, J. C., 552.
Cumberland, William, Duke of, 297–299, 462.
,, E. A., Duke of, 505.
Cunningham, G., 408.
Curraghmore, co. Waterford, 481.
Curtius, Quintus, 266.
Curwen, Peter, 240.
Curwin, ——, 255.
Curzon, Hon. F., 408.
,, of Kedleston, Lord, 552, 553, 571.
Cust, Misses, 84.
,, Richard 498, 499.
*Custos*, or dunce, 139, 140.
Cutler, Jack, 325.
Cyprus, 57.

D

Dallas, George, 396.
Dalton, Thomas, Mathematical Master, 544.
'Dames,' 155, 288, 294, 314, 315, 318, 353, 367, 369–371, 411, 452, 454, 482, 485, 498, 521, 530.
Dampier, Henry, 374.
,, H. T., 403.
,, J. L., 458.
,, Thomas, Lower Master and Fellow, 316, 317, 330, 336, 338, 348.
,, Thomas, 348.
Dancing, 318, 335.
Dante, 365.
Dartmouth, George, Lord, 271.
Datchet; Datchet Lane, co. Bucks, 104, 255, 324, 325, 485, 501, 558, 559.
Davenant, Sir William, 227.
David, St., 287.
Davies, Jonathan, Assistant Master, Head Master, and Provost, 317, 328, 342, 343, 346, 348–351, 353, 366, 373, 374, 499, 594, 597, 599.
Day, William, Provost, Bishop of Winchester, 168, 171–174, 177, 178, 180–182, 184, 185, 597.
Daye, ——, 179.
Debating Societies, 345, 403, 547–549.
'Declamations,' 282, 298, 312, 313, 339, 351, 398, 440.
Deeson, ——, 470.
*Defiance*, the, 415, 418, 422.
De Foix, P., 171–174.

De Havilland, R. S., Assistant Master, 563, 565.
Demosthenes, 266, 365.
Denison, J. E., 569.
Denman, Thomas, Lord, 446, 468, 491, 514, 569.
Denmark, Christian VII., King of, 343.
Denton, James, 153.
De Quincey, Thomas, 354.
Derby, Edward Geoffrey, Earl of, 494, 569.
Derrick, ——, 470.
Despautier, 145.
Dethick, Sir Gilbert and Nicholas, 156, 157.
Detton, Mrs., Dame, 277.
Devereux, Hon. R. C., 553.
,, ——, hatter, 427.
Devon, Henry, Earl of, 525.
,, John, Earl of, 68, 105.
,, W. R., Earl of, 525.
Devonshire, William, third Duke of, 298.
,, ,, fourth Duke of, 326.
,, ,, sixth Duke of, 446.
,, ,, Earl of, 158.
Dimsdale, Sir Joseph, 571.
Dinner, 142, 157, 158, 216, 222, 236, 253, 266, 309, 368, 451, 455, 573. *See also* Commons; Hall.
Dionysius Periegetes, 192.
Disputations, 43, 143.
Divinity, the study of, 303, 310, 311, 313, 314, 383, 384, 388, 521.
'Domines,' 288, 317, 318, 367, 521.
Donaldson, S. A., Assistant Master, 563.
,, St. Clair, 546.
Donatus, 143, 582.
Dorney, co. Bucks, 420.
Dorney Road, the, 367, 397, 405, 464, 474, 486, 543, 559.
Dorothea, St., 85.
Dorset, John, 51.
Dort, the Synod of, 197, 229.
Douro, Marquess of, 345, 428.
Dover, Lord, 222.
Downes, Andrew, Professor of Greek, 195, 197.
Doyle, Sir F. Hastings, 382, 405, 408, 409.
Drainage of Eton, 50, 464.
Drake, R. Ingalton, 552.
Drawing, 308, 370, 478.
*Dreadnought*, the, 415, 418.
Drill Hall, the, 545, 548, 550, 555, 568, 569.
Driving, 353, 362, 377, 379, 424.
Dropmore, co. Bucks, 287, 501.
Drury, Benjamin Heath, Assistant Master, 374, 375, 378, 400–402, 423.
Drury, Henry, Head Master of Harrow, 414.
Dublin, Ireland, 135.
Dufferin, F. T., Marquess of, 569.
Dunster Castle, co. Somerset, 369.
Dupuis, George J., Lower Master and Fellow, 419.
,, G. R., Assistant Master, 410.
,, Harry, Assistant Master, 484, 560.
Durdaunt, John, 91.
Durham, J. G., Earl of, 569.
Durnford, F. E., Lower Master and Fellow, 527.
,, Richard, Bishop of Chichester, 408, 539, 544.
Durston, John, Fellow, 164, 167.
Dutchman's Farm, Upton, 558.
Dutton, William (1653), 246.
,, ,, (1766), 318.
Dyson, Henry, 503.

E

Earle, Alfred, Bishop of Marlborough, 515.
Easter, the observance of, 91, 148, 149, 158.
Edgehill, the battle of, 259.
*Edinburgh Review*, the, 435, 522.
Edington, co. Wilts, 58.
Edmonds, John, Fellow, 94.
Edmunds, Sir Thomas, 187.
Edward the Confessor, King, 24, 36.
,, IV., King, 60–74, 79–81, 103, 117, 206, 226.
,, V., King, 81, 82.
,, VI., King, 70, 109, 111, 115, 121, 122, 124, 129, 131–134.
,, VII., King, 538, 566, 570, 574, 576.
Edwards-Moss, T. C., 544.
Edwards, Richard, Assistant Master, 317.
,, George, 427.
Egypt, Pasha of, 493.
Ekins, John, Assistant Master, 317.
Eldon, John, Earl of, 400.
Election, the: Election Saturday; Election Monday, 20, 59, 66, 150, 151, 161, 193, 198, 224, 233, 235, 237, 252, 276, 297–299, 343, 356, 360, 370, 415, 418, 420, 421, 427, 430, 434, 451, 461–463, 527, 562, 565.
Election Chamber, the, 82, 98, 185, 298, 327.
Election Hall, the, 98, 128, 129, 185, 219, 242, 298, 461.
Elgin, J., Earl of, 569.
,, V. A., Earl of, 569.

Eliot, W. L., Assistant Master and Fellow, 527.
Elizabeth, Queen, wife of Edward IV., 69, 70, 80.
,, ,, wife of Henry VII., 92.
,, ,, 2, 79, 105, 111, 113, 151, 157, 159–170, 175–180, 182–184, 205, 219, 227, 289.
,, ,, of Bohemia, 216.
,, St., 84.
Ellenborough, Earl of, 569.
Ellis, A. J., 408.
Elmslie, ——, 470.
Endowments, 7–9, 51, 52, 62–66, 90, 226.
'Engagement,' the, 238.
Epictetus, 389.
*Epigrammatum Delectus*, 273, 311.
Epigrams, 154, 164, 312, 394, 486, 496, 588.
Episcopius, Simon, 229.
Epsom Cricket Club, 410, 412, 413.
Erasmus, Desiderius, 108, 115, 144.
Erlysman, Thomas, Head Master, 598.
Essex, R. H., 83, 85.
,, Robert, Earl of, 181, 183, 186, 204, 214.
,, Robert, Earl of, 199.
*Estaminet*, the, 465, 467.
Etheldreda, St., 84, 85.
Eton, places and buildings in. *See* Agar's Plough; Almshouse; Athens; Barnes Pool; Bathing places; Brewhouse; Boveney; Brocas; Bullockslock; Buildings; Carter's Chamber; Chambers; Chapel; the *Christopher*; Church; Clock; Cloister; Coldnorton; Common Lane; Cowepenning; Cuckoo Weir; Dorney Road; Drill Hall; Election Chamber: Election Hall; Fifteen Arch Bridge; Fives Courts; Godolphin House; Hall; Hatton's; Infirmary; Jordan; Jourdelay's Place; Keate's Lane; King's Worth; Kitchen; Long Chamber; Long Walk; Lower Chamber; Lower Chapel; Lower Master's Chamber; Lupton's Tower; Mathematical Schools; Memorial Buildings; Michelmyldshey; New Buildings; New Schools; Playing Fields; Queen's Schools; Racquet Courts; Rolffeshawe; St. John's; Sanatorium; School Yard; Shawe; Shooting Fields; Sixth Form Bench; Slough Road; South Field; South Meadow; Stable Yard; Timbralls; Upper School.
Eton, the old parochial church of, 3, 14, 17, 18, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 43, 74, 75.
*Etona*, the (steamer), 546.
Eton Block Club, the, 481.
*Eton Bureau*, the, 490.
*Eton Classical Casket*, the, 490.
*Eton College Chronicle*, the, 552, 574.
Eton College Hunt. *See* Beagles.
*Eton College Magazine*, the, 408.
Eton College Mathematical Society, 574.
*Eton Fortnightly*, the, 553.
*Eton Greek Grammar*, the, 202, 439.
*Eton Herald*, the, 554.
*Eton Idler*, the, 553.
*Eton Latin Grammar*, the, 144, 524, 532.
Eton Literary and Scientific Society, 547.
Eton Melanesian Mission, 546.
*Eton Miscellany*, the, 408.
Eton Mission, Hackney Wick, 545, 546, 556.
Eton Musical Society, 541, 549, 550.
Eton Natural History Society, 550.
*Eton Observer*, the (1), 551.
,, ,, (2), 553.
Eton Photographic Society, 551.
*Eton Rambler*, the, 553.
*Eton Review*, the (1), 552.
,, ,, (2), 553.
,, ,, (3), 553.
*Eton School Magazine*, the, 490.
*Eton Scrap Book*, the, 551.
*Eton Sketch*, the, 554.
Eton Society, the, 403–405, 489, 490, 547.
*Eton Spectator*, the, 554.
*Etonensia*, 551.
*Etonian*, the (1), 406–408.
,, ,, (2), 552.
,, ,, (3), 553.
*Etonian*, the boat, 415.
Euchaitis, John, Bishop of, 190.
Euclid, 314, 390.
Eugenius IV., Pope, 7, 10, 11, 22–25, 56.
Euripides, 311, 384.
Evans, Jane, Dame, 530.
,, S. T. G., Drawing Master, 555.
,, Thomas, Fellow, 306.
,, William, Drawing Master and Dame, 371, 484, 490, 516, 547.
,, ——, Writing Master and Domine, 317.
Evelyn, John, 223.
Exeter College, Oxford, 539.
Expenses of education at Eton, 156, 198, 199, 223, 285, 287, 288, 300, 369, 370, 453, 461.

F

'Fagging,' 342, 425, 448–452, 454, 455, 461, 462.
,, at cricket, 411, 488.
Fairs at Eton, 26.
Falkland, Lucius, Viscount, 227, 228.
Farmer, A. H., 483.
Farnaby's *Delectus*, 313
Farnham, co. Surrey, 133.
Farnham Royal, co. Bucks, 289.
Farquhar, T. G., 472.
Fasts, 142, 175, 222, 253, 265, 343.
Fawding, Thomas, Fellow, 131.
Fawkes, A., 552.
Fécamp, Normandy, 8.
Feilden, H. St. C., 552.
Fell, John, Bishop of Oxford, 274.
Fellows, number, position, qualifications and duties of, 6, 21, 25, 42, 59, 65, 66, 75, 101, 117, 129, 139, 152, 176, 199, 205, 206, 225–227, 252, 253, 256, 260, 264, 265, 288, 299, 305, 306, 433, 456, 457, 527, 577–580, 582–585, 590, 591.
Fencing, 311, 341, 478.
Ferdinand III., Emperor, 214.
Ferry, Benjamin, architect, 470.
Fialetti, Edward, painter, 218.
Fielding, Henry, 468.
Fifteen Arch Bridge, or Long Bridge, 110, 371, 372.
Finchley, co. Middlesex, 103.
Fines, 457.
Finmore, 482, 486.
Fitzwilliam, John, Lord, 333, 334.
Fives, 318–320, 486, 487, 530, 534, 559.
Flame, George, 179.
Flecher, Robert, 91, 110.
Fleet Street, London, 358.
,, Prison, London, 131, 160.
Fleetwood, William, Fellow, 288.
Fletcher, Giles, 169.
*Fleur de Lys*, the, 554.
Flogging, 112, 143, 151, 158, 170, 255, 269, 315, 316, 331, 333, 335, 336, 339, 341, 353, 354, 359, 361, 365, 377, 379, 392–398, 414, 455, 480, 533.
Floods, 107, 371, 372, 570.
Florence, Italy, 722, 57, 214.
*Flosculi Etonenses*, 554.
Font, the, 91, 472.
Fontenoy, France, 8.
Football, 107, 296, 319, 320, 322, 392, 413, 487, 488, 536, 561.
Foote, Samuel, 347.
Foote, ——, 327.
Forbes, W. H., 552.
Forster, Thomas, Head Master, 598.
Forte, Simon, 91, 149.
Foster, John, Head Master, 317, 337–342, 599.
,, ——, 202
,, R., 546.
,, William, Fellow, 373.
Foundation, charter of, 4–6.
,, anniversaries of, 491, 568.
Fowler, R. St. L., 576.
Fox, Charles J., 332–334, 357, 468.
,, Sir Stephen, 278.
Frampton Park, co. Dorset, 280.
Francia, 89.
Frankland, Sir Thomas, 316, 324.
Freeman, Sir Ralph, 209, 212.
Fremantle, H. E. S., 554.
French ambassadors, 171–174, 186.
French, Louis Philippe, King of the, 493.
French, the study of, 222, 317, 318, 365, 369, 523, 524, 529, 530, 549.
Frere, John Hookham, 356.
Friday, the observance of, 142, 143, 145, 222, 308.
Frogmore, co. Berks, 428.
Fulham, co. Middlesex, 103.
Fuller, Thomas, 190, 196.
*Funebres Orationes*, 315.
Fursdon, C., 408.
Furse, M. B., 553.

G

Gainsborough, Thomas, R.A., 336.
Games, 107, 318–323, 487. *See also* Cricket, Fives, Football, Skittles, etc.
Garaway, ——, 255.
Gardyn, John, 67.
Garrick, David, 344, 346, 347.
Gascony, wine from, 25, 26, 289.
Gaskell, J. Milnes, 408.
Geography, the study of, 313, 314, 479, 480, 529.
George I., King, 281.
,, II., King 306, 430.
,, III., King, 294, 326, 327, 336, 343, 348, 351, 352, 354–356, 361, 364, 373, 374, 377, 428–430, 468, 492, 503, 505, 568.
,, IV., King, 344, 351, 355, 427, 428, 430, 463, 506.
,, Prince of Denmark, 278.

George, William, Head Master, Provost of King's, 290, 292, 293, 301–303, 599.
Gerard's Cross, co. Bucks, 325, 501.
German, the study of, 529, 573.
German Emperor, 555, 570, 575.
Germany, Empress Frederick of, 544.
Ghent, Belgium, 57.
Ghirlandaio, 89.
Gibbon, Dr., 294.
Gideon, 169.
Gillingham, Thomas, 163.
Gladstone, William Ewart, 388, 397, 404, 408, 441, 458, 468, 483, 491, 548, 556, 569.
Glasgow, University of, 534.
Glass, painted, 35, 36, 75, 92, 249, 469–472, 537, 538, 540, 544.
Gloucester, Humphrey, Duke of, 2, 24, 27, 28, 180.
,, Richard, Duke of. *See* Richard III.
,, William, Duke of, (1696) 277.
,, ,, ,, (1768) 343.
Glover, Robert, 111.
,, ,, 174.
*Gnat*, the, 554.
Goad, George, Head Master and Fellow, 241, 250, 256, 599.
God's House, Cambridge, 1.
Godolphin, Francis, Lord, 366.
,, Henry, Fellow and Provost, 265, 278, 282, 290, 298, 597.
,, Sydney, Lord, 274, 278, 451.
Godolphin House, 284.
Goldsmith, Francis, 241.
Goldwin, William, Fellow, 319,
Goldwyn, John, Head Master, 598.
,, William, Fellow, 123, 125.
Goldyve, John, Head Master, 598.
Golf, 559.
Good Friday, 135, 149, 584.
Goodall, Joseph, Assistant Master, Head Master and Provost, 90, 320, 345, 354, 355, 358, 360, 364, 365, 367–369, 371, 373, 374, 376, 389–391, 402, 417, 418, 431–433, 437, 438, 444, 445, 451, 453, 456, 458, 459, 474, 597, 599.
Goodall Exhibition, 432.
,, Scholarship, 433.
Goode, Barnham, 301.
,, Francis, Lower Master, 285, 290, 301.
Goodford, Charles Old, Assistant Master, Head Master and Provost, 165, 400, 519–524, 531, 532, 535, 543, 556, 562, 563, 597, 599.
Goodford, Mrs, 554.
Goodwin, Thomas, Fellow, 247.
Googe, ——, Conduct, 20.
Gordon Castle, Scotland, 350.
Gorhambury, co. Herts, 208.
Gosse, Elizabeth, 91.
Gough, Walter, 287, 288.
Goulburn, E. M., Dean of Norwich, 409.
Governing Body, the New, 526, 527, 531, 544, 545, 558, 572, 573, 590–596.
Gower, John, 86.
Graham, Andrew, 284, 498.
,, George, Assistant Master, 317.
,, David, Marquess of, 284.
Granby, John, Marquess of, 341.
Grant, Sir William, Master of the Rolls, 433.
Gray, Thomas, 294–297, 321, 397, 468.
Grayland, John, glazier, 36.
Greathead, Bertie, 333.
Great Western Railway, 512, 558.
Greek, the study of, 1, 100, 106, 123, 145, 169, 184, 192, 202, 240, 241, 273, 284, 286, 299, 310–313, 382–384, 387, 439–441, 521, 522, 529, 573.
Green, George R., Fellow, 513.
Greenwich, co. Kent, 130, 176.
Gregory Nazianzen, St., 190–192.
Grene, William, Lower Master, 157
Grenville, Dennis, 264.
,, Sir John, 248, 250, 264.
,, Thomas, 340.
,, William, Lord, 341, 468.
Grey, Henry, Lord, 345, 468, 569.
,, Nicholas, Head Master and Fellow, 240, 241, 251, 264, 599.
,, Richard, Lord, 101.
Grindal, Edmund, Bishop of London, 166, 167.
Gronow, R. H., 400, 401.
Grotius, 240, 273.
Grover, J. S., Fellow, 513.
Gruter, J., 189.
Guildford, co. Surrey, school at, 319.
Gully, W. A., 517.
Gutenberg, J., printer, 493.
Gyboy, Thomas, 91.
Gymnastics, 575.

II

Hacket, John, 205, 206.
Hackney Wick, co. Middlesex, Eton Mission at, 545, 546, 556.

Haddon, Walter, 110, 111, 160.
Hale, Edward, Assistant Master, 544, 564.
Hales, John, Fellow, 195, 214, 227–230, 238–241.
Halifax, Charles, Viscount, 382–384.
Hall, the, 19, 34, 35, 42, 44, 56, 65, 79, 93, 110, 112, 116, 129, 142, 147, 148, 154, 155, 158, 161, 186, 192, 193, 197, 198, 219, 223, 236, 237, 244, 253, 265, 289, 297, 298, 309, 322, 327, 366, 451, 452, 455, 456, 504, 537, 550, 582, 583, 586.
Hall, A. Hall, 552.
,, L. K., 573.
,, ——, 20.
Hallam, A. H., 408.
,, Henry, 458, 468, 569.
,, H. F., 441.
Halle, Thomas, 149.
Halley, Edmund, 188.
Hamilton, J. G., Duke of, 332.
,, J., 409.
Hammersmith, 421.
Hammond, Henry, 195, 468.
,, John, Head Master, 178, 179, 203, 599.
Hampstead, co. Middlesex, 103.
Hampton, John, surveyor of the works, 11, 13.
Hampton Court, co. Middlesex, 109, 110, 271, 344.
Hanmer, John, Lord, 408.
Harcourt, Simon, Lord, 298.
Harding, John, 410.
Hardinge, George, 346.
Hardman, ——, 537, 538.
Hardy, H. E. 544.
Hare, James, 333–335.
Harland, Thomas, Lower Master, 131.
Harington, Sir John, 177.
,, William, Earl of, 341.
Harris, W. Arundel, 377.
Harrison, John, Master of St. Paul's School, 178.
,, ——, 263.
,, John, Head Master, 223, 599.
,, Sir Richard, 204.
Harrow School, 241, 281, 359, 360, 373, 379, 398, 401, 411, 412, 483, 487, 488, 556–558, 575.
Harrys, Thomas, 203.
Hartcliff, John, Fellow of King's, 270.
Hatton's eating house, 403, 489, 490.
Haubroke, David, Head Master, 598.
*Haud multum abfuit quin*, 575.
Havre, Marquis of, 174.
Hawkesyard Park, co. Stafford, 471.
Hawtrey family, 305, 497, 587.
,, Edward, Assistant Master, 317.
,, Edward Craven, Head Master and Provost, 365, 383, 389, 391, 419, 425, 436–444, 459, 463–467, 474–477, 479–484, 486, 490, 512, 513, 515–519, 522, 524, 534, 536, 538, 540, 560, 597, 599.
,, John, Fellow, 274, 289.
,, John, 353.
,, John William, Assistant Master, 530.
,, Lucy, Dame, 369, 370.
,, Stephen, Mathematical Master, 477, 478, 540.
Hay, James, Lord, 429.
Hayes, Charles, 509.
Headbourne Worthy, co. Hants, 21.
'Headers,' 362.
Headington, co. Oxford, stone from, 73, 74, 538.
Head Master, position, qualifications and duties of, 6, 21, 42, 65, 100, 117, 129, 142, 148–150, 156, 157, 190, 198, 200, 236, 238, 252, 253, 257, 266, 272, 274, 283, 285, 290, 300, 335, 437–439, 449, 457, 459, 462, 530, 536, 577, 580–582, 584, 590, 592–594.
Head Masters, list of, 598.
Hearne, Thomas, 255.
Heath, Benjamin, Assistant Master and Fellow, 317, 373, 499, 500.
,, George, Head Master and Fellow, 353, 354, 359, 361, 370, 373, 417, 475, 599.
,, William, Assistant Master, 375, 402, 427.
Heaver, John, Fellow, 264.
Hebrew, the study of, 195, 235, 432.
Hedgerley, co. Bucks, 111, 150, 463.
Henchman, Humphrey, Bishop of Salisbury, 254.
Hendon, co. Middlesex, 103.
Henley Regatta, 558, 562–564, 572, 575.
Henrietta Maria, Queen, 224, 263.
Henry V., King, 2, 8, 117, 583–585.
,, VI., King, 2–19, 21–31, 33, 35–40, 43–57, 59–65, 67–69, 103, 106, 117, 127, 150, 583, 584.
,, pictures and statues of, 37, 71, 83, 185, 203, 278, 366, 391, 481, 482, 515, 566.
,, VII., King, 82, 83, 90, 93, 95.
,, VIII., King, 2, 8, 95, 101–105, 108, 109, 111, 116–121, 124, 126, 151, 170.

Herbert, Hon. William, 444.
Hermer, William, Canon of Windsor, 64.
Herodotus, 382, 383.
Herschel, Sir John, 569.
Herschell, Lord, 548.
Hervey, John, Lord, 298.
Hervey-Bathurst, Sir F., 368, 369.
Hesterwang, Germany, 57.
Hetherington, William, Fellow, 330, 594,
Hexter, Major, Mathematical Master, 390, 477, 478.
Heylin, Peter, 126, 230.
*Hibernia*, the, 415, 564.
Hickford, ——, Dancing Master, 318.
Higgins, Matthew J., 521.
,, W. F., 558.
Hilary, St., 120.
Hildyard, E. D., 553.
Hill, ——, 263.
,, Richard, Fellow, 288, 289.
Hillsborough, A. W. B., Lord, 400.
Hitcham, co. Bucks, 273, 306.
Hoadley, Benjamin, Bishop of Bangor, 280, 281.
Hobart, Nicholas, 247.
Hoccleve, Thomas, 86.
Hockey, 323, 487, 559.
Hodgson, Francis, Assistant Master and Provost, 444–447, 458, 461, 465, 467, 469–476, 478, 482, 511–515, 518, 537, 597.
Hoeschel, David, 189.
Holdernes, Thomas, 179, 202.
Holidays, 145, 146, 150, 154, 199, 223, 276, 277, 288, 306, 312, 313, 315, 327, 350, 355, 411, 412, 414, 485, 487, 491, 556.
Holland, Henry, Earl of, 224.
,, Henry, Lord, 287, 332.
Holroyd, Henry, 379.
Holt, Sir John, L.C.J., 274.
Homer, 293, 310, 311, 340, 351, 365, 382, 426.
Homilies, the, 126, 175.
Hoops, 296, 318, 321, 323, 487.
Hoorde, 114.
Hoppner, John, R.A., 336.
Hopson, ——, 280.
Hopton, Richard, Head Master and Fellow, 76, 598.
Horace, 144, 145, 310, 311, 313, 320, 345, 346, 382, 385, 403, 426.
*Horæ Otiosæ*, the, 406.
Horman, William, Head Master and Fellow, 105–108, 598.
Hornby, James John, Head Master and Provost, 525, 526, 528, 531, 532, 572, 597, 599.
,, R. A., 385.
Horne, Robert, Bishop of Winchester, 160, 166.
,, Thomas, Head Master, 241, 599.
Horsford, Miss, Dame, 482.
Hounslow, co. Middlesex, 104, 359.
Howe, Richard, Earl, 468.
Hudleston, co. York, stone from, 47, 50.
Huggett, Roger, Conduct, 75, 306, 328, 497.
Hugh, St., 36, 152.
Hughenden, co. Bucks, 34.
Hulse, ——, 324.
Hume, ——, 299.
Hungary, Ladislaus, King of, 102.
Huntercombe's Garden, in Eton, 9.
Huntly, George, Marquess of, 350.
Hurd, Richard, Bishop of Worcester, 356.
Hutchinson, Roger, Fellow, 127.
Hylles, Richard, 158.

## I

Ilchester, Henry T., Earl of. *See* Stavordale.
Images in the Collegiate Church, 37, 47, 91, 105, 126, 134, 174.
Indulgences, Papal, 9–11, 22–25, 56, 75.
Infirmary, the, 40, 50, 274. *See also* Sanatorium.
Ingalton, ——, 358.
Inge, W. R., Assistant Master, 532.
Ingelo, Nathaniel, Fellow, 250, 256, 262, 263.
'Intermediate Examination,' 477.
Inventories of goods, 16, 58, 64, 105, 117, 131, 185, 199.
Ironmongers' Company, 135.
Irwin, Edward, 'Montem Poet,' 510.
Isham, William, 92.
Italian, the study of, 369, 529.
Italy, King and Queen of, 570.
Iver, co. Bucks, 501.

## J

Jackson, T. G., R.A., 559, 565.
Jaffa, Palestine, 57.
James I., King, 178, 186–188, 195, 203, 208–210, 214, 225.
,, II., King, 263, 269.
James, C. C., Assistant Master, 307, 565.
,, S. R., Assistant Master, 561.

James, Thomas, Head Master of Rugby, 307, 315
,, ——, 179.
Jane Seymour, Queen, 109.
Janeway, John, 235.
Japhet, 57.
Jelf, W. E., 386, 403, 408.
Jericho, Palestine, 57.
Jermyn, J., 409.
Jerusalem, Palestine, 57, 58, 170
Jesse, J. H., 480, 481.
Jesus College, Cambridge, 242.
Jewels, 28, 29, 35, 42,64, 65,72,91,92,580.
'Jews,' newcomers called, 450.
John, St., 91, 150.
Johnson, Christopher, 138.
,, C. W. (Furse), 490.
,, Samuel, 347.
,, Thomas, Assistant Master, 284.
,, Willam (Cory), Assistant Master, 465, 467, 490, 556.
Jones, Sir E. Burne-, 539.
Jonson, Ben, 227.
Jordan stream, in Eton, 558.
Jourdelay, Thomas and Alice, 90, 91, 110.
Jourdelay's Place at Eton, 9, 51, 284.
*Jourdelays*, 554.
Joyner, John, 185.
Joynes, J. L., Lower Master, 477, 564.
Judith, 169.
Juliana, St., 85.
June, the Fourth of, 193, 323, 355, 360, 361, 370, 415, 417, 418, 420, 430, 451, 517, 531, 538, 550, 555, 564.
Juno, 170.
Justin, 145.
Juvenal, 266, 383, 388.

K

*Kaleidoscope*, the, 408.
Keate, John, Lower Master and Head Master, 112, 345, 364, 368, 374–404, 413, 414, 417–420, 422, 424, 426–429, 431, 433–445, 454, 455, 458, 476, 479, 480, 491, 492, 539, 599.
,, Mrs., 147, 410, 420, 427, 429.
Keate's Lane, in Eton, 368, 395, 490.
*Keate's Lane Papers*, the, 554.
Kemp, John, Archbishop of York, 52.
Kempe, C. E., 544.
Kendal, co. Westmorland, 48.
Kendal, Mary, 356.
Kennedy, B. H., 440, 443.
Kent, John, 21.
,, ——, 91.
Kent, hard-hewers from, 37.
Kentish stone, 13, 50.
Kerver, Thomas, 23, 24.
Kesteven, John, Lord, 423.
Kette, John, Fellow, 4, 6.
Keyne, Robert, 203.
,, Thomas, glazier, 178, 179.
Keys, Roger, architect, 47, 55.
Kilkhampton, co. Cornwall, 248.
King, Henry, Bishop of Chichester, 239.
,, John, 311.
Kinglake, J. A., 380, 408.
King's College, Cambridge, 2, 20, 21, 27–31, 36, 38–40, 49, 50, 52, 54–56, 66, 80, 81, 90, 101, 102, 108, 110, 113, 151, 164, 170, 174, 177, 178, 180, 186, 188, 190, 192, 201, 202, 205, 219, 220, 225, 226, 233, 235, 241, 244, 256, 265, 269–272, 278, 280–283, 298, 301–303, 305, 330, 343, 351, 376, 391, 412, 433, 442, 443, 453, 457, 461–463, 471, 475, 476, 500, 521, 526–528, 545, 565, 577, 578, 581, 582, 584, 586, 588, 591, 598, 599.
King's College, London, 445
King's Evil, the, 269.
King's Hall, Cambridge, 56, 59, 80.
King's Scholars, 252, 355. *See* Collegers.
King's Worth, the, in Eton, 9.
Kinnaird, A. F., Lord, 558.
Kirton, Thomas, Fellow, 167.
Kirwan, Hyacinth, 490.
Kitchen, the, 42, 44, 94, 173, 186, 319, 322.
Knapp, Henry Hartopp, Lower Master, 396, 400, 401.
Knebworth, co. Hertford, 199.
Knight, Charles, 356, 358.
,, H. Gally, 358.
*Knight's Quarterly Magazine*, 408.
Knightsbridge, co. Middlesex, 103.
Knolles, Sir Francis, 157.
Kuhner, R., 440.
Kyng, Alexander, 24.

L

Lacaita, C. C., 548.
Lacedæmonia, Chrysanthus, Bishop of, 197.
Lacy, Edmund, Bishop of Exeter, 11.
Lambeth, co. Surrey, 175, 226, 230, 344.
Lamplugh, Thomas, Archbishop of York, 274.

Lancaster, Duchy of, 37, 38.
Landeck, Tyrol, 58.
Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, 8.
Langford, William, Lower Master and Fellow, 351, 352, 373.
Langley, co. Bucks, 34, 100.
Langley, Richard, Head Master, 199–201, 599.
Langston, Thomas, 255.
Langton, John, Bishop of St. David's, 3, 28.
Lansdowne, H. C., Marquess of, 569.
Larissa, Archbishop of, 180.
Lark, ——, 175.
'Latins,' 143–145.
Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 195, 220, 225, 226, 230, 237, 264, 265.
Lauderdale, John, Earl of, 259.
Lavie, Germain, 399.
Law, J. H., 408.
Lawley, Hon. A. G., 546.
Lawrence, James, 322.
,, Sir Thomas, P.R.A., 336.
Layton, John, 271.
Leach, A. F., 22, 94, 111, 137, 495.
Leander Club, the, 422.
Leaping-poles, 319, 322, 323, 487.
Leathes, S. N., 553.
'Leaving books,' 536.
'Leaving money,' 273, 300, 335, 394, 536.
Lectern, the, 91, 243, 472.
Le Duc, Fronton, 189–191.
Leech, Stephen, 544.
Leg, ——, Conduct, 167.
Legends, mediæval, 85–89.
Legge, Heneage, 333.
Leinster, Duchess of, 511.
Leland, John, 69, 73, 108.
Lemoine, ——, French Master, 318.
Lent, the observance of, 148, 175, 222, 253.
Lessons, scheme of, 143–145, 266, 310–314, 382–386, 436–443, 521, 524, 528–533.
Lester and Pack, 330.
Leverington, co. Cambridge, 122.
Lewen, Thomas, 202.
Lewin, Thomas, 135.
,, Mrs., 169.
Lewis, R. H. Blosse, 533.
Library, the College, 8, 27, 35, 42, 59, 96, 98, 105, 113, 121, 128–130, 165, 185, 203, 217, 219, 231, 288–291, 297, 306, 327, 456, 493, 580.
Library in Upper School, the, 342, 375, 378, 394, 438, 463, 480, 540.
Library, the School, 147, 236, 405, 463, 541–543, 546, 548, 573.
Lily, William, 107, 144.
*Limit*, the, 575.
Lincoln, authority of the Bishop of, 4, 6, 17, 31, 101, 123, 132, 133, 160, 181, 194, 200–202, 204–206, 247, 253, 433, 445, 512, 515, 522, 578, 586, 590, 596.
,, Cathedral church of, 49, 120, 121.
,, Henry, Earl of, 299.
*Linger*, the, 405.
*Lion*, the, 405.
*Literati*, the. *See* Eton Society.
Littleton, co. Middlesex, 287.
Littleton, Edward, Assistant Master and Fellow, 282, 283, 288, 305.
Livesay, R., 546.
Livy, 272, 313.
Lloyd, G. J., 387.
,, R., 409.
,, Thomas, 359.
Lockyer, Nicholas, Provost, 247, 249–251, 597.
Lodge, the Provost's, 42, 92, 96, 97, 109, 128, 161, 171, 172, 204, 213, 245, 260, 262, 282, 327, 330, 336, 344, 345, 347, 349–351, 432, 462, 509, 537, 574, 590.
Lofft, Capel, Assistant Master, 402, 423.
Lombard Street, London, 193.
London. *See* Albemarle Street; Billingsgate; Blackfriars; Bond Street; Bow; Chalcots; Charterhouse; Chelsea; Covent Garden; Fleet; Fulham; Hackney Wick; Hammersmith; Hampstead; Ironmongers; Knightsbridge; Lambeth; Lombard Street; Lord's; Marshalsea; Marylebone; Mercers; Merchant Taylors; Newgate; Piccadilly; Primrose Hill; Putney; Queenhithe; St. Augustine's; St. Martin's; St. Mary le Bow; St. Paul's; Southwark; Thames mead; Tower; Westminster; *White Boar*; Wilds.
Long, ——, 482.
Long Chamber, 94, 129, 139, 140, 150, 172, 218, 236, 252, 255, 260, 274, 276, 290, 291, 297, 299, 310, 327, 344, 346, 367, 398, 410, 428, 446–455, 458, 459, 461, 463, 482, 490, 501, 506, 537.
Long Walk, the, 321, 323, 338, 345, 354, 377, 378, 396, 411, 415, 424, 468, 535.
Longe, John, Archbishop of Armagh, 169.
Longland, John, Bishop of Lincoln, 101, 109, 120, 121.

Longley, C. T., Head Master of Harrow, Archbishop of Canterbury, 398.
Lonsdale, John, Fellow and Provost-elect, 445, 447, 597.
,, J. G., 409.
Loo, St., 91.
Lord's Cricket Ground, co. Middlesex, 359, 360, 411, 412, 487, 488, 556, 557, 576.
Lorne, J. G., Marquess of. *See* Argyll.
Loveroye, ——, 179.
Lowell, J. R., 548.
Lower Chamber, 43, 366, 447–449, 452, 505, 540.
Lower Chapel, the, 544, 545, 569.
Lower Master, Usher, or Under Master, position, qualifications, and duties of, 19, 21, 42, 65, 100, 117, 129, 139, 140, 142, 157, 172, 201, 202, 236, 252, 257, 283, 284, 290, 300, 301, 426, 456, 457, 527, 530, 577, 580, 583, 590, 593.
Lower Master's Chamber, 290, 448, 459. *See also* Carter's Chamber.
Lower School, the, 43, 94, 140, 147, 173, 217, 218, 236, 252, 255, 260, 266, 274, 276, 290, 310, 336, 353, 447, 449, 454, 455, 462, 533.
Lubbock, Alfred, 556.
,, Sir John (Lord Avebury), 548.
,, Montagu, 557.
Lucan, 145.
Lucas, John, 361.
Lucian, 145, 158, 310, 311, 382.
Lucius Florus, 145.
Lucretia, 170.
Lupton, Roger, Provost, 92, 93, 108, 115, 116, 130, 148, 597.
Lupton's Chapel and Chantry, 98–100, 116, 117, 134, 161, 168, 219–221, 245, 471, 538, 539.
Lupton's Tower, 96, 97, 128, 330, 462, 501, 574.
Luttrell, Alexander Fownes, 364.
,, George Fownes, 486.
,, John Fownes, 369.
Luxemburg, Jaquinet of, 70.
Luxmoore, H. E., Assistant Master, 539, 540, 570.
Lynde, William, Clerk of the Works, 11–13.
Lyndwode, William, Bishop of St. David's, 4.
Lyne, Richard, Fellow, 330, 334.
Lyons, Church of, 534.
Lysaght, Hon. John, 304.
Lyte, Sir H. C. Maxwell, 551.
Lyttelton, Hon. A. T., 525.
Lyttelton, Hon. C. G. (Viscount Cobham), 557.
,, Hon. Edward, Head Master, 572, 599.
,, George, Lord, 287.
,, G. W., Lord, 408, 458, 525.
,, Hon. N. G., 554.
Lytton, Sir Rowland, 199.
,, Philip, 199.

M

Mache, Thomas, Head Master, 598.
Maestricht, 58.
Macaulay, G. C., 552.
,, Thomas B., Lord, 408.
Maclachlan, L. C., 544.
Macdonald, Sir John, 332.
Mackarness, J. F., Bishop of Oxford, 490.
Macmillan, Alexander, 546.
MacNaghten, M., 553.
Maesteg, co. Glamorgan, 533.
Magazines conducted by Etonians, 356, 358, 405–408, 490, 551–554, 575.
Magdalen College, Oxford, 14, 55, 73, 74, 77.
Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 246, 599.
Maidenhead, co. Berks, 325, 340, 361, 422, 501, 563.
Maidstone, co. Kent, 34.
Maitland, S. R., 108.
Malcolm, Z., 553.
Malden, Henry, 408.
Malet, Sir Edward B., 569.
Malim, William, Head Master, 112, 138–140, 145, 146, 148–154, 166, 169, 170, 178, 306, 495, 496, 598.
*Man in the Street*, the, 575.
Mann, Sir Horace, 331.
,, Nicholas, 290.
Mapledurham, co. Oxford, 305.
Marbles, 318, 321, 322, 487.
Margaret, Queen, 36, 37, 60, 61, 117, 566, 585.
,, the Lady, 93.
,, St., 85.
Mark, St., 58.
Market on Wednesday, 27.
Marlborough, John, Earl of, 277.
Marlow, co. Bucks, 34.
Marriage of the clergy, 98, 111, 125, 128, 132, 167, 168, 305, 328.
Marriott, Richard, 378.
,, Wharton B., Assistant Master, 420.
*Mars*, the, 415, 418.
Marsden, R. G., 564.

Marshall, John, Fellow, Bishop of Llandaff 83.
Marshalsea prison, 114.
Martha, St., 85.
Martial, 145, 273, 312.
Martyn, Sir Henry, 226.
Martyr, Peter, 115, 134.
Marvell, Andrew, 246, 251.
Mary, St., 6, 24, 29, 47, 52, 55, 89, 91, 105, 128, 148, 247, 513, 566, 583, 584.
,, Queen, 109, 115, 132, 133, 134, 161.
,, II., Queen, 271.
,, Queen of Scots, 177.
Marylebone Cricket Club, the, 359, 360, 412, 557.
Marylebone Park, co. Middlesex, 116.
Masham, ——, 306.
Mathematics, the study of, 184, 282, 314, 390, 436, 477–479, 521, 529, 530, 532, 573.
Mathematical Schools, 478, 540, 543, 544, 550.
Mathias, J. T., 351, 352.
Matthews, Henry, 364.
Maturin, J. B., 405.
May, William, 160.
May Day, the observance of, 149, 150.
*May-fly*, the, 553.
Mechanics, School of, 542.
Mechlin, Belgium, 57.
Mede, Thomas, 91.
Medmenham, co. Bucks, 34.
Melbourne, W., Viscount, 444, 445, 458, 491, 569.
Meran, Tyrol, 57, 58.
Mercers' School, London, 250.
Merchant Taylors' School, 240.
*Mercury*, the, 415.
Meredith, John, Fellow and Provost, 251, 254, 257, 264, 597.
Merstham, co. Surrey, 34.
Merton College, Oxford, 2, 18, 181, 182, 184, 187, 192, 195, 197, 201, 340, 490, 533, 599.
Metcalfe, C. T., Lord, 320, 368, 369, 432, 569.
,, E. L., 546.
*Meteor*, the, 554.
Metz, Germany, 58.
Mew, Dr., 263.
Michelmyldeshey in Eton, 26.
Micklethwaite, N. W., 391.
*Microcosm*, the, 356, 358, 407.
Midsummer Day, the observance of, 151.
*Mighty Atom*, the, 575.
Milles, Jeremiah, 340.
Mills, Alfred, 409.
Milman, Henry Hart, 436, 569.
Milton, John, 311, 365, 467.
Minerva, 17c.
*Miniature*, the, 358, 405, 407.
Minstrels, 79, 112
Minto, G. J., Earl of, 571.
Mirandola, Italy, 57.
*Mirror*, the, 554.
Mitchell, R. A. H., Assistant Master, 554, 557, 558.
*Monarch*, the, 415, 417.
Monck, Nicholas, Provost, 248–254, 264, 597.
Money, G. H., 490.
,, G. W., 482.
Monkey Island, 422, 565.
Montagu, Charles F., 484.
,, George, 294.
,, Henry, Lord, 109.
'Montem,' 146, 152, 361, 370, 410, 474, 482, 495–517, 588.
Montgomery, Alfred, 545.
Moore, William, 346.
Mordaunt, Henry, Lord, 222.
More, Sir Thomas, 80, 145.
,, ——, 355.
Morell, Thomas, 282, 310, 311.
Morpeth, Lord. *See* Carlisle.
Morris, William, 539.
Mortimer's Cross, the battle of, 61.
Mortlake, co. Surrey, 485.
Morton, Sir Albertus, 208.
,, John, Bishop of Ely, 81.
Moses, 169.
Moultrie, John, 397–399, 405, 406, 408.
Mountague, Richard, Fellow, 190, 191, 195–197.
,, Thomas, Head Master, 241, 251, 257, 266, 599.
Mountain, J. G., 486.
Mulcaster, Richard, 178.
Mulleyn, John, 167.
Munro, William, 395.
Murray John, 304.
,, ,, 358.
,, Thomas, Provost, 44, 203–207, 209, 210, 212, 597.
,, Mrs., 209–212.
Murray River, Australia, 546.
Myers, Major W. J., 544, 546.

N

Nation, W. H. C., 551.
Nauders, Tyrol, 58.

Naunton, Sir Robert, 209.
Naylor, Mary, Dame, 315.
Nedeham, Richard and Alice, 24.
Neech, C., 408.
Nelson, Horatio, Viscount, 312, 442.
*Nelson*, the, 411, 415.
*Ne plus ultra*, the, 575.
Nepos, Cornelius, 313, 314.
Nesfield, ——, 470.
Nevill, George, Archbishop of York, 66.
Neville, Richard, Lord Braybrooke, 369.
Newborough, John, Lower Master and Head Master, 272, 273, 277, 280, 283, 301, 463, 599.
New Buildings in Weston's Yard, 458, 459, 463, 476, 537, 543.
Newcastle, Thomas, Duke of, 299.
,, ,, third Duke of, 387.
,, A. D., Duke of, 546.
,, Scholarship, the, 387, 388, 477, 531, 541.
Newcastle-on-Tyne, 34.
New College, Oxford, 2, 18, 38, 40, 43, 47, 74, 105, 134, 214, 256, 576, 598.
*New Etonian*, the, 554.
Newgate Gaol, 188
Newman, J. H., 442
New Schools, the, 541, 543, 546, 549, 550, 566.
Newton, Sir Charles, 548.
,, Sir Isaac, 270.
,, Thomas, 77.
Newton, co. Cambridge, 121.
Nicholas V., Pope, 24, 56.
Nicholas, St., 3, 24, 29, 47, 52, 55, 91, 92, 153, 154, 566.
Nicholas, Sir Edward, 262.
Nicholl, Walter, carver, 74, 75.
Nicholson, William, Bishop of Gloucester, 254.
Nightingall, ——, 191.
Noah, 294.
Noblemen at Eton, 101, 198, 221, 267, 284, 299, 304, 327, 332, 334, 335, 429, 469, 479, 508, 589.
Nollekens, Joseph, sculptor, 468.
Nonsuch, co. Surrey, 186.
Norbury, John, Assistant Master and Fellow, 317, 365.
Normanby, C. H., Marquess of, 445.
Norris, William, Head Master, 223, 599.
North, Frederick, Lord, 343, 348, 468.
,, Frank, 336.
Northampton, battle of, 64.
Northampton, W., Marquess of, 131.
Northampton, S., Earl of, 221.
Northcote, Sir Stafford H., Earl of Iddesleigh, 525, 545, 569.
Northumberland, John, Duke of, 131.
,, George, Duke of, 458.
Norton, John, printer, 189, 190.
Norway, King and Queen of, 575.
November, the Fifth of, 482.
Nowell, Alexander, 167, 168.
*Nugæ Etonenses*, 316–325.
*Nulli Secundus*, the, 575.
Number of boys at Eton, 198, 260, 267, 273, 281, 283, 284, 293, 303, 318, 331, 342, 350, 365, 386, 435, 436, 483, 568.
Nutt, A., 566.
Nutting Expedition, 152, 496.

O

O'Connor, ——, 472, 538, 544.
Offaly, George, Earl of, 333, 334.
Okeden, William, 52.
Okes, Richard, Lower Master, Provost of King's, 463, 486, 512, 513.
Oldfield Club, the, 359.
Olivier, Isaac, 588.
*Omnibus*, the, 575.
O'Neil, Con, 198, 199, 508.
Onslow, ——, 342.
*Oppidan*, the, 408
Oppidans, the, 148, 155, 156, 190, 219, 223, 233, 260, 267, 277, 310, 321, 332, 350, 357, 359, 362, 367, 399, 405, 409, 413, 438, 453, 461–463, 465, 476, 477, 487, 503–505, 528, 536, 547, 560, 568, 574, 576, 594.
'Oppidan Dinner,' 562, 563.
Orange, the Princess of, 254.
Orchyard, William, mason, 76.
Ord, W. H., 408.
Orford, Earl of. *See* Walpole.
Organ, the, 48, 91, 203, 279, 327, 471, 538, 580.
Oriel College, Oxford, 598.
Origen, 120.
Ornaments, 27, 36, 72, 99, 102, 105, 117, 119, 131, 134.
Osnaburg, Bishop of. *See* York, Frederick Duke of.
Otes, William, Lower Master, 202.
,, ,, Conduct, 263.
Outram, T. P., 408.
*Out of School at Eton*, 553.
*Outsider*, the, 575.
Ovid, 144, 145, 301, 311, 313, 346.

Owen, John, 273.
,, 'Headimy,' 321.
Oxenbridge, Jane, 246, 251.
,, John, Fellow, 246, 251, 256,
Oxford, 2, 11, 56, 59, 76, 135, 192, 312, 590–592. *See also under the different Colleges.*

P

Page, Matthew, Fellow, 177, 178.
Paintings in the Collegiate Church, 83–90, 162, 163, 471, 472.
Palatine, Frederick, Elector, 191.
Palk, John, 378, 379.
Palmer, Lewis, 90, 92.
Palmerston, Henry, Viscount, 290.
,, ,, Viscount, 522.
*Pandemonium*, the, 554.
*Parachute*, the, 553.
Paris, France, 333.
Parker, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, 138, 160, 166, 167, 180
Parry, Sir C. Hubert, 550, 569, 574.
Paston, John, 77.
,, William, 77–79, 155, 164.
Patrick, Simon, Bishop of Ely, 278.
,, ——, 276.
Patteson, Sir John, 374, 376.
,, J. C., Bishop of Polynesia, 569.
Paul II., Pope, 67.
Pauley, Henry, Fellow, 133.
Payne, Thomas and Roger, bookbinders, 318.
Peacock, George, 436.
Peak, the, co. Derby, lead from, 34.
Pearson, John, Bishop of Chester, 229, 468.
Pecok, Reynold, Bishop of Chichester, 579.
Peel, A., Viscount, 267, 569.
,, General Jonathan, 541.
Pembroke College, Oxford, 244.
Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 3.
*Pentalogia*, 311.
Penwarne, Richard, Fellow, 238.
Pepys, Samuel, 147, 219, 230, 265, 266.
Perceval, Spencer, 373.
Pergine, Tyrol, 58.
Persius, 266.
Perugia, Italy, 57.
Perugino, Pietro, 89.
Peter, St., 91, 147, 151.
Peterborough, 177.
,, abbot of, 584.
Petit, J. L., 408.
Petre, Sir William, 131.
Pettigrew, T. J., 165.
Petworth, co. Sussex, 289.
Peyntor, John, Head Master, 59, 598.
Phædrus, 314.
Philadelphia, Gabriel, Archbishop of, 189.
Philip II., King of Spain, 133.
Philippe, Alexander, 161.
Phillipps, S., 419.
Phinn, Thomas, 408.
Phipps, W. W., 554.
*Phœnix*, the, (1) 551.
,, ,, (2) 554.
Piccadilly, London, 103.
Pickering, E. H., Assistant Master, 475, 486.
,, P. A., 408.
Pierson, Andrew, 167.
Pigott, H. Smyth, 505.
Pilgrims, 56.
Pilkington, James, 160.
Piper, Dick and Jack, 323, 361.
,, Guinea, 323.
Piper's Eyot in the Thames, 323, 418, 564.
Pirton, co. Hertford, 99.
Pitman, T. T., 553.
Pitt, Robert, 286.
,, Thomas, 286.
,, William. *See* Chatham.
,, ,, 379.
Pius II., Pope, 56, 63, 67.
Plague, the, 100, 111, 147, 156, 169, 202, 255, 452.
Plate, the College, 17, 42, 58, 94, 102, 105, 114, 117, 118, 132, 169, 174, 180, 185, 192, 193, 204, 219, 291, 492, 580.
Plato, 383, 529.
Platoff, Count, 429.
Plautus, 529.
'Play at four,' 308, 309, 479.
Playing Fields, 9, 26, 34, 126, 139, 142, 173, 179, 221, 244, 266, 288, 319, 320, 322, 328, 339, 340, 344, 364, 371, 410, 413, 456, 458, 492, 495, 496, 505, 512, 516, 535, 555, 570. *See also* Shooting Fields.
Plays. *See* Theatricals.
Plumptre, John, 373.
,, John F., Fellow, 390, 399, 513.
Poaching, 364, 423.
Pochin, A., 552.
*Poetæ Græci*, 310, 313, 320, 382, 524.
Poggio Bracciolini, 1.
Pogose, N. J., 552.
Pole, Reynold, Archbishop of Canterbury, 135, 136, 160.
Polehampton, E., 359.

Pomponius Mela, 313, 314.
Porny, Mark Anthony, French Master, 318.
'Pop.' *See* Eton Society.
Pope, Alexander, 291, 301, 311.
,, Sir Thomas, 100.
Porson, Richard, 147, 345, 346, 468.
Port, Henry du, 72.
Porter, T. C., Assistant Master, 551.
*Porticus Etonensis*, the, 551.
'Posers,' 20, 151, 461, 462, 581.
Pote, Joseph, 305, 318.
,, Thomas, 356.
Pother, John, bookbinder, 130.
Potter's *Antiquities*, 311.
Potts, John, 301.
Powell, Edward, Head Master, 598.
Poyntz, Stephen, 298.
Praed, Winthrop Mackworth, 399, 405–408, 417, 463.
'Præpostors,' 139, 142, 155, 186, 220, 236, 308–310, 315, 316, 336–339, 355, 359, 392, 397, 402, 422, 437, 533.
Pratt, Charles. *See* Camden.
,, Richard, Fellow, 167.
Prayers, 140, 142, 255, 266, 308–310, 316, 388, 389, 449, 454, 455, 583, 584.
*Present Etonian*, the, 553.
Price, Bonamy, 548.
,, John, Fellow, 248, 249, 251.
Prideaux, Sir W. S., 554.
Primrose, Hon. E. H., 551.
Primrose Hill, co. Middlesex, 116.
*Prince George*, the, 415.
Prior, John, Assistant Master, 317.
'Private business,' 384, 388.
Private tutors, 198, 284, 299, 387, 479.
Privileges, 9, 26, 52, 62, 223, 224.
Propertius, 311.
'Prose' on Sunday, 310, 378, 379, 389.
Provost, position, qualifications and duties of the, 6, 21, 31, 42, 65, 66, 80, 117, 122, 123, 132, 133, 165, 166, 182, 209, 215, 250, 252, 256–258, 268, 390, 437, 438, 445, 446, 519, 526, 545, 577–581, 583–585, 590–596.
Provosts, list of, 597.
Prudde, John, glazier, 36.
Prussia, Frederick William II., King of, 428, 429.
,, Frederick William IV., King of, 458, 493.
,, Princess of, 493.
,, Crown Prince and Princess of, 566.
Puller, C. W., 385.
Pulpit, the, 174, 219, 390, 469, 472.
Punting, 486.
Pusey, E. Bouverie, 569.
Putney, 420, 421, 485, 563, 564.
Pye, John, stationer, 27.
Pynson, Richard, printer, 107.

Q

Quarle, co. Wilts, 67.
*Quarterly Review*, the, 358, 407.
Queenhithe, London, 67, 169.
Queen's College, Oxford, 80, 214, 599.
,, College, Cambridge, 265.
,, Eyot, 422, 565.
,, Schools, the, 543, 544, 548.
Quoits, 487.

R

Racquet Courts, 559.
Ragueneau, Mrs., Dame, 344.
Ralford, ——, 180.
*Ralph Roister Doister*, 112, 113.
Ram-hunt, the annual, 276, 297, 298.
Randolph, Francis, 373.
Rankin, J. R. L., 553.
Ravenna, Italy, 57.
Rawlins, F. H., Lower Master, 527, 532, 552, 569.
Rawlinson, Richard, 272.
Rawson, John, 260.
Rebellions at Eton, 293, 331, 338–341, 350, 354, 361, 371, 375–380, 395, 396.
Rede, John, 51.
,, Robert and Meriel, 102, 151.
Redman, Henry, architect, 96.
Reigate, co. Surrey, stone from, 34, 50.
Relics, 27, 28, 58, 72, 92, 105, 580.
,, the feast of, 128, 151.
Rennell, Thomas, 358, 373, 391.
Reynolds, John, Fellow, 290, 306, 314, 594.
,, Sir Joshua, P.R.A., 306, 336, 347.
Rhodes, 57.
Rice, J. M., 477.
Richard III., King, 68, 69, 82.
Richmond, co. Surrey, 104, 299.
Rickards, A., 554.
Rider's *Dictionary*, 199.
Riding, 325, 361, 362, 364, 379, 417, 418.
Ridley, Thomas, Head Master, 178, 598.
Rifle Corps, Eton College, 554–556, 568–570, 575.
Rightwise, John, 107, 178.
Riley, Henry, Fellow, 130.
*Riparian*, the, 554.

Ripon, College at, 180.
Ripperda, J. W., Duke of, 291.
'Ripping,' 527, 528.
Rishton, Mrs., Dame, 480.
*Rival*, the, 415, 422.
Rivers, Anthony, Earl, 70.
Roberts, Frederick, Earl, 555, 569.
,, William, Fellow, 365.
,, William Hayward, Assistant Master, Fellow, and Provost, 317, 348–350, 457, 597.
Robinson, ——, 167.
,, Captain Francis, 262.
Robyns, Adam, Fellow, 192.
Roche, Nicholas, 91, 110.
Rochester, John, Earl of, 259.
*Rocket*, the, 553.
Roderick, Charles, Usher, Head Master, and Provost of King's, 269–272, 276, 278, 599.
Rogers, Thomas, 255.
Rolfe, ——, 179.
Rolffeshawes in Eton, 9.
Rolleston, George, 548.
Rome, 10, 22, 23, 56–58, 66.
Romney, George, 336.
Romney, in Windsor, 328, 420, 484, 564.
Roodloft, the, 44, 48, 74, 91, 102, 134, 174.
Roscius, 272.
Rosebery, A., Earl of, 569.
Rosewell, John, Head Master and Fellow, 267, 269, 274, 276, 599.
Rotherham, Thomas, Archbishop of York, 83.
Rous, Francis, Provost, 234–236, 240–242, 244–246, 251, 597.
Rousseau, 369.
Rowland, ——, architect, 289, 290.
Rugby School, 306, 562.
'Rug-riding,' 462.
Rupert, Prince, 266.
Ruskin, John, 548.
Russell, Lord John, 514.
,, John, Bishop of Lincoln, 81.
,, William, 179.
,, Lady, 183.
Russia, Alexander, Emperor of, 428.
,, Peter, Emperor of, 318.
Ryall, Alice, 91.
Rycroft, H., 408.

S

Sacheverell, Robert, 126.
Sadocke, ——, 173.
Saffron Walden, school at, 138, 144.
St. Albans Abbey, 28, 584.
St. Albans, Francis, Viscount, 207–209, 211, 215.
,, ,, Charles, Duke of, 298.
St. Augustine's, London, 280.
St. Edmundsbury, co Suffolk, 52.
,, ,, abbot of, 584.
*St. George*, the, 414, 415, 564.
St. Germains, France, 235.
St. John, Henry. *See* Bolingbroke.
,, ,, ——, 333.
St. John's Church, Eton, 330, 543, 545.
St. John's College, Cambridge, 160, 181, 331, 521, 599.
St. John's College, Oxford, 319.
St. Loe, Sir William, 157.
St. Martin le Grand, London, 63.
St. Martin's Lane, London, 213.
St. Mary le Bow, London, 280.
St. Paul's Church, London, 48, 68, 69, 233, 280.
St. Paul's Cross, 161, 167.
St. Paul's School, 112, 153, 178.
Saints. *See under their respective names.*
Salisbury, cathedral church of, 47.
Salisbury, Robert, Marquess of, 569.
Sallust, 144, 313.
Salman, John, 25.
Salmon, Thomas, 314.
'Salt' and 'Saltbearers' at Eton Montem, 370, 495–498, 501–505, 508, 510, 588, 589.
*Saltbearer*, the, 407.
Salt Hill, co. Bucks, 461, 495–517.
*Salt Hill Papers*, the, 554.
Salter, Mrs., 238.
Samborne, Thomas, 319.
Samson, 169.
Samuel, 169.
'Sanatorium,' the, 169, 463, 487, 561.
Sancroft, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 265.
Sandbach, S., 552.
Sanderson, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, 254.
Sandwich, co. Kent, 215.
Sannazaro, J., 273.
Santiago de Compostella, Spain, 24, 56, 57.
Sargent, J. S., R.A., 572.
Sarum rites, 134, 149, 161, 310, 580, 584.
Savile, Sir Henry, Provost, 129, 181–192, 194, 195, 197, 198–204, 206, 207, 227, 260, 542, 597.
,, Sir John, 185.
,, Lady, 187, 199, 203, 204, 210.

Savile, P. Y., 400.
Savoy, 214.
Savoy Hotel, London, 569.
,, Palace, the, London, 34, 213.
Say, Matthew, 221.
Scaliger, Joseph, 187.
Schade, Peter, 144.
School, opening of the, 14, 18.
School Lists, 267, 283, 284, 303, 331, 332, 350, 367, 483. *See also* Number.
Schoolmaster, the. *See* Head Master.
School Yard, the, 43, 97, 129, 185, 260, 274, 276, 278, 290, 308, 319, 321, 330, 343, 345, 377, 391, 395, 411, 413, 449, 455, 462, 482, 486, 493, 498, 504, 505, 515, 535, 540, 555, 569, 570.
Science, the study of physical, 529, 542, 573.
Scott, Edward, 163.
,, Hon. W. H., 400.
*Scriptores Græci*, 382, 383, 524.
*Scriptores Romani*, 310, 311, 383, 521, 524.
Scrope, Richard, 59.
Seal, the College, 15, 71, 127, 233, 579, 595.
,, the Provost's, 165, 181.
Sebastopol, gun from, 541.
Sedley, Sir Charles, 147.
,, Sir John, 191.
Selden, John, 195.
*Selecta ex Ovidio*, 310, 311.
Selwyn, E. C., 552.
,, G. A., Bishop of Lichfield, 384, 408, 479, 484, 569.
,, J. R., Bishop of Melanesia, 554.
,, William, 510.
'Sent up for play,' 308, 391, 440.
Sermons, 127, 236, 239, 242, 280, 365, 390, 442.
Servitors, 43, 117, 581, 583.
Seton, W. J., 553.
*Seven Summers*, 553.
Sever, Henry, Provost, 7, 13, 18, 597.
Sewer. *See* Drainage.
Shadwell, L. H., 408.
Shakespeare, 227, 228, 347.
Shaw, ——, 369.
Shaw, John, architect, 468, 470.
Shawe in Eton, 179.
Sheen, co. Surrey, 78.
Sheep Bridge, 221, 410.
Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 425, 426, 468.
Sherborne, West, priory of, co. Hants, 72.
Sheridan, R. B., 505.
Sherlock, Thomas, 281.
Sherwood, Reuben, Head Master, 178, 598.
Ship-money, 224.
'Shirking,' 294, 338, 339, 533–535.
'Shirking walls,' 318, 320.
Shooting Fields, the, 186, 217, 221, 319, 322, 360, 362, 366, 410, 411, 420, 424, 484, 489, 494, 505, 556–560.
Shore, Jane, 80, 81.
Shrewsbury School, 385, 437, 440.
Shrovetide, the observance of, 146, 147.
Shute, R., 552.
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 193.
Sidwell, St., 85.
Siena, Italy, 22, 57.
Simeon, Charles, 343, 346.
Simonds, H. A., 490.
Singleton, Thomas, Head Master, 241, 251, 599.
Sion, co. Middlesex, 81, 119.
'Sixpenny,' 411.
Sixth Form Bench, 40, 221.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 75.
Skelton, John, 81.
*Skintillator*, the, 575.
Skirrow, W., 408.
Skittles, 266.
Skydmore, ——, 179.
Slater, Thomas, 306.
Sleech, Stephen, Fellow and Provost, 304, 326, 327, 336, 597.
Slough, co. Bucks, 13, 104, 461, 485, 493, 501, 515, 530, 558.
Slough Road, the, 34, 40, 111, 189, 190, 288, 320, 322, 364, 371, 487, 541, 558, 566, 569, 570.
Smith, Goldwin, 476.
,, Hon. W. F. D., 558.
,, John, 134.
,, ,, 356.
,, Robert ('Bobus'), 344, 356.
,, Sir Thomas, Provost, 122–126, 128, 130–134, 176, 186, 597.
,, Thomas, Fellow, 177.
,, William, Bishop of Lincoln, 93.
Smoking, 235, 244, 255, 486.
Smyth, Clement, Head Master, 59, 65, 66, 598.
,, John, Fellow, 205, 206.
,, John, Head Master, 598.
,, Thomas, *alias* Butler, 91, 102.
,, William, Head Master, and Fellow, 178, 598.
Smythe, Hon. George, 492.
Snape, Andrew, Head Master, Provost of King's, 280–282, 284, 303, 599.
Snow (Kynaston), Herbert, Assistant Master, 521, 564.

Socinus, 228.
Somerset, Charles, Duke of, 289.
,, Edmund, Duke of, 37.
,, Edmund, called Duke of, 68.
,, Edward, Duke of, 122, 124.
South Field in Eton, 9.
South Meadow in Eton, 322, 325, 427, 540, 542–544, 550, 559, 569.
South Sea Scheme, the, 284.
Southwark, co. Surrey, 74.
Spa, Belgium, 333.
Spain, Philip II., King of, 133.
,, Alfonso XIII., King of, 570.
*Spectator*, the 311, 356, 389.
'Speeches,' 297, 298, 306, 312, 313, 327, 343, 344, 356, 383, 398, 430, 434, 555, 566.
Spencer, John, Earl, 555.
*Sphinx*, the, 575.
Spode, Josiah, 471.
Spoleto, Italy, 57.
Spottiswoode, William, 483, 548.
Sprat, Thomas, Bishop of Rochester, 271.
Spring-Rice, C., 553.
Stable Yard, the (Weston's Yard), 40, 43, 185, 189, 190, 276, 288, 448, 449, 455, 458, 459, 492, 505, 535, 540, 543, 546, 549, 574.
Stafford, John, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Archbishop of Canterbury, 10, 12, 23, 52.
Staines, co. Middlesex, 484.
Stalls in the Church, 37, 44, 48, 74, 83, 163, 472, 589.
'Stalls' in Long Chamber, 537.
Stanbridge, John, 143.
Stanley, Lord, 79.
,, F. A., Lord, 569.
Statutes of Eton College, the, 18, 19, 21, 35, 40, 57, 97, 117, 122, 125, 131, 133, 138, 143, 151, 153, 155, 176, 183, 194, 200, 202, 204, 212, 215, 224, 244, 252, 256–258, 300, 306, 328, 349, 433, 444, 446, 456, 457, 459, 522, 527, 528, 559, 577–586, 590–596.
Stavordale, H. T., Lord (Earl of Ilchester), 333.
Stephen, St., 105.
Stephen, J. K., 553.
,, Sir James F., 548.
Stephenson, John, 20.
,, George, 346.
Sterry, Peter, 242.
Stevenson, David, 499.
,, Thomas, Fellow, 77, 78.
Steward, Richard, Provost, 232–235, 240, 597.
Stirling, Scotland, 214.
Stocker's Mill, 322, 362.
Stockhore, Herbert, 'Montem Poet,' 510.
Stoke Poges, co. Bucks, 397.
Stokes, David, Fellow, 227, 251, 264.
Stokys, Robert, 161.
Stone, W. M., 410.
,, E. D., Assistant Master, 564.
,, ——, 255.
Stonor, John, 22.
Storer, Anthony Morris, 333, 366.
Stowell, William, Lord, 433.
Strada, F., 273.
Stratfieldsaye, co. Berks, 428.
Stratford de Redcliffe, S., Viscount, 354, 358, 360, 569.
Streatfield, R., 408.
Street, G. E., R.A., 89, 538.
Strozzi, Hercules, 273.
*Student*, the, 408.
*Student's Humour*, the, 553.
Sturgis, Julian, 552.
Sturminster Marshall, co. Dorset, 178.
Sturmius, 145, 199.
Suckling, Sir John, 227, 228.
Suffolk, William, Earl, Marquess, and Duke of, 11–13, 18, 35, 37, 45, 52.
,, John, Earl of, 52.
*Sugar Loaf Papers*, the, 554.
Sulpitius, John, 143.
Sumner, Charles R., Bishop of Winchester, 358, 374, 376.
,, John, Lower Master, Head Master, and Provost of King's, 290, 304, 330, 599.
,, John Bird, Assistant Master, Fellow, Archbishop of Canterbury, 374, 388, 390, 569.
,, Humphrey, Assistant Master, Provost of King's, 303, 317, 351, 352.
,, Robert, Assistant Master, 373.
Sunday, the observance of, 143, 236, 310, 342, 354, 366, 378, 383, 388–390, 451.
Sunning Hill, co. Berks, 325.
*Supplement*, the, 554.
Surly Hall, co. Berks, 352, 360, 414, 418, 422, 434, 484, 563–566.
Susenbrotus, 145.
Swan, Thomas, 90.
,, William, 77.
Sweden, John, Prince of, 164.
Swimming, 107, 294, 296, 361, 484.
Swinburne, A. C., 569.

Symonds, Joseph, Fellow, 237, 246.
Sunderland, George, Earl of, 400.

T

Talbot, Charles, Lord, 298.
,, William, Earl, 298, 327.
Tankerville, Charles, Lord, 298.
'Tap,' 467, 536.
Tapestry, 20, 36, 66, 109, 177, 192, 193, 219.
Tarver, Francis, French Master, 490, 533, 550.
,, J. C., French Master, 494, 524.
,, J. C., 552.
,, Henry, French Master, 524.
Tasso, 365.
Tatham, C. M. 544.
,, H. F. W., Assistant Master, 553.
,, M. T., 553.
*Tatler*, the, 356.
Taylor, Tom, 548.
Tea, 318, 342, 368, 369, 452, 459, 525.
Teck, Princess Alexander of, 574.
Tennis, 107, 202, 324, 559.
Terence, 111, 144, 145, 266, 272, 301, 313, 314, 529.
Terni, Italy, 57.
Terry, William, goldsmith, 193.
Teynton stone, 50.
Thackeray family, the, 305.
,, F. St. John, Assistant Master, 552.
,, George, Lower Master, Provost of King's, 370, 374, 375, 426, 463, 515.
,, Thomas, Assistant Master, 281, 302, 373.
Thames, the river, 9, 40, 51, 69, 104, 106, 107, 221, 222, 294, 296, 297, 323, 340, 361, 362, 420, 484, 486, 570. *See also* Bathing places; Boating.
Thames Mead, co. Middlesex, 103.
Thames Rowing Club, the, 485.
Theatricals at Eton, 79, 93, 112, 113, 154, 223, 251, 346, 347, 367, 398–400, 490, 550.
*Thetis*, the, 415, 564.
Thicknesse, Ralph, Assistant Master, 301, 314.
Thirlwall, Connop, Bishop of St. David's, 436.
Thomas, St., of Acre, 75.
,, ,, of Canterbury, 128, 151.
Thomond, Henry, Earl of, 278.
Thompson, W. H., Master of Trinity, 525.
Thornton, C. C., 552.
Thou, J. A. de, 189.
'Threepenny Day,' 100.
Thring, Edward, 449, 503.
Thriscrosse, Timothy, Fellow, 264, 265.
Throgmorton, Sir Nicholas, 171.
Thucydides, 382–384.
Tibullus, 311.
Tilley, A. A., 548, 552.
Timbralls, in Eton, 34, 371, 558, 559, 570.
Tindal, A. G., 552.
Tinné, J. E., 552.
Tobacco, 235, 244, 255, 535.
Tomline, Col. George, 478.
Tonbridge School, 241.
Tonson, L., 369.
Tooting Bec, co. Surrey, 8.
Tops, 223, 319, 320, 487.
Tower of London, 69, 124.
Towning, John, 260.
Townsend, C. H., 408.
Townshend, Charles, 273, 333.
,, Charles Fox, 403, 404.
,, Thomas, 330.
*Trafalgar*, the, 415.
Travers, Edmund, haberdasher, 193.
Trent, Tyrol, 57, 58.
'Trials,' 282, 314, 441, 530, 531.
Trier, Germany, 58.
Trinity College, Oxford, 100.
,, ,, Cambridge, 161, 599.
Trinity, figure of the, 91.
Tritton, E. W., 556.
Trotman's Garden, in Eton, 405, 486.
Trower, Walter, Bishop of Gibraltar, 408.
Tudway, ——, 20.
Tullamore, Lord, 399.
Tuscany, Ferdinand I., Grand Duke of, 214.
Tusser, Thomas, 112.
Twistleton, Hon. Edward, 525.
*Two Stools*, the, 575.
Tyndall, Martin, Head Master, 598.
Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of, 198, 508.

U

Udall, Nicholas, Head Master, 111–115, 154, 598.
Ulm, Germany, 57.
Uphaven, co. Wilts, 67.
Upman, Stephen, Fellow, 270.
Upper Hope, in Eton, 362, 414, 420, 484, 559.

Upper School, the, 43, 260–262, 273–276, 293, 297, 327, 340, 342–344, 350, 360, 375, 376, 378, 386, 389, 421, 428, 430, 434, 437–439, 462, 467, 468, 480, 492, 493, 516, 517, 535, 540, 542, 543, 566, 568, 570.
Upton, co. Bucks, 428, 559.
Usher. *See* Lower Master.
Utynam, John, glazier, 36.
Uxbridge, co. Middlesex, 234, 282.

V

Valerius Maximus, 145.
Van de Weyer, Col., 565.
Vaughan, C. J., Head Master of Harrow, 443.
,, H. Halford, 525.
Venice, Italy, 57, 58, 191, 211, 212, 214, 218.
Venn, Col., 234, 237.
Venus, 170.
Verona, Italy, 57.
Verse-making, 78, 144–147, 150, 152, 163, 164, 169, 177, 178, 292, 299, 308, 309, 311–315, 331, 332, 333, 345, 375, 382, 385, 387, 401, 405, 429, 430, 440, 486, 496, 528, 532.
Vertue, M., 96.
Vestments, ecclesiastical, 27, 28, 70, 99, 102, 105, 134.
Vestry, the, 44, 98, 219, 220.
Veysy, William, brick-maker, 13.
Vice-Provost, duties of the, 177, 236, 462, 579, 580, 585, 590, 591.
Victoria, Queen, 458, 468, 491–493, 506, 513, 514, 543, 544, 554, 566, 568–570, 576.
*Victory*, the, 415, 547, 565.
Vincent of Beauvais, 85, 86.
Virgil, 144, 145, 310, 311, 313, 365, 382, 388, 426.
Virginia Water, co. Berks, 364, 492.
Viterbo, Italy, 57.
Vives, J. L., 145.
Voltaire, 369.
Volunteers. *See* Rifle Corps.
Voules, ——, 397.
*Vulgaria*, 106, 107, 145.

W

Waddington, Edward, Fellow, Bishop of Chichester, 281, 288.
Wages, the rate of, 33.
Wailes, ——, 472.
Waldegrave, George, Earl, 362.
Wales, Albert Edward, Prince of. *See* Edward VII.
,, Edward, Prince of, 60.
,, ,, ,, *See* Edward V.
,, Frederick, Prince of, 292, 293.
,, George, Prince of. *See* George IV.
Walker, William Sidney, 406, 408, 425, 426, 429.
Waller, Edmund, 258, 268.
Walpole, Edward, 298.
Walpole, Horace, Earl of Orford, 294, 295, 297, 319, 331, 423, 498.
,, Horatio, Lord, 298.
,, Sir Robert, Earl of Orford, 273, 291, 298, 299, 302, 312, 468.
Walsingham, co. Norfolk, 108.
Walton, Isaac, 213–217.
Warburton, William, Bishop of Gloucester, 347.
Ward, A. S., 554.
Wardens of crafts, 12.
Warre, Edmond, Assistant Master, Head Master, and Provost, 433, 521, 531–533, 547, 558, 563, 564, 572–574, 597, 599.
Warren, ——, 353, 361, 368.
Wase, Christopher, 240, 241.
*Waste Paper Basket*, the, 575.
Water, Alice, 51.
Waterford, H., Marquess of, 421, 422, 480.
Waterloo, the battle of, 344, 412, 429, 508.
Watkins, H. T., 553.
Watson, Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln, 160.
Watt, F., 414.
Wattes, Thomas, 167.
Watts, G. F., R.A., 539.
Waynflete, William, Provost, Bishop of Winchester, 14, 15, 18, 20, 29–31, 37–39, 45, 54, 55, 64, 72–75, 79, 82, 83, 89, 99, 117, 146, 539, 576, 585, 597, 598.
Wayte, William, Assistant Master, 561, 564.
Weaver, Thomas, Fellow, 219, 220, 236.
Webster, Charles, 340.
Weedon Bec, co. Northants, 8.
Weeks, H., sculptor, 432.
Welby, R. E., Lord, 490.
Wellesley, Richard, Marquess, 147, 343–345, 354, 358, 374, 442, 445, 458, 468, 491, 494, 545.
,, Lord C., 345.

Wellington, Arthur, Duke of, 344, 345, 379, 380, 428, 468, 493, 494, 569.
,, A. R., Duke of, 345, 380, 428.
Welldon, J. C., Bishop of Calcutta, 571.
Wendy, Thomas, 160.
West, Nicholas, Bishop of Ely, 101.
,, Richard, 294.
Westbury, William, Head Master and Provost, 18, 20, 31, 52, 63–69, 72, 75, 76, 79, 597, 598.
Westerley, Robert, mason, 12.
Westmacott, A. F., 490.
Westminster Abbey, 159, 161, 165, 233, 253.
,, School, 115, 139, 142, 146, 175, 202, 233, 238, 331, 355, 359, 421, 422, 480, 484, 485, 492, 563.
,, St. Margaret's Church, 249.
,, St. Stephen's Chapel, 44.
,, St. James's Hospital, 51, 67, 82, 92, 103, 109, 116.
,, Eye Hill, 103.
Westminster, Duke of, 569.
Weston, Stephen, Lower Master and Fellow, Bishop of Exeter, 288.
Weston's Yard. *See* Stable Yard.
Weye, William, Fellow, 57–59.
Weymouth, co. Dorset, 352.
Wharf, the, 158, 484, 489, 494.
Whetelay, Robert, carpenter, 34.
Whewell, William, 436.
Whitaker, William, Fellow, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, 181.
White, G. H., 379.
,, Sir Thomas, 2.
*White Bear* in Cheapside, the, 103.
Whitelock, Bulstrode, 245.
Whitgift, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 180.
Whittaker, ——, 255.
Whittington, Robert, 107, 143, 144.
Whitworth, Roger, 100.
*Whole Duty of Man*, the, 310.
Wickens, Sir J., 387, 408.
Wickham, William, Fellow, Bishop of Winchester, 177, 181.
Wight, Thomas 12.
Wilberforce, Samuel, Bishop of Oxford, 515.
Wilde, Philip, 179.
Wilder, Charles, 408.
,, John, Assistant Master and Fellow, 388, 401, 470, 471, 537, 538, 558, 568.
Wilds, co. Middlesex, 103.
Willement, Thomas, 469, 470, 472, 544.
William I, King, 7.
,, III, King, 271, 272, 497.
,, IV, King, 417, 419, 430, 451, 468, 485, 492, 493, 506.
Williams, E. Pote, publisher, 552.
,, George, 400.
,, ——, 306.
,, John, Bishop of Lincoln, 204, 205, 208.
,, Nicholas, 289.
,, Rowland, 450, 502.
Williams, T. C., 552.
Willoughby, Sir Christopher, 360, 401.
Willyat, Richard, Fellow, 123, 125.
Willymott, William, Assistant Master, 284, 313.
Wilson, John, 186.
,, Thomas, 113.
Wimbledon, co. Surrey, 555.
Wimborne, co. Dorset, 178.
Winchester, 133.
,, cathedral church of, 31, 47.
,, College, 2, 3, 14, 15, 18, 19–21, 31, 35, 40, 65, 74, 76, 105, 106, 116, 121, 138–140, 142, 161, 176, 214, 233, 238, 256, 266, 379, 398, 412, 440, 487, 488, 495, 525, 556, 558, 569, 570, 575, 576.
,, St. Cross, 3.
Winchilsea, George, Earl of, 368, 413.
Windham, William, 338.
,, ——, 298.
Windsor, 19, 34, 81, 90, 104, 118, 119, 176, 203, 225, 239, 264, 265, 297, 324–326, 334, 341, 342, 353, 361, 362, 364, 368, 377, 399, 401, 424, 482, 484, 485, 501, 516, 534, 535, 562, 566, 568, 575.
,, Castle, 3, 13, 37, 73, 75, 81, 161, 164, 169, 170, 233, 237, 296, 336, 348, 352, 354, 355, 430, 492, 509, 555, 566, 568, 570.
,, St. George's Chapel, Dean and Canons of, 4, 63–67, 69, 70, 72, 75, 93, 97, 108, 116, 121, 127, 166, 181, 196, 227, 230, 234, 236, 239, 348, 352, 374, 399, 428, 430, 434.
Wine, 26, 69, 81, 93, 224, 225, 233, 239, 244. *See also* Gascony.
Winifred, St., 105,
Winnington, ——, 298.

Wintle, H. G., Assistant Master, 532, 544.
Winwood, Sir Ralph, 187.
Witham Priory, co. Somerset, 37, 59.
Witt, J. G., 549.
Woburn, co. Bedford, 120, 121.
Wolsey, Thomas, Cardinal, 2, 101.
Wood, Anthony 246, 266.
,, Edward, 276, 287.
,, W. Wightman, 552.
Woodward, Robert, 251.
,, Thomas, 255.
Woodyer, H., 538, 541.
Worcester, the battle of, 235, 244, 259.
Wordsworth, Charles, Bishop of St. Andrews, 440.
Workmen, wages and discipline of, 12, 32–34.
Worms, Germany, 57.
Worplesdon, co. Surrey, 192, 204, 289.
Worthington, John, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, 242.
Wotton, Sir Henry, Provost, 203, 211–218, 221, 222, 224, 225, 230–232, 257, 597.
Wray, Sir Bourchier, 278.
Wraysbury, co. Bucks, 22.
Wren, Sir Christopher, 48, 188, 280.
,, Matthew, Bishop of Ely, 244.
Wright, Richard, Usher, Head Master and Fellow, 201, 202, 599.
,, Thomas, 198.
Wriothesley, Thomas, Lord, 198.
Writing lessons, 148, 149, 154, 222, 252, 274, 287, 314, 317, 477.
Wrotham, East, co. Norfolk, 277.
Wulward, John, Fellow, 174.
Wurtemberg, Lewis, Duke of, 180.
Wyclif, John, 579.
Wykeham, William of, Bishop of Winchester, 2, 3, 14, 40, 47, 256.
Wyllughby, Nicholas, 24, 56.
Wymondham, co. Norfolk, 262.
Wyndham, Sir William, 273.
Wynne, C. G., 408.
Wynwyk, John, mason, 12.
Wyther, William, Fellow, 73, 82.

X

*X. Magazine*, the, 554.
Xenophon, 192, 266, 383.

Y

Yong, Robert, Head Master, 598.
Yonge, Charles, Assistant Master, 374, 414.
,, John E., Assistant Master, 564.
,, Mrs., Dame, 353.
York, cathedral church of, 48.
,, Edward, Duke of. *See* Edward IV.
,, Frederick, Duke of, 344, 419.
Yorkshire stone. *See* Hudleston.
Young, Arthur, 328.
,, Peter, 187.
,, Mrs., Dame, 368.
Yvry, France 8.




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